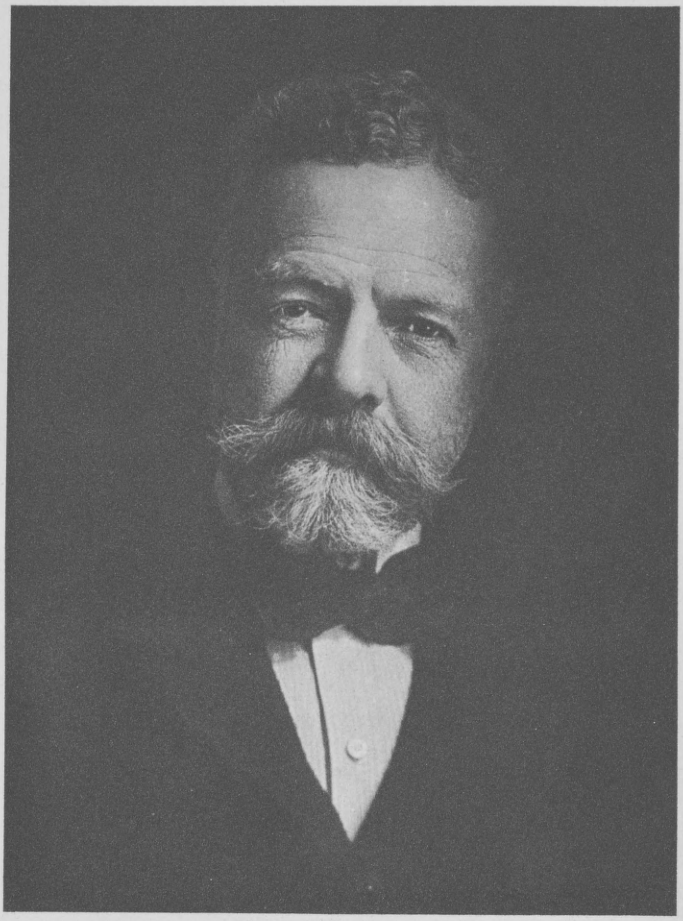

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Henry Cabot Lodge

Memorial Addresses

DELIVERED IN THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES IN MEMORY OF

HENRY CABOT LODGE

LATE A SENATOR FROM MASSACHUSETTS

Sixty-Eighth Congress

PROCEEDINGS IN THE SENATE
JANUARY 19, 1925

PROCEEDINGS IN THE HOUSE
FEBRUARY 15, 1925

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Proceedings
in the
United States Senate

Henry Cabot Lodge

Proceedings in the United States Senate

MONDAY, *December 1, 1924.*

The first Monday of December being the day prescribed by the Constitution of the United States for the annual meeting of Congress, the second session of the Sixty-eighth Congress commenced this day.

The Senate assembled in its Chamber at the Capitol.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore (Albert B. Cummins, a Senator from the State of Iowa) called the Senate to order at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. J. J. Muir, D. D., of the city of Washington, offered the following prayer:

Our Father and our God, we come together to-day to enter upon the duties of high responsibility. As we look back over the past month we recognize the sadness that has shadowed and the grief that has come and the loneliness experienced because of the presence of death in connection with this body. We pray for richest consolations upon those who mourn.

Grant unto each one in connection with his duty such a sense of its dignity, such a conception of its large outlook, that there may be given to each wisdom from above and guidance in every matter of administration. The Lord our God be with the President, recognizing in him

the authority by which he is surrounded. Let Thy blessing be constantly upon our Nation, and may it be exalted in righteousness. We humbly ask in the name of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. Mr. President, it is my sad duty formally to announce to the Senate that on Sunday, November 9 last, my late colleague, Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE, died following a brief illness at the Charlesgate Hospital, in Cambridge, Mass.

For 37 years Senator LODGE represented Massachusetts without a break in the continuity of his service in the Congress of the United States. His career in the House of Representatives covered three terms, and he was a Member of this body for 31 years.

He was for years the foremost figure in the dominant political party of Massachusetts, and in recent years he was, if not indeed the foremost figure, one of the foremost figures in the Congress of the United States.

When death came he was the majority party leader in this Chamber, the senior Senator in years of continuous service, and one of the ablest and best known, nationally and internationally, of any Member of the United States Congress. Truly an exalted position has been made vacant by his death. The life of one of the great leaders and statesmen of our day in America has ended.

