Lodge in Rhetorical Plea to Return Republican Party to Power

REPUBLICANS ARE HAILED AS PARTY SAVIOR OF NATION

Coliseum, Chicago, June 8.—United States Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, delivering the Republican keynote speech at the national convention today, pledged his party to Americanism and Nationalism; denounced the policy of Internationalism, and urged his followers to turn their attention to the solution of domestic problems. He spoke as follows:

We are met here to take the first, the most decisive step in the political campaign which is to determine the party control of this great 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 "upon this bank 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 methods of taking human life, which battened 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 find ourselves gazing upon 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 wherever the battles were fought. Countless little mounds mark the resting places of the dead in the fields and on the hillsides torn and gashed by shot and shell. Signals of mourning throughout the world tell us of the irreparable losses of all nations, which have swept away such an appalling portion of the youth of every land, those in whom were garnered up 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 return not 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 side of 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.

VICTIMS OF THE WAR

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 aught that makes 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.

In the shock 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 more even than law hold society together, were swept aside. One passion, one purpose—to save the country, to save civilization, to preserve freedom—rose supreme. It 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 work 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.

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 burdensome and they themselves possessed by a longing for excitement and a hunger for change unknown before. One sees the result in the restlessness which is everywhere; in the mere trifles 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.

DEMOCRATS ATTACKED

This state of mind 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, looking facts always in the face and determined to do their best—never promising what they cannot perform and never yielding to the facile temptations of momentary success.

One of our great political parties has failed to meet—nay, is in a considerable measure responsible for, the perilous condition 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.

WILSON HELD TO BLAME

In order to render 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 the executive authority. To this end Mr. Wilson and his dynasty, his heirs and assigns, or anybody that is his, anybody who with been 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 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.

OLD PATHS FORSAKEN

The peril inseparable from Mr. Wilson and his system goes far beyond all party divisions, for it involves the fundamentl 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 plebiscite carried by repellent methods. 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. 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 regain 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, whatever party 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.

FIRST DUTY AS AMERICANS

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

The earliest beliefs of men reveal 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 repeats the same injunction. All the civilization ever built up and treasured by mankind has rested upon the establishment of 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 have been very 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 go down in ruin 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 accomplishment. 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. Tyranny lurks in them all and true freedom withers when they ascend the throne. There must be but one law in this country and that is the law framed by the men chosen by the people themselves to make the laws. 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 will of the people, expressed in lawful manner through the government of the United States, must be supreme, for the government of the United States can neither suffer revolt not submit to any question of its authority on the part of any man or any group of men or any minority of the people.

AFTER EFFECTS OF WAR

When free government fails, autocracy 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 and proceed from the sound principles which sustain all free government and to such progress the Republican party always has been committed. Loyalty to the United States and obedience to the people's laws are the corner stones of the republic and should be sustained and upheld by every man and woman in every corner of our great land. Keep these principles sacred and untouched and all the rest will follow.

Let me turn first to the economic conditions, so profoundly distorted and confused by the war, which affect our daily life, are essential to our 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 a 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 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 departments and also by habits of waste backed by maladministration, by sacrifice of efficiency to political purposes, never so recklessly indulged in before and in certain cases by an incompetency so marvelous that it cannot be due to nature but must be the result of art. Yet despite all these 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 accomplishments are well nigh lost. Let me give a few examples of what has been accomplished.

BILLS PASSED BY CONGRESS

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 majority, 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, very necessary to our finances. We have amended and improved the federal reserve and the farmers' loan acts. We have provided 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 upbuilding of the American marine and the settlement of the affairs of the shipping board and the law establishing the budget, a great measure of economy 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 this 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 accomplishment 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.

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 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.

INFLATION HELD EVIL

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 increase the issue of these notes from two billions to four billions. It should be one of the first acts of congress to deal with this essential point and it would have a marked effect in reducing prices by steadying them and bringing them down to a lower and more normal level.

