WILSON DYNASTY AMERICA'S MENACE, SAYS HENRY CABOT LODGE

"We Make the Issue," Senator Declares—"Around League Must Be Waged 1920 Presidential Campaign."

CHICAGO, June 8.—The country must drive President Wilson and his "dynasty" from power and defeat the league of nations as he desires it, declared Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, temporary chairman of the republican national convention, in his keynote address here today.

Defending the senate's opposition to the treaty of peace as a high and patriotic duty, the senator flung down this gauntlet:

"We make the issue; we ask approbation for what we have done. The people will now tell us what they think of Mr. Wilson's league and the sacrifice of America."

While emphasizing the point that around the league must be waged the 1920 presidential campaign and devoting much of his speech to arraignment of the Wilson administration, the senator found time to lay before the delegates the stand of the republican party on other salient problems facing the nation.

Action South Demanded.

Chief among these was Mexico. Declaring it was time for the United States to take a firm hand in things Mexican and end the "disgraceful record" of the last seven years, Senator Lodge urged that this country let his Mexicans choose as their president some strong and upright man who is friendly to the United States and determined to establish order and then lend him a real and cordial support.

"Mexico lies at our doors," he declared. "It is a primary duty for us to deal with it under the Monroe doctrine, but nothing has been done, and yet we are asked to take a mandate for Armenia."

Salient points made by Senator Lodge were:

"Mr. Wilson and his dynasty, his heirs and assigns, or anybody that is his, anybody who with bent knee has served his purpose, must be driven from all control, from all influence upon the government of the United States.

Wilson Theory Denounced.

"They must be driven from office and power, not because they are democrats, but because Mr. Wilson stands for a theory of administration and government which is not American.

"The return of the democrats to power with Mr. Wilson or one of his disciples still the leader and master of the party, which before his advent possessed both traditions and principles, would be a long step in the direction of the autocracy for which Mr. Wilson yearns and a heavy blow to the continuance of free representative government as we have always conceived and venerated it.

"Mr. Wilson and the autocracy he represents and all which those who believe in his doctrines and share his spirit represent, must be put aside and conclusively excluded from any future control.

"The defeat of the present administration and all it means, transcends in importance every other question and all immediate and dominant issues are bound up with it. Without that defeat every chance of the right settlement of the mighty questions before us, so sorely needed now and not later, will depart.

Government for All Aim.

"To maintain law and order and a stable government where justice rules and the rights of all men, high and low, rich and poor, shall be protected, we must have a government of the people, duly chosen by the people, and never must there be permitted any government by a single man or by a group of men, or by an organized minority.

"Many vital economic measures and especially protective tariff legislation to guard our industries, are impossible with a democratic free trader of socialistic proclivities in the White House. To accomplish such measures as these, we must have, as we intend to have, a republican president, in sympathy with a republican house and senate.

"The rise of prices, the high cost of living which reach daily into every home, is the most pressing, as it is the most difficult and most essential problem which confronts us. Some of the sources of this trouble can be reached by legislation, although not all, but everything that can be effected by law should be done at once.

Profiteering Must Go.

"Profiteering, charging of extortionate and unjustified prices, which is stupid as well as unlawful, are subject now to ample punitive laws. Those laws should be enforced, others if necessary added, and the offenders, both great and small, should be pursued and punished.

"The most essential remedy for high costs (of living) is to keep up and increase production, and particularly should every effort be made to advance the productivity of the farms.

"The phrase 'government ownership' means not only that the government shall own the railroads, but also, it is to be feared, that those who run the railroads shall own the government. General government ownership under our political system would inevitably bring about the mastery of the government by those who operate the machinery of transportation or any other industries which come into government possession. The rights of the general public, for whom all industries exist, would disappear under this scheme and nothing would be left to the people except the duty of paying taxes to support the roads.

Americans Insulted, Murdered.

"Over 600 Americans have been murdered in Mexico. Carranza insulted the American government in every possible way and still nothing was done. We fell so low that when an American was seized by one of the many bands of brigands and held for ransom, all that the government of the United States would do was to offer to be the channel for conveying the ransom of their citizens to the highwaymen who had seized them.

"We have watched and waited long enough. We need a firm hand at the helm. The time has come to put an end to this situation, which is a shame to the United States and a disgrace to civilization. If we are to take part in pacifying and helping the world, let us begin here at home, in Mexico.

"Let the Mexicans choose as their president some strong and upright man who is friendly to the United States and determined to establish order and then let the United States give him a real and cordial support, and so strengthen and uphold him that he will be able to exterminate the bandits and put an end to the unceasing civil war.

World Peace Prevented.

"When the armistice with Germany was signed, the course to be pursued was clear. That course was to make peace with Germany at once and then take up for reasonable consideration the question of establishing such future relations with our associates in the war as would make for the future peace of the world. This Mr. Wilson prevented. He went to Europe.

