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"No one can serve her (Massachusetts) with deeper
love or greater loyalty."

Symphony Hall Speech, Jan. 3, 1911

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HENRY CABOT LODGE

Majority Leader of the United States Senate and Chairman of the Committee
on Foreign Relations.

To the Voters of Massachusetts:

This pamphlet is a review in brief of the public services of United States Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, with especial reference to his position on various matters that came before the Senate since his last election in November, 1916. This period, including the two years immediately preceding, constitutes an epoch in the history of the country.

During a part of this time Senator Lodge was, as he is today, the leader of the majority party in the Senate. How he met his responsibilities in the great crisis through which the country passed is a matter of public record.

This record is herewith presented to the end that the voters in Massachusetts at the election this Autumn shall mark their ballots with a clear understanding of the influential place Senator Lodge holds in Washington and of the character of service he gave to his State and to his country in these trying years.

THE REPUBLICAN CLUB OF MASSACHUSETTS,

GEORGE A. RICH, *President*

EARL E. DAVIDSON, *Secretary*

Boston, Mass.,

May 15, 1922.

LOYALTY AND GRATITUDE TO MASSACHUSETTS.

"No matter what the future may have in store, that gratitude which comes from my heart can never be either chilled or lessened.

"Every tradition of our great state is dear to me, every page of her history is to me a household word. To her service I have given the best years of my life and the best that was in me to give. I hope that I have not been an altogether unprofitable servant. I have given my all; no man can give more. Others may well serve her with greater ability than I. I fervently hope there will be many such in the days to come, when her light will still shine before men as it now shines with steady radiance in the pages of history. Others may easily serve her better than I in those days yet to be, but of this I am sure: that no one can serve her with deeper love or greater loyalty."—*Senator Lodge* in his Symphony Hall speech, Jan. 3, 1911.

MASSACHUSETTS NOW, AS IN THE PAST, LEADS AT WASHINGTON

In the selection of a United States Senator this year the voters of Massachusetts will consider how the interests of the Nation and the Commonwealth can best be served.

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge is a candidate for re-election. He is the Republican leader of the Senate and the ranking member of that body in **length and continuity of service**. To those who know how rigidly the traditional rule of seniority is applied in Congress it is inconceivable that the voters of the State will supplant Senator Lodge with a new man.

To do so would mean a **loss to Massachusetts in prestige and influence at Washington** that might not be regained in a generation.

The selection of the American Delegates to the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armament furnishes a recent and notable example of the established custom of recognizing long and distinguished service in Congress.

Senator Lodge and Senator Underwood were named by President Harding as American Delegates to represent the United States. Each had been in Congress more than a quarter of a century. Senator Underwood was the leader of his party in the House and is the minority leader in the Senate.

Senator Lodge was chosen not solely because he is the majority leader. In his case that might well have been a secondary consideration in the mind of the President.

Senator Lodge is the chairman of the committee on Foreign Relations and an admitted authority on international affairs. His experience and familiarity with matters affecting the foreign relations of the United States eminently qualified him and made his appointment wholly logical and fitting. Neither Senator Lodge nor Senator Underwood would have been drafted for this great work if they had been untried and their statesmanship not proven.

In advocating the principles of the Republican party in Washington and in his home State, Senator Lodge has been a hard-hitting fighter, but Democrats and Republicans at the Capital agree that his partisanship always "ends at the water's edge."

On all matters affecting the international relations of the United States Senator Lodge is held at Washington as an **uncompromising advocate** of the **rights of American citizens on land and sea**.

SENATOR LODGE ELECTED FOR HIS FIFTH TERM

Senator Lodge was elected to the Senate for his fifth consecutive term in the Autumn of 1916. At a joint session of Congress, Feb. 3, 1917, the President announced he had severed diplomatic relations with Germany. Four days later, the Committee on Foreign Relations reported to the Senate a resolution approving the action of the President.