REMEDY LIES IN PRODUCTION

The most potent remedy of all against advances in the high cost of living, however, lies in production, which cannot be reached directly by statutes. If production begins to fail and fall off, the cost of everything will be advanced by the simple force of scarcity which inevitably drives prices upward. The most essential remedy for high costs is to keep up and increased production and particularly should every effort be made to advance the productivity of the farms. Just how much the government can do in this direction is uncertain, but it can aid and support and if anything can be done it must not be omitted or overlooked. At the same time it must not be forgotten that there is a vast difference between the powers of the national government in time of war and those which it possesses in time of peace. The normal limitations of times of peace restrict very much the powers of the general government and in helping to increase the productivity of the farms, which must be done through government action, the Republican party promises to use every power in this direction, whether within the state or federal jurisdiction.

I have touched upon this matter of prices and the high cost of living because it is altogether the most important domestic question now before the country and one to which the Republican party should address itself without delay in every direction where help is possible. There are, of course, as I have said, many other important economic questions to be dealt with, as speedily as may be, but the time allotted to me makes it impossible to touch upon them all.

RAILROAD ACT PRAISED

There is, however, one measure which cannot be passed over, a single great law which has been enacted and which in any period would be sufficient to distinguish a congress as one of high accomplishment. This is the railroad act. For six months able committees in both houses, committees where no party line was drawn, toiled day after day upon this most intricate of problems. There was much serious debate in both senate and house and then the bill, signed by the president, became law. No doubt time and experience will show that improvements in the act can be made, but in the main it is a remarkable piece of legislation and in general principles is entirely sound, and nothing could be more unfair than to criticize the present owners contending with the legacy of mismanagement, waste and confusion bequeathed by the government when it returned the roads only three months ago.

The railroad law possesses also an importance wholly distinct from its provisions, which have been framed with extreme care. This act declares a national policy and, so far as any law can do it, establishes that policy as a rule of action. The policy embodied in the bill concedes at the outset that it is of course impossible to return to the old system or lack of system in the management of railroads. They must henceforth be under thorough government supervision and also the government must have over them a large measure of control. The transportation system of the country can no longer be suffered to continue without such supervision and control. But the policy also represents the principle that the government must not assume the ownership of the railroads. Their operation and management must be left in private ownership. 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.

MEXICAN PROBLEM

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 of any other industries which come into government possession. The rights of the general body of men who own 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. That is a very perilous position for a representative democracy. Our government must not be dominated by any one man or any class or any selected body of men who represent a part of the people and not the whole people. Moreover, in the United States, government ownership wherever applied to an industry, whether it involves transportation or telegraphic and telephone communication or shipbuilding or manufacturing, is a very inefficient and wasteful system, badly managed and certain to be intolerably burdensome to the taxpayers. This point it is not necessary to argue because the country through the demands of war turned the railroads over to the government and we have had the painful privilege of observing the performance which followed. The government management which ensued was inefficient, the railroads were wretchedly conducted and money was squandered with a prodigality which nothing can defend. During the time in which the government undertook to manage the railroads they sustained, despite a generous increase in freight rates, a loss of over $1,000,000 a day, and the total payments out of the treasury to support the railroads have reached the enormous sum of $750,000,000. There was universal dissatisfaction with the government management and it was a just dissatisfaction. The experiment failed and should not be renewed.

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."

APOLOGY STILL DUE

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, yet he thus furnished an essential support to the Carranza government and what has been our reward? Over 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 unchecked. 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, in every corner of the world, were an absolute peril to anyone 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. Yet 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 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 some cases. Still nothing was done and we watched and waited. Naturally we lost our influence in Mexico and what was 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.

NEED OF A FIRM HAND

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 man 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 influence or intervention of the United States if it would only help to bring them peace under a president of their own choosing. The great mass of the Mexican people wish to work and earn money. They long to be able to sleep in peace and not to be subject to pillage and outrage. Thousands of them look to us for help. 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 which has well nigh completely 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 man who has a policy and who will act. Nothing can ever be accomplished under the Wilson administration or any administration in sympathy with it. Their miserable record of hopeless 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 assert 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 that doctrine imposes.