"He had apparently only one aim, to be the maker of a league of which he should be the head. He was determined that there should be a league of nations then and there, and in order to nullify the powers of the senate given by the constitution of the United States, he decided to make the league an integral part of the treaty of peace with Germany. Thus he presented to the senate, and intended to present, a dilemma from which he believed there was no escape. In order to have peace with Germany, he meant to compel the senate to accept with it the league of nations.

"The republicans of the senate, perceiving the dangers of the league, determined to resist Mr. Wilson's demand. The American people will never accept that alliance with foreign nations proposed by the president. The president meantime has remained inflexible. He is determined to have that treaty as he brought it back or nothing, and to that imperious demand the people will reply in tones which cannot be misunderstood.

Question Goes to People.

"We have stopped Mr. Wilson's treaty and the question goes to the people. In 1916 Mr. Wilson won on the cry that 'he had kept us out of war.' He now demands the approval of the American people for his party and his administration on the grounds that he has kept us out of peace. The league must be discussed in every district and in every state and we desire to have the verdict so clearly given that no man who seeks to represent the people in the senate, in the house or in any place or in any degree, can have the slightest doubt as to his duty.

"We make the issue; we ask approbation for what we have done. The people will now tell us what they think of Mr. Wilson's league and its sacrifice of America.

"They (the people), will tear aside the veil of words woven to blind and deceive and come down to the essential and vital point—Mr. Wilson's plan on one side and the independence and safety of the United States on the other. All Americans must join in their own way and with their own arguments defeat Mr. Wilson's league as he desires it, whether amended by him or in its pristine simplicity."

Possible Dangers Cited.

Senator Lodge charged the democratic party with responsibility for the "perilous conditions of the hour," and said if the republican party fails to grapple with it effectively, "the Russian descent into barbarism will begin to draw near."

A beginning had been made, he said, by a republican congress in restoring economic conditions, "working under all the difficulties and opposition imposed by a hostile executive." He enumerated various beneficial measures, adding that the estimates had been reduced over $1,000,000,000. He advocated enforcement of the laws against profiteering and said it was possible to check the advance of prices by law, by providing for "the control of credits in such manner as to give preference to the most essential products." He declared the railroad act "as a single great law which in any period would be sufficient to distinguish congress as one of high accomplishments."

Senator Lodge's speech in full follows:

Moment Is Called Solemn.

We are met here to take the first, the most decisive step in the political campaign which is to determine the party control of the government for the next four years. It is a solemn moment, fraught with vast possibilities of either good or evil. Well worth our while it is just here "on this hank and shoal of time" to pause for an instant while we glance swiftly upon the scene in which we are to fight our battle. Behind us lies the greatest war of history, now for the most part fallen silent, together with all the hideous advances of science in method of destruction, which hitherto had tened upon it, halted and quiescent. The tempest has subsided but the ocean still heaves and rolls with cresting waves, while the dead seas of the storm, which has passed, crash sullenly against the shores that shelter and sustain the vast fabric which we are wont to call our civilization.

We finish the morning after the problems and trials which the huge convulsion has left to us and with which we must cope and cope successfully if we are to rebuild and again move onward. The ruined towns, the broken industries, the desolated farms are there before our eyes and the graves of our heroes are there. Countless little mounds mark the resting places of the dead in the fields and on the hillsides torn and gashed by shot and shell.

Loss of Youth Irreparable.

Signals of mourning throughout the world tell us of the irreparable losses of all nations, which have swept away such a number of the youth of the world, of every land, those in whom were centered the hopes and strength of the future. The splendor of the achievement of our soldiers and sailors, their dauntless courage and unshrinking service will always remain one of the proudest memories in the history of the republic. But the dead cannot hear and the shadow of the great sorrow for those forever gone will never be lifted from the hearts of the people who sent them forth to battle. The material war results is, like the spiritual, ever with us. We feel in daily life the grinding pressure of the vast debts and heaped up taxes which have been piled upon our shoulders and upon those of posterity. Great empires have been swept from the earth, ancient monarchies have crumbled in an hour and long established governments have tottered, fallen and passed away like a watch in the night.

All these things stare us in the face, pierce our attention and arrest our thoughts. But this is not all, and what remains, perhaps more than anything else, makes incredibly difficult the immense task which lies before us, one not to be escaped but which will strain governments and people to the top of their bent if ever that make life worth living is to survive. The wrecked towns, the shattered forts, the effaced villages, the sinking ships were not the only victims of the storm of war. Other things, the impalpable possessions of the mind and heart, have in like fashion been wounded and crippled. We the people of war, through long years of bitter conflict, moral restraints were loosened and all the habits, all the conventions, all the customs of life, which even in time of war hold society together, were swept aside. One passion, one purpose—to save the country, to save civilization to preserve freedom—was supreme. We could not be otherwise. There could be in that hour but one question asked of men and women—"Are you loyal to your country and her cause, ready to make and to sacrifice and if need be to die for them?" If that single demand was rightly answered, nothing else mattered in those days of stress and anguish. No one inquired further.

Great Adventure Over.