In urging the Senate to give to the Administration united support Senator Lodge **reached the heights of non partisanship and loyalty to country** and emphasized the constitutional authority of the President to conduct, short of actual declaration of war, the foreign relations of the United States.

"Under these circumstances, so far as I am concerned, party lines vanish, and any criticism of the past or any criticism of the present is silenced for me," said Senator Lodge in his speech. . . . "There is one step more important than any other, if we are to preserve our peace under existing conditions, and that is to show to the people of the country that we are without divisions at this moment. . . .

"My earnest hope is that at this time personal feelings, political feelings, political enmities will be laid aside, that we will **remember only** that we are **citizens of a common country**, and that we are all Americans . . . and let that nation (Germany) and the world know that

when the President speaks, as he has spoken, he has the Congress of the United States, and the people of the United States, no matter what their race or origin, behind him in the **one simple character of American citizens.**"

THE RIGHTS OF NEUTRALS

The necessity of maintaining and guarding the rights of American citizens was emphasized by Senator Lodge at frequent intervals in the Senate during the pre-war period.

The sinking by German submarines of unarmed merchant ships, with the loss of American men, women and children, was the subject of a brief, extemporaneous speech by Senator Lodge on Dec. 10, 1915, which was applauded the country over.

Speaking on a resolution calling for an investigation by the Committee on Foreign Relations upon the law and the facts involved in the attacks and the destruction of several merchant ships, including the *Lusitania* Senator Lodge said:

"I think Americans should be protected in their lives and in their liberty everywhere. I do not think they ought to be murdered in detail

in Mexico or openly and wholesale on the high seas. Although I am as anxious as anyone can be to care for our rights in trade if they are violated, to me

American lives are more important than American dollars. The body of an American child floating dead on the water, the victim of the destruction of an unarmed vessel, is to me a **more poignant and a more tragic spectacle than an unsold bale of cotton.**"

In common with many Americans Senator Lodge realized, long before the actual declaration of war with Germany, that the United States would be compelled, unless hostilities ceased, to join the Allies and become an active participant in the struggle in Europe.

With a vision unclouded by the propaganda of pacifists Senator Lodge constantly urged the country to prepare and thus make certain its own ultimate peace, security and freedom.

WAR WITH GERMANY

The United States entered the war April 6, 1917, this step being the inevitable sequel to the severance of diplomatic relations with Germany. Senator Lodge at that time was the ranking Republican member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and spokesman of the minority party on the floor.

During the progress of the war Senator Lodge, in every act and utterance, **steadfastly supported the war policies of the Administration.**

His first speech was co-incident with the adoption of the Senate Joint Resolution declaring war with Germany. This was made in the Senate April 4, 1917.

Sorrowfully, but with hope and courage, Senator Lodge saw his country compelled to enter the war. He frankly declared there were some things worse for a nation than war.

"National degeneracy is worse; national cowardice is worse," said Senator Lodge. "The division of our people into race groups, striving to direct the course of the United States in the interest of some other country when we should have but one allegiance, one hope and one tradition is far worse."

Believing that **human liberty, the principles of democracy, modern civilization** and even the **independence and security of the Nation** were at stake, Senator Lodge called for the utilization to

the utmost of every resource and all the energies of the Republic in the prosecution of the war.

Senator Lodge advised that **10,000 American Regulars be sent at once to France**, in advance of the great Army that would follow, for the moral effect the presence of these soldiers would have on the flagging spirits of the Allied troops.

"We seek no conquests, we desire no territory and no new dominions," said Senator Lodge in concluding this speech. "We wish simply to preserve our own **peace and security** What we want most of all is to **secure the world's peace, broad-based on freedom and democracy**, a world controlled by the will of the free people of the earth."

THE ESSENTIAL TERMS OF PEACE

The United States had been in the war for more than a year and a half when the Armistice was signed, Nov. 11, 1918. During that period Congress was in session almost continuously.

In the summer of 1918 the German forces suffered severe repulses and the offensive passed into the hands of the Allied armies. Rumors of peace proposals were widespread and in constant circulation in the United States.