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 millions 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 those starving and suffering people, a brave and gallant people who deserve assistance and who have established a government. We are anxious to help Armenia 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. It is a plan to get us involved in 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. To such a proposition the only answer is a plain refusal. On the other hand what the president has neglected—a like condition among an unfortunate people at our very doors—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 so benefit the world and extend the reign of peace.

As the great war in Europe pushed Mexico into the background and turned the thoughts of all 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 consid-

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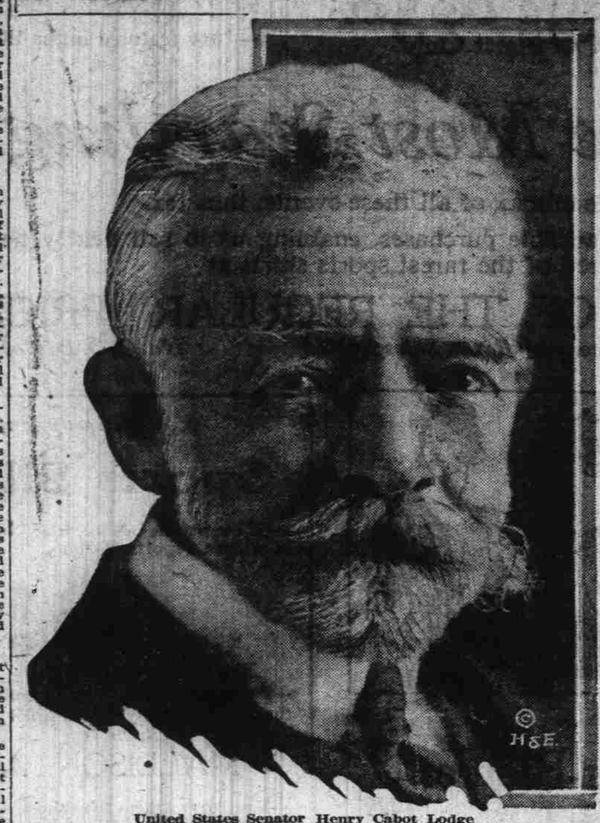
LEADER SOUNDS G. O. P. KEYNOTE



United States Senator Henry Cabot Lodge

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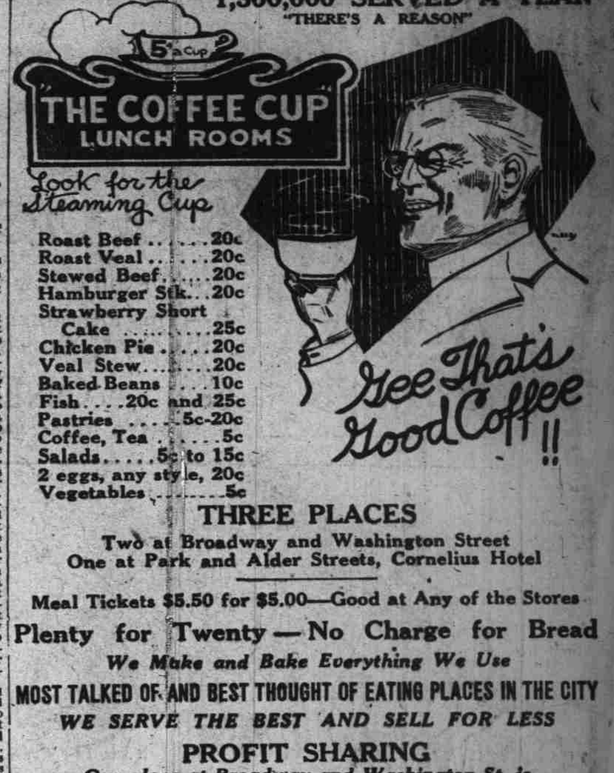