So the war ended and victory came; the great adventure was over and men and women came back to find the old ways dull, the old life tame, the old restraints irksome and the old habits intolerable by a longing for excitement and a hunger for change unknown before. One sees the result in the restlessness which is everywhere in the world, in the styles of life, in dress, in amusements, in pleasure seeking, in the greed for money and the recklessness of expenditure and, what is infinitely more serious, in the discontent with all forms of government or control and in the readiness and eagerness to destroy even the fundamental principles of a free and orderly civilization without which law and order, organized society, the possibilities of progress and the chance for happiness cannot exist. This unrest, this born of the war, is the gravest obstacle in the essential work of restoring a shattered world and making the great victory a blessing to mankind. In order to succeed at all, we must understand this mental and moral condition. We must allow for it. We must be very patient. We must steady our nerves. We must be tolerant and above all open-minded. We must call on our common sense and self-restraint. The complex problem cannot be evaded and it must be dealt with in such a way as to preserve the foundations of society and enable us, those once secured, to advance steadily, never hurriedly but always in order, toward every reform, every improvement, every form of true progress which will help mankind. It is a gigantic task for any government or any party. No party and no government can succeed unless they face it bravely, unblinkingly, facts as they are and determined to do their best—never promising what they cannot perform and never yielding to the facile temptations of momentary success.

Hope Put in Republicans.

One of our great political parties has failed to meet—nay, it is in a considerable measure responsible for, the perilous conditions of the hour. The only other organized political force strong enough to grapple with the encircling dangers is the republican party. If that, too, fails and breaks down, the Russian descent into barbarism will begin to draw near. Such an end is inconceivable with the American people, but they must realize the peril and drive it back into the darkness whence it comes. We, keepers of the republican faith, must therefore succeed. We must not know defeat when the great responsibility comes to our hands. To the service of 1860 we must add a like service in 1920. No larger victory at any time could be won by any political party. We must both earn and deserve it. We did not fail in the Civil war. We shall not, must not fail now.

In order to render to our country the service which we desire to render and which we can accomplish in large measure at least, if we undertake it with all our ability and in a disinterested public spirit, we must have the opportunity for service. That opportunity can only come through our being entrusted by the people, with both the legislative and executive authority. To this end Mr. Wilson and his dynasty, his heirs and assigns or anybody that is his, anybody who, with bent knee has served his purposes, must be driven from all control, from all influence upon the government of the United States. They must be driven from office and power, not because they are democrats, but because Mr. Wilson stands for a theory of administration and government which is not American. His methods, his constant, if indirect, assaults upon the constitution and upon all the traditions of free government, strike at the very life of the American principles upon which our government has always rested. The return of the democrats to power with Mr. Wilson or one of his disciples still the leader and master of a great party, which before his advent possessed both traditions and principles, would be a long step in the direction of the autocracy for which Mr. Wilson yearns and a heavy blow to the continuance of free representative government as we have always conceived and venerated it. The peril inseparable from Mr. Wilson and his system goes far beyond all party divisions, for it involves the fundamental question of whether the government of the United States shall be a government of laws and not of men, whether it shall be a free representative government or that of a dictatorship, resting on a plebescite carried by repellant methods.

Work of Redemption Urged.

Mr. Wilson and the autocracy he represents, and all which those who believe in his doctrines and share his spirit, must be put aside and conclusively excluded from any future control. Bear this well in mind throughout the campaign, for it is the first condition of our ability to enter upon the path which will carry us forward to true progress and to wiser laws. It is the path of Washington, of Lincoln and of Roosevelt from which Mr. Wilson has sought to drag us. We can only retrain it by once and for all condemning the man and his associates who have thus endeavored to turn us from the right road into the dark and devious ways which with all nations lead to destruction. We, therefore, make our appeal for support to all who love America, to all, no matter by name they happen to bear, who are true to the faith of the fathers, to join with us in this great work of redemption. The defeat of the present administration and all it means transcends in importance every other question, and all immediate and dominant issues are bound up with it. Without that defeat every chance of the right settlement of the mighty questions before us, so sorely needed now and not later, will depart.

The ground thus cleared, it is our first duty as Americans to re-establish certain essential principles which have been both shaken and invaded—shaken by the storm of war, invaded by those who had their own selfish purposes to serve even in the hour of the country's danger.

The central belief of our race is the trust of mankind in order, as the divine conqueror of chaos and eternal night. A famous poet tells us that "order is heaven's first law." And history proves the same injunction. All the civilization ever built up and treasured by mankind has rested upon the conviction that law and order. Law and order, the supports of true liberty, the firm foundations of prosperity and progress, have always ruled in the United States and they must ever be dear to the hearts of the American people. They must never be weakened or impaired unless we are ready to see all that we have carefully built up during the years of peace torn down and the country again and men forced once more into the struggle against chaos—followed by the slow and toilsome climb out of the darkness of anarchy to the height of freedom and accompanied by all the misfortunes of war, in business, finance and all economic conditions, cannot be cleared away and fully readjusted in a year and a half nor indeed in twice that time. Reconstruction must be steady and energetic, but it also demands care if it is to be of lasting value. The rise of prices, the high cost of living which reaches daily into every home, is the most pressing as the most difficult and most essential problem which confronts us. Some of the sources of this trouble can be reached by legislation, although not all, but everything that can be effected by law should be done at once. Profiteering, the grinding pressure of the vast debts and heaped up taxes which have been piled upon our shoulders and upon those of posterity. Great empires have been swept from the earth, ancient monarchies have crumbled in an hour and long established governments have tottered, fallen and passed away like a watch in the night.