This, however, is not the occasion to undertake to review the career of this statesman and scholar. At the proper time I shall ask the Senate to set

aside a day upon which proper tribute may be paid to his memory.

I now submit the resolution which I send to the desk and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The resolution (S. Res. 264) was read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with deep regret and profound sorrow the announcement of the death of the Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE, late a Senator from the State of Massachusetts.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. Mr. President, as a further mark of respect to the memory of our deceased colleague, I move that the Senate do now adjourn.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 21 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, December 2, 1924, at 12 o'clock meridian.

TUESDAY, *December 2, 1924.*

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Chaffee, one of its clerks, communicated to the Senate the resolutions of the House unanimously adopted as a tribute to the memory of the Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE, late a Senator from the State of Massachusetts.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate resolutions adopted by the Board of Aldermen of the City of Chelsea, Mass., in honor of the memory of the life, character, and public service of HENRY CABOT LODGE, late a Senator from the State of Massachusetts, which were ordered to lie on the table.

WEDNESDAY, *December 17, 1924.*

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent for the adoption of the order which I send to the desk.

The order was read, considered, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Ordered, That Monday, January 19, 1925, at 3 p. m., all pending business be set aside and the Senate proceed with memorial addresses on the life, character, and public service of the Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE, late a Senator from the State of Massachusetts.

MONDAY, *January 19, 1925.*

The Chaplain, Rev. J. J. Muir, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father, ever the same in Thy tenderness, in Thy loving sympathy and the constancy of Thy care. We come this morning recognizing Thy goodness to us. Thou art indeed a God that never fails in promises, though we, alas, too often forget the hand that is guiding our path. Hear us to-day, we beseech of Thee. Grant

unto us the guidance of Thy grace and enable us to fulfill every obligation as in Thy sight and for Thy glory. We humbly ask in Jesus' name. Amen.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Pursuant to an order heretofore entered the Senate will now lay aside its pending business and proceed with memorial addresses upon the life, character, and services of HENRY CABOT LODGE, late a Senator from the State of Massachusetts.

Mr. WALSH of Massachusetts. Mr. President, I present resolutions of sympathy, which I send to the desk, and upon which I ask consideration.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will report the resolutions.

The principal legislative clerk read the resolutions (S. Res. 306), as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE, late a Senator from the State of Massachusetts.

Resolved, That as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the business of the Senate be now suspended to enable his associates to pay tribute to his high character and distinguished public service.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Address by Senator Walsh

Of Massachusetts

Mr. President: Henry Cabot Lodge, to whose memory we have set aside this hour to place upon the records of the Senate our admiration for his public service and character, was a very remarkable man. His public service of 37 years in the Congress of the United States, the longest continuous term of service that any Massachusetts citizen ever enjoyed, was notable not merely for its length but for its importance. Few Americans have served so long, only six received six successive elections to the Senate, and fewer still have gained such preeminence in the Senate and the country.

He was an impressive figure not only in America, but his reputation as a distinguished statesman extended into the chancellery of every government of the world. In any company of men his presence commanded notice. Wherever his striking figure appeared and he participated in any meeting or discussion, whether in the Halls of Congress, a party caucus, a committee meeting, or even at a social function, no one, even a prejudiced political opponent, failed to recognize that he was a man of influence and force.

Mr. President, it is most difficult to tell the story of his full and active life. I shall not attempt it. We must leave it to his biographer to catalogue his many literary publications, brilliant speeches,

and State papers—all of them constitute a real contribution to the literature, politics, and history of the last two decades. It will be the story of the rise of the Nation from relative obscurity to a world power, and to it he contributed of his exceptional abilities.

My purpose is a very modest one—to honor the memory of my late colleague so far as I can by placing in the record of this honorable body my impression of the type of public man which Mr. LODGE represented in his long, useful, and honorable career. We belonged to different political parties; we had been bred in a different generation and in entirely different schools of political thought; on questions involving party principles we were always opposed; in our native State we invariably campaigned against each other's party candidates. To-day all political differences are forgotten, and I shall strive to speak of him with both knowledge and justice and without exaggeration or fulsomeness.