In a notable speech in the Senate on Aug. 23, 1918, Senator Lodge warned the country against the "insidious and poisonous peace propaganda" of Germany. To avert the danger which he believed seriously threatened a "**just and righteous peace**" Senator Lodge boldly announced to the American people the **essential terms** on which peace should be made.

These terms he enumerated in substance as follows: Restoration of Belgium; Alsace and Lorraine returned to France and the Italia Irredenta to Italy; independence for Serbia and Roumania; security for Greece; an independent Poland; Russian provinces taken by the villainous Brest-Litovsk treaty returned to Russia; Constantinople taken from Turkey and established as a free port; Palestine made safe; compensation to France and Belgium for ruthless destruction of property.

Unwavering in the conviction that the Allies should **insist on a dictated** and not a negotiated peace with Germany—fearful of a "peace of bargain, of give and take, and of arrangement"—Senator Lodge brought all the powers of his eloquence to present to the country the danger of a peace reached in that way.

"No peace that satisfies Germany in any degree can ever satisfy us," said Senator Lodge. "It cannot be a negotiated peace. As this war is utterly different from any war the world has ever known, so must the peace which concludes it be utterly different from any peace the world has ever known. The only peace for us is one that rests on unconditional surrender It must be a dictated peace and we and our Allies must dictate it."

THE TREATY OF PEACE AND THE LEAGUE COVENANT

Senator Lodge, as Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, reported to the Senate on Sept. 10, 1919, the treaty of peace with Germany, including the covenant of the league of nations, with certain amendments and reservations thereto. This document had been transmitted to the Senate by the President on July 10, 1919, eight months almost to a day, from the date of the ending of the war.

Senator Lodge regarded the treaty and covenant in the original form in which it came to the Senate from the Paris Conference as **constituting a dangerous alliance**, really dominated by three great powers, into which the United States should not enter.

The sole purpose of the amendments and reservations was to guard **American rights and American sovereignty**.

The most important **amendments** to the treaty were, first, the one designed to secure to the United States voting strength in the league assembly equal to that of any other power; second, an amendment to restore to China the German lease and rights in the Province of Shantung which the Paris treaty gave to Japan.

The **reservations** proposed to the covenant of the league were four in number as follows:

1. Unconditional right of the United States to withdraw from the league.

2. A reservation to Article 10 by which the United States declined to assume any obligation to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country or to permit American soldiers or sailors to be sent to fight in other lands **at the bidding of a league of nations**.

3. Exclusive right of the United States to decide what questions are within its own domestic jurisdiction.

4. Preservation of the Monroe doctrine from any interference or interpretation by foreign powers.

Following a prolonged debate in the Senate, running over a period of more than two months, Senator Lodge secured the adoption of the reservations as reported from the Committee on Foreign Relations.

On Nov. 19, 1919, the question being on the ratification of the treaty, Senator Lodge and 33 Republicans and seven Democrats voted in the affirmative. Thirty-eight Democrats and 13 Republicans, a total of more than one-third of the Senate, voted against ratification and the treaty failed.

Another attempt was made on March 19, 1920, to secure ratification. Again Senator Lodge and a majority of the Republicans in the Senate voted in the affirmative, and again a majority of the Democratic Senators and a minority of the Republicans joined in voting in the negative. For the second time the treaty failed of the two-thirds vote required under the constitution for ratification.

The record shows that the position of Senator Lodge on the league of nations was **always consistent**. He early announced his unalterable opposition unless changes were made that would **preserve the safety and independence** of the United States. When reservations bringing this to pass had been adopted Senator Lodge **voted to ratify the treaty each time** that question was before the Senate.

THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

Senator Lodge was selected by President Harding as one of the four delegates to represent the United States at the Conference for the Limitation of Armament. He welcomed with gratitude and high hope the opportunity thus given him to serve his country and promote the peace of the world.