Executive's Duty Cited.

The chief magistrate must understand that it is his duty not only to enforce, but to abide by the laws, the laws made by the representatives of the people and when those laws are once made they must be obeyed until the people see fit to change them. The voice of the people expressed in lawful manner through the government of the United States must be obeyed, for the government of the United States can neither suffer nor submit to any question of its authority on the part of any man or any group of men or any organized minority of the people. When free government fails, anarchy and revolution and the downfall of civilization, as we have known it, are at hand. Progress will cease and the decline to lower stages of development will have begun. True progress must rest upon the sound principles which sustain all free governments and in all progress the republican party always has been committited. Loyalty to the United States and obedience to the people's laws are the cornerstones of the republic and of all progress and must be held by every man and woman in every corner of our great land. Keep these principles sacred and untouched and all else will follow.

Let me turn first to the economic conditions, so profoundly distorted and confused by the war, which affect our daily life, as essential to business and upon which our material prosperity, and all the benefits, both mental and moral, which flow from it when honestly acquired, so largely depend. Already a beginning has been made by the republican congress, working under all the difficulties and opposition imposed by a hostile executive. Many vital economic measures and especially protective tariff legislation to guard our industries are impossible with a democratic free trader of socialistic proclivities in the White House. To accomplish such measures as these we must have, as we intend to have, a republican president in sympathy with a republican house and senate. Great reductions in expenditures have been effected, but we have been met with resistance in some of the departments and also by habits of waste backed by a maladministration, by extravagance of efficiency to political purposes, never so recklessly indulged in before, and in certain cases by an incompetency so marvelous that it would seem due to a national conspiracy if it were not for the fettering conditions an amount of work has been done which in days of peace would have been considered remarkable, but now passes almost unnoticed because great events have so crowded on each other's heels in the years of world war that the comprehension and appreciation of legislative accomplishment are well-nigh lost. Let me give a few examples of what has been accomplished.

Congress Achievements Reviewed.

The estimates have been reduced over a billion dollars. The oil leasing and water power bills, two measures of large effect and high importance which have been halting and stumbling for many years in the incapable hands of a democratic administration, have passed both houses, but the president has vetoed the water-power bill. We have passed the vocational rehabilitation act for the benefit of wounded soldiers and several acts for the disposition of war material, amended and improved the federal reserve and the farmers' loan acts. We have cared for the soldiers of the civil war, straitened in their old age through the rise in prices by an increase in their pensions. The civil service retirement law, a long deferred act of justice to faithful servants of the government, has been passed. We have been obliged to restore the army and navy to a peace footing, a work as difficult as it was necessary. We have met this by two most important measures, the army and navy pay bill and the law for the reorganization of the army on a peace basis. Two of the most important acts of any period, the shipping act for the up-building of the American marine and the settlement of the affairs of the shipping board and the law establishing the budget, a great measure of economic and sound financial administration, are conspicuous as our latest achievements.

The budget bill was vetoed by the president at the last moment on the ground that it interfered with his power of appointment and removal.

The list of beneficial laws, passed under adverse circumstances, might be largely extended did not time forbid. But these are enough to show the far-reaching results of the labors of the congress whose time is but little more than half spent. Some of the master minds of the democratic party are now chirruping away like incessant little birds that the republicans have done nothing." I should be glad, omitting the two years of war when both parties worked together, to put the recorded accomplishments of the five years of complete democratic control beside that of our 18 months hampered by an inimical administration. Let me assure you that we do not fear the comparison.

Much to Be Done.

We have made a remarkable beginning, but we are fully conscious that it is only a beginning. Much has been done, much more remains to do and we pledge ourselves to exert all our energies to deal with what is still undone. The wreck and confusion of a great war, in business, finance and all economic conditions, cannot be cleared away and fully readjusted in a year and a half nor indeed in twice that time. Reconstruction must be steady and energetic, but it also demands care if it is to be of lasting value. The rise of prices, the high cost of living which reaches daily into every home, is the most pressing as the most difficult and most essential problem which confronts us. Some of the sources of this trouble can be reached by legislation, although not all, but everything that can be effected by law should be done at once. Profiteering, the charging of extortionate and unjustified prices, which is stupid as well as unlawful, are subject now to ample punitive laws. Those laws should be enforced, others if necessary, added and the offenders, both great and small, should be pursued and punished, not in the headlines of newspapers after the manner of the present attorney-general, but quietly, thoroughly and efficiently, in the courts of the United States. Something more in this direction can be accomplished by the proper regulation of cold storage and a bill for that purpose has passed both houses and is now in conference.