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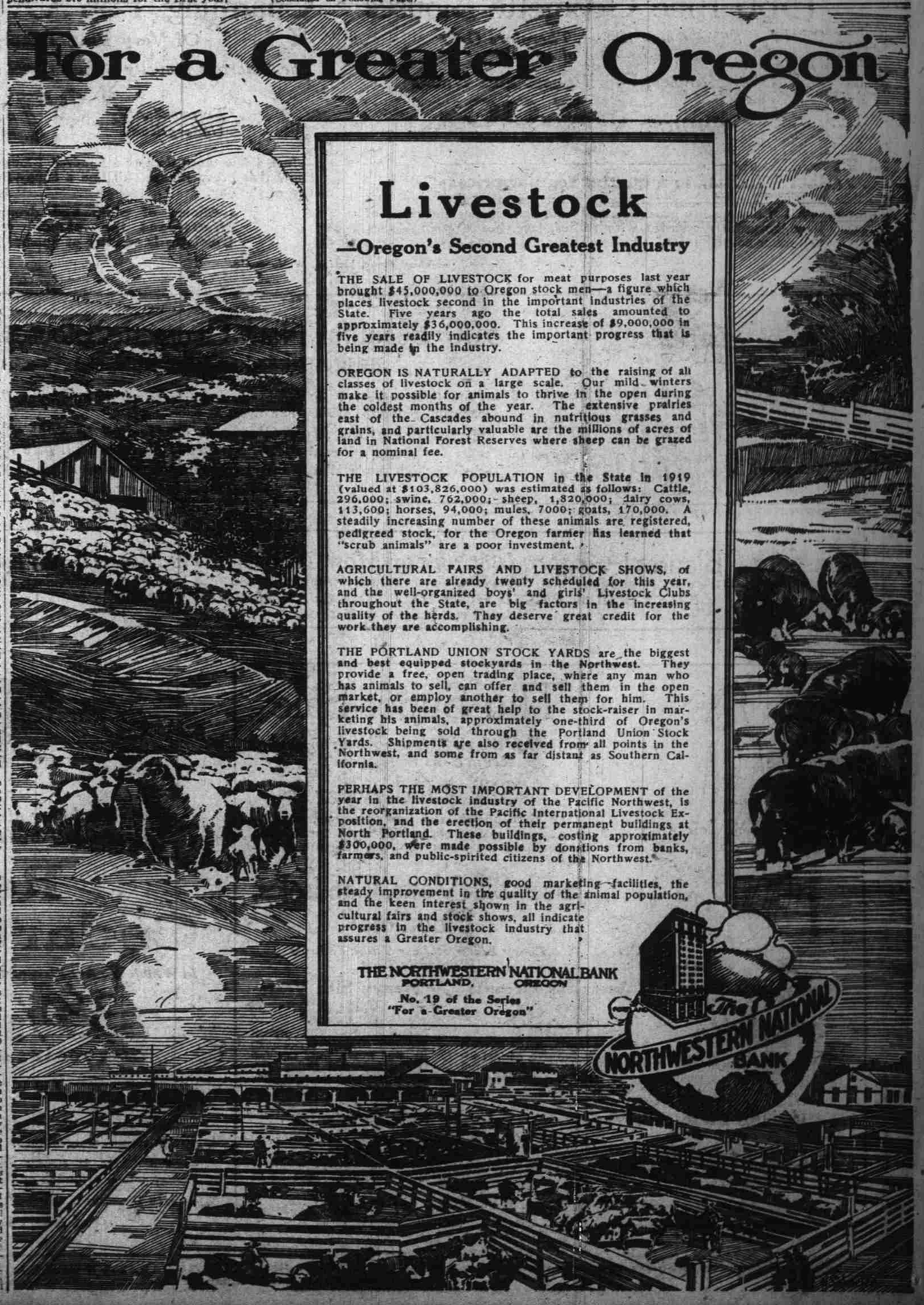
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