The story of the Conference has been so recently written that it is unnecessary to repeat it here, save in the briefest way. Its accomplishments are not only of immediate effect but loom large "with the fate of ages yet unborn." Time alone will fully reveal the far-reaching and beneficent influence of the Washington conference on international relations.

Six treaties were negotiated by the Conference, and later ratified by the Senate, as follows:

1. A treaty between the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, with respect to the limitation of naval armament.

2. A treaty between the same Powers in relation to the use of submarines and noxious gases in warfare.

3. A treaty between the United States of America, the British Empire, France and Japan relating to their insular possessions and insular dominions in the Pacific ocean.

4. A treaty between the same Powers supplementary to the above-mentioned treaty in relation to the insular possessions and insular dominions in the Pacific ocean.

5. A treaty between the United States of America, Belgium, British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, and Portugal relating to policies in matters concerning China.

6. A treaty between the same nine Powers relating to the Chinese Customs tariff.

When President Harding transmitted these treaties to the Senate for ratification he delivered an address explaining the purpose of each. To the suggestion that the four-power Pacific treaty constituted an "alliance" of doubtful expediency for the United States the President said:

"The four-power treaty contains no war commitment. . . . There is no commitment to armed force, no alliance, no written or moral obligation to join in defense, no expressed or implied commitment to arrive at any agreement except in accordance with our constitutional methods."

In support of this treaty Senator Lodge delivered in the Senate on March 8, 1922, what was editorially characterized by the Washington Star as "one of the most impressive speeches ever heard in that forum . . . impressive for its clarity, for its logic, for its measured calmness and for its lack of exaggerated statement."

Senator Lodge made it plain that if the four-power treaty failed the other conference agreements must fail also or, remaining, be but empty shells.

The work of the Washington Conference, if the treaties had failed in the Senate, would have been of no immediate effect. The prompt ratification of the treaties is regarded as a **splendid tribute to the diligence and leadership of Senator Lodge**. The three great objectives of the American delegates—termination of the Anglo-Japanese treaty, reduction of naval armament, aid to China, including the restoration of the Province of Shantung—were all finally attained.

SENATOR LODGE'S SUPPORT OF LIBERAL MEASURES

The foregoing is an accurate, if necessarily brief, presentation of the part Senator Lodge played in the official life of the nation in a time that called for unselfish devotion and loyalty to country, and wisdom, patience and tact in legislative and political leadership.

The complete public record of Senator Lodge forms a part of the history of Massachusetts. To give it in full would require volumes.

During his Congressional career he has constantly supported laws for the **benefit of the whole people, never for the benefit of the few as against the many.** He is an unfaltering champion of a protective tariff. He believes the Republican policy of protection has developed American industry and has **enlarged and enriched American home and family life.**

Senator Lodge maintains that the application of the principles of a protective tariff means better living conditions for the millions of operatives employed in the mills and factories of the land.

Regarding child labor as one of the greatest evils of American life, Senator Lodge has consistently aided and encouraged restrictive child labor legislation.

He was especially effective as a supporter of the bill to regulate child labor in the District of Columbia when that measure was under consideration by Congress.

In the 64th Congress the child labor bill raising the age limit for compulsory school attendance and decreasing the hours of employment, which was opposed by a group of Southern Senators, had his active and earnest support.

He was among the pioneers in Congress who strongly advised and voted for the passage of **pure food laws** and the record shows he offered amendments to strengthen pending measures on that vital subject which were finally enacted into law.

When the subject of Government regulation and increased efficiency of the railroads was being discussed Senator Lodge was foremost in the fight for fair treatment for the shippers.

In the rate regulation fight, when the railroads of the country, almost without exception united to raise a great publicity fund to be used for the purpose of discrediting President Roosevelt, Senator Lodge was a staunch supporter of the Administration.

He voted for the Elkins bill, which put an end to open rebating, the greatest evil in the transportation history of the country. He took an active part in the debate and vote for the two great railroad rate bills enacted in the Roosevelt and Taft Administrations.