Another deep-seated cause of the rise of prices, more effective in its results although less obvious than profiteering, is the abnormal increase per capita of the circulating medium. This has doubled since the war began, and if in the space of a few years the amount of the circulating medium is doubled it has a most profound effect in stimulating and advancing prices. During the war credits have been enormously inflated and there have been large additions to the currency through the federal reserve banks. Here it is possible to check the advance of prices by law. We can provide for the control of credits in such manner as to give preference to the most essential products. We are also able to reduce the amount of the circulating medium in the form of federal reserve bank notes, the authority having been given during the war to issue a little more than three-quarters of one and three-quarter billions of dollars. There was universal dissatisfaction with the government management and it was a just dissatisfaction. The experiment failed and should not be renewed.

Mexican Situation Reviewed.

From domestic affairs, which I have only touched upon briefly, let us turn to foreign questions, to our relations with the world of other nations. Look first at one of the most pressing importance just beyond our own borders. Look at Mexico. For seven years the United States has been pursuing, under the direction of the president, a policy of "watchful waiting." The president saw fit to intervene in Mexico. As a matter of fact, he made war upon Mexico, for in the taking of Vera Cruz we lost some 120 men in killed and wounded and several hundred unregarded. Incidental Mexicans were also either wounded or killed in the conflict. We went there to exact an apology for the treatment of some of our sailors at Tampico. The apology has never been given, but General Huerta was driven from power, which was the president's real purpose, and Mexico then fell into a state of anarchy which, growing constantly worse, has continued to this day. The president saw fit to recognize Carranza, who was chosen by a military junta, as political chief, thus furnishing an essential support to the Carranza government and what has been our reward? Our 600 Americans have been murdered in Mexico, some under circumstances of great brutality. For these murders no reparation has been made. Decorated by endless futile and useless notes they have gone on unrebuked. To have been an American citizen in Mexico added to a man's danger. The words, "I am an American citizen" instead of being a protection as they ought to be, were a signal for evil to the world, were an absolute peril to any one who was entitled to that high distinction. Mexico teemed with German plots. The Mexican government, largely the offspring of Mr. Wilson's recognition, did not support us in the war, but gave aid so far as it was possible to the cause of our enemies. We still continued to support Carranza. His government sent agents into this country to foment industrial trouble and to bring on strikes. They allied themselves with the Industrial Workers of the World, with Bolshevist and anarchist elements. Nothing was done by the United States. Carranza insulted the American government in every possible way and still nothing was done. We fell so low that when an American was seized by one of the many bands of brigands and held for ransom all that the government of the United States would do was to offer to be the channel for conveying the ransom of their citizens to the highwaymen who had seized them. The mere statement seems incredible, but it is in exact accordance with the facts in the case. Still nothing was done and we watched and waited. Naturally we lost our prestige and influence. What, far more important, we lost the respect of the Mexican people by the manner in which we submitted to every sort of insult and outrage.

Waiting Should Cease.

We have watched and waited long enough. It is time that this condition, disgraceful to us and ruinous to Mexico, should cease. We need a firm hand at the helm. We need a firm hand who will think not only of the rights of the United States, but of the welfare of Mexico. The Mexican people would not resent the intervention of the republican party. The United States if it only would help to bring them peace under a president of their own choosing. The great mass of the Mexican people like us and would welcome us. They long to be able to sleep in peace and not be subject to pillage and outrage. Thousands of them look to us for help. Let us give them the chance to have a president some strong and upright man who is friendly to the United States and determined to establish order and then let the United States give him a real and cordial support, and so strengthen and uphold him that he will be able to exterminate the bandits and put an end to the unceasing civil war. The chaos in the present Mexico has ruined one of the finest and most valuable countries on the face of the earth. We must watch and wait no longer. We must have a firm hand, a policy and who will act. Nothing can ever be accomplished under the Wilson administration or an administration in sympathy with it. Their record of years of hopeful failure in Mexico has been unbroken for seven years. The time has come to put an end to this Mexican situation which is a shame to the United States and a disgrace to our civilization. If we are to take part in pacifying and helping the world, let us begin here at home in Mexico. If we seek and protect the Monroe Doctrine against Europe, as we must for our own safety, we must also accept and fulfill the duties and responsibilities which the doctrine imposes.

Duty Is Near Home.

The president has been unable or unwilling to do anything for Mexico, where civil war has raged for years, where anarchy exists and where the people are suffering. But he thinks it our duty to take a mandate for Armenia which would involve our sending an army there for an indefinite time and which would cost, including the army and civil expenditures, $275,000,000 for the first year, besides entangling us in all the quarrels and intrigues of Asia Minor and the surrounding countries. Mexico lies at our doors. It is a primary duty for us to deal with it under the Monroe Doctrine, but nothing has been done and yet we are asked to take a mandate for Armenia. The American people have a deep sympathy for Armenia. They have already given over $40,000,000 for the relief of these ancient and suffering people, a brave and gallant people who deserve assistance and who have established a government. We are anxious to help them in all reasonable ways and no doubt shall do so, but to take a mandate to control, protect and govern that country would involve our sending our sons and brothers to serve and sacrifice their lives in Armenia for an indefinite time. This is a mandate which we, in the senate of the United States, think should not be undertaken lightly. We do not shrink from the responsibilities of the league of nations and all the wars in which it may be engaged without our being a member of the league. That proposition is not only answer is a plain refusal. On the other hand, what the president has neglected—a like condition among an unfortunate people very near us—we must take up and by a wise and firm policy restore Mexico to the position which she ought to occupy and thereby help and relieve her people and to benefit the world and extend the reign of peace.