He was born in Boston in the very middle of the nineteenth century, the 12th day of May, 1850. His father was a prosperous merchant, a shipowner, engaged in trade with the Orient. His mother, Anna Cabot, proudly traced her American ancestry to 1630. She was a daughter of Henry Cabot and a granddaughter of George Cabot, who was a member of the Provincial Congress, the Massachusetts constitutional convention, and United States Senator from Massachusetts during the Washington administration.

His parents were wealthy, exceptionally cultured, and prominent socially. Their neighbors included the statesmen and the social élite of Boston. Daniel Webster, Rufus Choate, George Bancroft, and Wendell Phillips were frequent visitors to the Lodge home.

It is profitable, if we would understand the voices and influence which had such a marked impress upon his later life, to know something of the cultured aristocracy of Boston, among whom he moved. Their sons were nearly all trained in private schools; most of them matriculated at Harvard; they were given to the culture of the arts. Their parents were eager in the pursuit of wealth, yet, to their credit let it be said, they enjoyed the possession of wealth less for ostentation than for developing the resources of the country. It was their wealth that built the industries of New England, tapped the mineral resources of the Nation, and linked the East with the West by wire and rail. Though delicately bred, the courage and patriotism of their colonial ancestors infused their souls and they were capable of facing without fear the coming of death in any struggle for a righteous cause. They could nerve themselves, as Senator LODGE did on many occasions in after years, for any duty with an inexorable will. Put briefly, he was of that school of American youth who were trained and educated to possess a clear conception of duty, strong faith and pride in their ancestral and patriotic inheritance, and with a fixed resolve to succeed in life. He was of that same type of young

men who went from 1861 to 1865 from the classes of Harvard to the camps, "leading the lumbermen from the forests of New England and the mechanics from the benches" to preserve the Union and liberty. Under the inspiration and example of such a home, influences, and teachings Senator LODGE grew to manhood.

Even as a youth he was a prodigious reader. In his Early Memories he relates that he had read before the end of his tenth year the novels of Scott and Dickens. He entered Harvard as a member of the class of 1871. After he was graduated and his marriage on the following day he traveled for months in Europe. Upon his return he began the serious work of life—preparation for a literary career. During these years he studied law and was admitted to the bar, but continued to devote all his time to the study of history. Colonial history, the Revolutionary period, the lives of the founders, especially appealed to him.

His associates were historians and writers of the day, and there were a galaxy of them in New England at that time. Among the close friends of his family and visitors to his home were Longfellow, Sumner, Agassiz, Prescott, Motley, Francis Parkman, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Emerson, James Russell Lowell, Whittier, and Thomas Bailey Aldrich. His studies and environment all contributed to the making of a promising literary career.

During this period he assisted in editing the North American Review and the National Review,

but he continued the pursuit and study of history and wrote his admirable Life of Hamilton. By some it is thought that it was his work on the Life of Hamilton that inspired him to political ambitions. To him Hamilton was one of the most brilliant figures in our history. Later highly meritorious lives of Washington and Webster came from his pen. On the shelves of the Senate Library there are 29 volumes of his published works.

He entered politics by election in November, 1879, to the Massachusetts House of Representatives. He served through two sessions. In 1884 he became a candidate for Congress. He came out of that political conflict defeated, chagrined, and discouraged. The constituency before whom he was a candidate was composed largely of industrial workers, and they badly defeated the young aspirant. One of his most intimate friends at that time said that his condition, because of his failure in that political contest, was "really quite pathetic," but the same friend added:

> In all the commerce I have had with the world I will say that I have never seen any person with a more stubborn, persistent will than CABOT LODGE possessed.

By temperament and tastes he seemed unsuited for the turmoil of politics. His exclusiveness and his natural refinement were not easily understood. We who have lived with him during the later years of his public life can well understand how ill at ease he must have been in his youth shaking hands

with the masses and mingling with the politicians of the old-time caucuses and boss-controlled conventions. Friends and family advised against a political career. Their portrayal of the uncertainty of politics and its disappointments and enemies did not baffle him. He was not the type of man to accept defeat.

Into the next campaign he threw himself with determination and was elected, and on December 5, 1887, came to Washington to commence his public service in the Fiftieth Congress of the United States. In 1893, while still a Member of the House, he was elected Senator and served in this Chamber for 31 years. During the last five years he was the accepted leader of his party in the Senate. Of his specific work in the Senate I shall not speak. We are too near, have too fixed opinions upon the many great causes for which he fought to get a true estimate of what history will record of his work.