Senator Lodge supported and voted for the law which compelled the great Chicago packers to submit their buildings and their food products to government inspection. The law against the opium traffic was reported by Senator Lodge, who secured its enlargement and the inclusion of cocaine in the rigidly restricted list in the tariff act of 1909.

In the Congress in 1910 Senator Lodge introduced from the Committee on Wages and Prices, on which he was serving, a bill to limit the time during which articles of food could be kept in cold storage. This measure was finally enacted into law by the present Congress, thus abolishing one method commonly used by dealers in food supplies to maintain an abnormal price level.

AN EDITORIAL OPINION

From the Boston Post (Ind. Dem.), Editorial of Jan. 26, 1922:

“Senator Lodge, with whom the Boston Post has often disagreed on public questions, is the most influential man in the United States Senate His qualities as a statesman have broadened with the passing years and he deserves and will receive the compliment of a reelection if he will accept it.” “In the present troublous times a Senator of Mr. Lodge’s experience and scholarship **cannot be spared** at Washington.”

ROOSEVELT'S ENDORSEMENT

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, in the name of "common Americanism," urged the nomination of Senator Lodge for President in 1916.

Extract from a letter addressed to the Conferees of the Progressive Party at the Progressive National Convention, and presented to the Republican National Convention, in Chicago, June 10, 1916, by Theodore Roosevelt:

In view of the conditions existing, I suggest the name of Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts. He is a man of the highest integrity, of the broadest national spirit and of the keenest devotion to the public good. For thirty years he has been in the House of Representatives and in the Senate at Washington. For twenty years he has been a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee. For a very long period he was a member of the Naval Affairs Committee. He has not only a wide experience in public affairs but a peculiarly close acquaintance with the very type of questions now most pressing for settlement. He has consistently fought for Preparedness, preparedness for the Navy, preparedness in fortifying the Panama Canal, preparedness in upbuilding the Army. He has been on the whole the member with the largest vision and the most intelligent devotion to American needs that we have had on the Foreign Affairs Committee during this generation. He rendered distinguished service on the Alaskan Boundary International Commission. In addition, he has been one of the staunchest fighters for different measures of economic reform in the direction of justice, championing such measures as the Pure Food Law, the Safety Appliance Law, the Workmen's Compensation Act, the National Law prohibiting the labor of Children, the Hepburn Rate Bill, the bill creating a Bureau of Corporations, and many similar measures. I, therefore, urge upon you favorably to consider his name and report on it to the conferees from the Republican National Convention, and if you do not agree with me in this respect nevertheless to transmit this telegram to the Republican conferees and to request them to place it before their Convention at the same time yourself laying the telegram before the Progressive Convention.

Let me again quote from my telegram of the day before yesterday to Senator Jackson, of Maryland: "The differences that have divided, not merely Republicans and Progressives, but good Americans of all shades of political belief from one another in the past, sink into nothing when compared with the issues now demanding decision, for these issues are vital to the national life. They are the issues of a unified Americanism and of National Preparedness. If we are not all of us Americans and nothing else, scorning to divide along lines of section, of creed, or of national origin, then the Nation itself will crumble into dust. If we are not thoroughly prepared, if we have not developed a strength which respects the rights of others but which is also ready to enforce from others respect for its own rights, then sooner or later we shall have to submit to the will of an alien conqueror."

I wrote the above sentences because I felt them deep in my heart. They set forth the vital needs of this time. The nomination of Senator Lodge will meet those vital needs. I earnestly ask that what you can do to bring about that nomination in the name of our common Americanism be done.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

"I believe, with all my heart, the powers in conference have combined to make the world a safer and better and more hopeful place in which to live."—*President Harding.*



SENATOR LODGE SIGNING WASHINGTON TREATIES

in Memorial Continental Hall, Feb. 6, 1922. Standing at the right of Senator Lodge are Secretary of State Hughes, Senator Underwood and Mr. Elihu Root, the other American Delegates.

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