As the great war in Europe passed Mexico into the background and turned the thoughts of men away from it, so there is at this moment another great question of our relations to the civilized world which overshadows every other. When the armistice with Germany was signed the course to be pursued was clear. It was urged by republican senators before the armistice and immediately afterwards. That course was to make the peace with Germany at once and then take up for reasonable consideration the question of establishing such future relations with our associates in the war as would make for the future peace of the world. If this had been done we could have had full peace with Germany many months after the armistice. This Mr. Wilson prevented.

Wilson's Course Recalled.

We went to Europe with the greatest opportunity for large service to the world ever offered to any one man. He insisted on going himself, for he trusted no one else. We then had the confidence, the gratitude and the friendship of every European nation which, thanks to the president, we possess no longer. If Mr. Wilson had said: "We came here to help you win this war in defense of civilization; the war is won. All we now insist upon is that Germany shall be put in such a position as not to be able again to threaten the peace and freedom of mankind. Our own existence in the American hemisphere we will care for ourselves. We have interests in the far east which we shall wish to have protected, and your own European questions you must settle and we will accept the settlement to which you agree. We are not here seeking territory or to dictate what you shall do in regard to either territory or boundaries."

Then indeed we should have been entitled to the gratitude of the world not only for the decisive services in the war but for generous assistance in making a lasting peace. But Mr. Wilson did not do this. He had apparently only one aim, to be the maker of a league of which he should be the head. He was determined that there should be a league of nations then and there, and in order to nullify the powers of the senate given by the constitution of the United States he decided to make the league an integral part of the treaty of peace with Germany. Thus he presented to the senate and intended to present a dilemma from which he believed there was no escape. In order to have peace with Germany he meant to compel the senate to accept with it the league of nations. It was indeed a difficult situation which he thus created. But republican senators believed their duty to be clear before them and did not shrink from fulfilling it. Thirty-nine of them in March, 1919, signed a statement setting forth that the first draft of the league as Mr. Wilson brought it back, announcing that it must be taken just as it stood, could not be accepted by the senate in that form.

Warning Was Ignored.

The president returned to Europe with this warning before him and before the world. He admitted a few slight changes in the covenant, for the most part unimportant, and some of which made the second draft worse than the first. He forced the allied and associated powers to yield to his demand that the covenant of the league should be interwoven with the treaty of peace. To accomplish this he surrendered the principle of the freedom of the seas—whatever that may have been—to Great Britain and he made promises and concessions to France—not yet fulfilled—which brought him the French support. Having thus carried his point abroad, he brought the treaty with Germany home and laid it before the senate. To the great mass of the American people he said: "This covenant of the league of nations will bring to the world a lasting peace." Everyone desired lasting peace and without pausing to consider or even to read the covenant, thousands upon thousands of good people united in the demand that the senate ratify and take the league at once and without consideration, just as it stood. The republicans of the senate, perceiving the dangers of the league, determined to resist Mr. Wilson's demand even at the cost of delaying the treaty of peace with Germany. They felt that the one thing necessary was to have the people understand the peril, that they might realize what it meant and what it threatened. So the long debate began and it has lasted for more than a year. At the outset that portion of the people who wished an instantaneous and unqualified acceptance of a covenant, which most of them had never read, had possession in large measure of the press and other methods of obtaining publicity and thus were able to keep up a continual cry for immediate ratification. The vocal part of the community fell almost universally, as they listened to each other's voices, that the whole country was with them, but they forgot the great silent mass behind these people who went silently about their work and their business, who did not write letters to the newspapers or publish circulars or send millions in spreading their views through powerful organs and active associations, but who simply loved their country and thought first of the interests of America. The debate in the senate spread to them. They read the speeches, they listened to the arguments, and, what was far more important, they began to read and discuss the covenant of the league themselves, in the street, by the fireside, wherever men and women meet and they began to understand the league. They began to know what it meant. They saw it was an alliance and not a league for peace. They saw it was not what it pretended to be. The League conventions which we all desired to have restored as foundations for further extensions did nothing for the development of international law, nothing for world court and judicial decisions and nothing looking towards an agreement as to dealing with international questions, or makes real advances toward promoting peace, these constructive measures were all disregarded and the only court mentioned was pushed into a dark corner.

Alliance Was Threatening.