His entrance into the larger field of politics as chairman of the Republican State committee of Massachusetts was just prior to the nomination of Blaine. He was a delegate at large from Massachusetts to the Republican convention of 1884. Most of his political friends bolted. They became Cleveland mugwumps. Mr. LODGE, who had opposed the nomination of Mr. Blaine, decided to support him. This decision to be a "regular" was characteristic of his political attitude through all the years of his life. Loyalty to party was one of his outstanding characteristics.

About this time his friendship with Roosevelt commenced—a friendship which ripened with the political careers of both men. This friendship was not broken even in 1912, when Roosevelt led the progressive movement which contributed to the humiliating defeat of the Republican Party in the campaign of that year. A perusal of the letters recently published between these two illustrious men indicates that Roosevelt looked to Mr. LODGE for advice and inspiration in all his political activities.

No stronger or more loyal party man ever lived. His Republicanism was part of his very being. His opponents thought his partisanship at times intolerant. But no man ever believed his Republicanism was sordid or that he ever served in public office the selfish interests who seek at times to control parties and political leaders. He was above suspicion in this respect. Serving no interest in his party, he could and did not deny ministering almost slavishly the interest of his party as a whole.

He was one of those who stay with party organizations because he believed that only through party unity great and worthy ends can be accomplished. In all his career I do not recall his ever wavering in his support of any candidate of the Republican Party. If he accepted both men and measures when he was not in thorough accord with them it was because of his intense party loyalty.

One might easily differ with Senator LODGE with the political ideals which he followed, but one could never fail to respect the ardor with which he pursued the political principles of the great party to which he gave so much, and which, in his belief, would benefit his country and mankind.

He was to the Republican Party of Massachusetts as a trusted pilot to a ship. Eight times the Republicans of his State sent him as delegate at large to represent them at national conventions. Three times he was elected permanent chairman and twice chairman of the committee on resolutions of these conventions.

Fortunately, during his entire career he was a member of the dominant political party of Massachusetts, which very naturally was an important factor in his political success. He was American enough, however, to have respect for those who in States like Massachusetts affiliated and supported a party whose members never or only rarely could hope for political office, but who were contented to love and serve their cause "with an affection that hoped and endured and was patient." In the Senate, particularly in his latter years, he grew to have profound respect and regard for those who espoused radically different political views from those he entertained.

Mr. LODGE was a statesman, a scholarly statesman, fitted by nature, by inheritance, and by training. He was a statesman not merely because his mind was a storehouse of historic and political information, but because he knew "the rocks on

which nations have been shattered, and he steered his course far away"; because he knew the spirit of the founders—the soul of the Nation—and he made their spirit his as far as it was humanly possible.

He was a statesman, because he spent years in studious consideration of all questions of foreign policy which affected his country.

He was a statesman, because he knew the complexity of racial and industrial problems which are before a people consisting of the old-time populations of colonial stock, and of immigration from all corners of the world.

He was what many would style a conservative statesman. His respect for the Constitution was profound and his abiding faith was that through the study of the Constitution the best principles of government could be learned.

Senator LODGE was not sensational. He possessed none of the qualities of the demagogue. He was not a meteor in the political firmament. He made his claim for statesmanship upon worth, and he received many evidences from the people of Massachusetts of their appreciation of his worth. His constituents realized each day he grew stronger and more useful, and his last two elections, though he had strong opposition in his own party, were due largely to this conviction.

He was a typical American. It was Americanism deeply rooted in our free institutions. He had a profound knowledge of his country's history. The large and permanent interest of the United States was very sacred to him, and that interest he wished

to promote and defend without flinching and without fear.

His grasp of international relations has seldom, if ever, been excelled by any Member who ever sat in this body. He knew the history and government of all nations and their relations toward each other. He seemed to be always on guard against all offenders of our national honor and purpose; and this, I imagine, would have been unchanged even if he had not held the important position of chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and membership thereof for 29 years.

He stood for a diplomatic policy which should be without bluster and without cringing. Our strength and position among the nations of the earth could be best maintained, he believed, only when coupled with justice and fair dealing.

His knowledge of treaties and treaty making was extensive and most helpful to the Senate. No position which he ever took was more bitterly assailed by some or more highly commended by others than his attitude on the Versailles treaty.