The people began to perceive with an intense earnestness that this alliance, silent as to real peace agreements, contained clauses which threatened the very existence of the United States as an independent power—threatened its sovereignty, threatened its peace, threatened its life. The masses of the people began to realize. Public opinion steadily changed and today the number of Americans who would be willing to accept the covenant of the league of nations as it came from the president is negligible. The American people will never accept that alliance with foreign nations proposed by the president. The president meantime has remained inflexible. He is determined to have that treaty as he brought it back or nothing, and that imperious demand the people will reply in tones which can not be misunderstood. No man who thinks of America first need fear the answer.

The President's letter.

Mr. Wilson said in a recent letter to Senator Hitchcock:

"For my own part, I am not willing to trust the fortunes of diplomats the working out of any salvation of the world from the things which it has suffered." And he said this in behalf of the democratic party. Yesterday will be diplomats and politicians. They will act in behalf of the interests of their respective countries, and they will make no special effort about them. Help the league of every nation which involves the action of political representatives in the assembly and in the council and you leave but one article in which the diplomats of the league as such will have no power.

Force Is Embodied.

That is the famous article 10. Most of the league covenant was prepared by General Smuts of South Africa, but Article 10 was the work of the president of the United States. It is true that this article is free from the diplomatic, but it rests entirely upon naked force. In that way peace is to be preserved and the nations freed from war by multiplying the opportunities for the use of force. Each individual nation is bound by article 10 to go to war for the protection of the territorial integrity and political independence of every other nation in the world at the time of signature; that is, for the protection of states, some of which are not yet formed, nations established under the protection of boundaries which no man can define. We were to give such a guarantee and any of the countries in the league of nations in event of exterior aggression could have demanded our armed assistance and our soldiers and sailors must then have gone forth at the command of foreign countries unless we shattered all hope of world peace by breaking a solemn moral obligation. The republicans of the senate, no matter what the future might be, had where determined that the covenant containing that article unmodified should never be ratified. It became every day clearer to them that the alliance called a league of nations, instead of being a guarantee for the world peace, was a breeder of war and an enemy of peace. We studied it as a lawyer. We found we desired to have some league, if possible, which should be a genuine league of peace—one that would keep us out of war, one that would not permit the country to be at peace, an exercise of executive power never contemplated by the constitution.

There the story ends. We have stopped Mr. Wilson's treaty and the question goes to the people. In 1916 Mr. Wilson won on the cry that "he had kept us out of war." He now demands the approval of the American people for his party and his administration on the ground that he has kept us out of peace.

Patriotic Duty Performed.

We of the senate believe that we have performed a high and patriotic duty, and we ask you, representatives of the republican party, to approve our course and stand by what we have done. The next act will fill a larger stage and the people will decide between us and the president. The league must be discussed in every district and in every state, and we desire to have the verdict so clearly given that no man who seeks to represent the people in the senate or in the house or in any place or any degree can have the slightest doubt as to his duty. We make the issue; we ask approbation for what we have done. The people will now tell us what they think of Mr. Wilson's league and its sacrifice of America.

Peace came to Europe, with its wars and disputes, its changing governments and fleeting boundaries, which we are asked to guarantee, will instruct the people from day to day, and we confidently leave the future and the protection of their sons and brothers and of the country's rights in their hands. That future may be troubled, but the country knows well in what spirit we shall meet it—a spirit as different from that of the president as day from night.

The people understand the story; they know Mr. Wilson's, and they will choose between them. They will tear aside the veil of words woven to blind and deceive and come down to the essential and vital point—Mr. Wilson's plan on one side, the independence and safety of the United States on the other. To determine aright that question involving the fate and fortunes of the United States, all republicans, all Americans, must join together and in their own arguments defeat Mr. Wilson's league as he desires it, whether amended by him or in its pristine simplicity. We must all fight side by side to keep safe and untouched the sovereignty, the independence, the welfare of the United States.

Isolation Deemed Impossible.

We hear the timid cry that America will be isolated. Have no fear. The United States cannot be isolated. The world needs us far, too much. We have turned a deaf ear to the cry of suffering humanity, to the call of duty. It must be done in our own way, freely and without constraint from abroad.

With no outside help since the revolution we have made our country what it is today. We shall march on and and not neglect our duty to the world. When we were called to the defense of freedom and civilization in 1917 we did not for the first time throw great weight into the wavering scale and we were all the more effective, all the more beneficent, because we went without alliance and of our own free will, as we should always go to help mankind. Let us stand fast by the principles and policies which have made us what we are and against, utterly against, those of Mr. Wilson. We must be now and ever for Americanism and nationalism, and against internationalism. Never forget that there is no hope that we can be of service to the world, if we do otherwise.

One word more before I close. During all the tedious weeks and months of the protracted struggle to save America from what we conceived to be the dire perils lurking in the covenant of the league of nations which Mr. Wilson presented to us, no party was scarcely ever mentioned, nor was the effect of our action upon the party considered. In the spirit I think our success was largely due. We made up our minds as to what our duties and our general policy ought to be and then the question of party took the best way in which that duty could be performed.

Republican Mind Made Up.

I believe that the great party which represent the people made up its mind as to its attitude upon Mr. Wilson's league and all that is carried with it of danger and of menace. In making our contest before the people let us think of what the public interest, the future existence of the United States demand, without any consideration of party effect. When we put the word "gold" into our platform in 1896 we took from the ordinary political point of view great risks, but we were in the deepest confident in the justice of our cause and won. The way to assure victory now is to remember always what Mr. Wilson and his party threatened not only in the past but in regard to the very foundations of our government. Let us for our part think of nothing except our cause and with that great end clearly in view, let us go forward with indifference "the lesser chances and inferior hopes which in the meantime so pouring pass." So thinking, so believing, we must win because the fight we are making is for the right.

Let us also in the battle we are to wage make no promises which cannot be performed, let us not imitate the democrats, who pledged themselves to reduce the cost of living by lowering the tariff when they saw for every tariff must have known that their pledge was impossible of fulfillment, that the high cost of living could not be affected in that way and yet they were then and there aware of the falsity of their position. Let us not promise any millenniums or pledge our faith to the performance of impossibilities. Let us simply lay before the people our principles and policies, policies which are at once vigorous and practical, and then pledge ourselves to the utmost to carry those policies into effect. This we can do, and we should bind ourselves no further. If the righteousness of our cause will not prevail, false promises or delusive hopes will be of any avail.

Let us be true to our highest traditions because in them we shall find both an inspiration and a guide. Let past dimensions among ourselves be relegated to history and forgotten by us. Let all honest differences as to means and methods, if there are such, be set aside until November in order that the great and overruling purpose in which we all agree and which we long to achieve may be attained. Make our declaration of principles so broad, so devoted to the one supreme object, that all may accept it with all honor and with confidence in its justice of our cause and won. The way to assure victory now is to remember always what Mr. Wilson and his party threatened not only in the past but in regard to the very foundations of our government. Let us for our part think of nothing except our cause and with that great end clearly in view, let us go forward with indifference "the lesser chances and inferior hopes which in the meantime so pouring pass." So thinking, so believing, we must win because the fight we are making is for the right.

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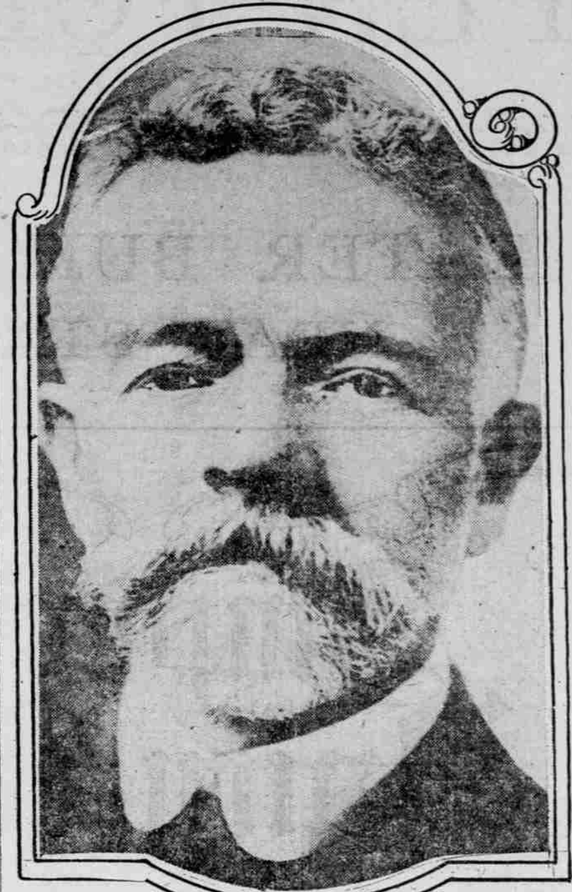
MAN WHO DELIVERED REPUBLICAN KEYNOTE ADDRESS.



SENATOR HENRY CABOT LODGE, TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.

ISSUES FACING NATION AS SEEN BY SENATOR LODGE

President Wilson and his "dynasty" must be driven from power and his league of nations defeated.

Unitaded States must take firm hand in Mexico and end the "disgraceful record" of the last seven years.

Return of democrats to power with Wilson or one of his disciples master of party would be step toward autocracy.

Government by a single man or by a group of men or by an organized minority must never be permitted.

Profiteering is stupid as well as unlawful and is subject to simple punitive laws, which should be enforced.

The most essential remedy for the present high cost of living is to keep up and increase production.

Government ownership of railroads would bring about mastery of government by those controlling transportation.

American people will never accept the alliance with foreign nations proposed by President Wilson.

If republican party fails to grapple with conditions Russian descent into barbarism will draw near.

BODY BELIEVED AMERICAN

U. S. Officer Thought to Have Drowned Near Feldkirch, Austria.

BERNE, Switzerland, June 8.—A body believed to be that of an American officer was found yesterday in the Ill river near the Feldkirch, Austria, by fishermen.

It is believed the man was drowned while