The contest in the Senate over the ratification of that treaty aroused and attracted the attention of the world as have few events in the long history of the Senate. Senator LODGE was in the midst of it. The position of majority party leader thrust a grave responsibility upon him.

The details of that conflict it is not needful to recount, and the personal antagonism which it aroused should not be rekindled by any word uttered to-day. But of him whose voice is forever

silenced it should be said that he has a right to be judged by his words. Who can doubt the honesty of his convictions, his sincerity of purpose, and his patriotism when he reads this passage from his brilliant and effective speech in the Senate on August 12, 1919, when he announced his opposition to the covenant of a League of Nations:

> I will go as far as anyone in world service, but the first step to world service is the maintenance of the United States. You may call me selfish, if you will, conservative, or reactionary, or use any other harsh adjective you see fit to apply, but an American I was born, an American I have remained all my life. I can never be anything else but an American, and I must think of the United States first, and when I think of the United States first in an arrangement like this, I am thinking of what is best for the world, for if the United States fails the best hopes of mankind fail with it. I have never had but one allegiance; I can not divide it now. I have loved but one flag, and I can not share that devotion and give affection to the mongrel banner invented for a league.
>
> National I must remain, and in that way I, like all other Americans, can render the amplest service to the world. The United States is the world's best hope; but if you fetter her in the interests and quarrels of other nations, if you tangle her in the intrigues of Europe, you will destroy her power for good and endanger her very existence. Leave her to march freely through the centuries to come as in the years that have gone. Strong, generous, and confident, she has nobly served mankind. Beware how you trifle with your marvelous inheritance, this great land of ordered liberty, for if we stumble and fall, freedom and civilization everywhere will go down in ruin.

Senator LODGE never spoke for the mere sake of making a speech, and he had the good sense always to know when to end his argument. He made no

effort to be oratorical, yet on great occasions his ringing sentences, his vigorous statements, were most eloquent. He had an extraordinary gift of expression. He was never carried away by enthusiastic zeal; never indulged in extravagant language; never hurried to support new or extreme measures; never permitted himself to be controlled by sudden impulses. But, no matter how or when he spoke, whether on the spur of the moment or after careful preparation, his English was always pure, correct, and simple. Familiar with the best literature, he delighted to ornate his speeches with apt quotations.

He stood for the best traditions of the Senate. Indeed, he had a lofty and ideal notion of the dignity which belonged to this great office. Its recognized courtesies appealed naturally to his refined and cultivated nature. Such men as Senator LODGE give a character and standing to the Senate among the American people and the nations of the world which it could not have without them.

He had knowledge of practically every subject with which Congress had to deal. Quietly, diligently, and thoroughly he gave 24 years as a member of the Committee on Immigration to the very important problems of immigration. On the Naval Affairs Committee he served 13 years. He believed in a strong Navy and had little sympathy with those who did not recognize the importance and necessity of military preparedness.

Three times during his life he looked war in the face. During the Civil War he was in his early

teens, but from the window of his father's house, which almost joined the State House, he saw the several Massachusetts regiments pass by as they were reviewed by the governor. As a Member of this body, he contributed during the last two wars to the success of his country's cause by unhesitatingly and whole-heartedly cooperating with every move for their successful prosecution.

No estimate of Senator LODGE's career would be complete without reference to the two special public trusts which were imposed upon him by presidential selection. They were his membership upon the Alaskan Boundary Commission, a mixed tribunal which met in London in 1903 to arbitrate on the contention of the Canadian Government with regard to the boundary between Alaska and Canada, and the Conference on the Limitation of Armaments which met in Washington in 1921. In the former service the interests of the United States and in the latter the well-being of the peoples of the world were ably guarded.

During his long political career he was subjected, as other public men have been, to personal and acrimonious criticism, bearing at times upon abuse, which followed him even to his last days. His vote in the last session against the veto of the adjusted compensation bill brought forth scathing letters of abuse from political friends and supporters of years. To him all this was one of the ordinary burdens of political life. Unless a man is willing to stand up under it, he had better never accept office. To be often put before the public as

trying to do the very opposite of that which one is strenuously striving to accomplish is not of recent origin. Washington did not escape it. Lincoln encountered it to the hour of his martyrdom. President Wilson and Senator LODGE were among the more recent targets.

> Many a shaft at random sent
> Finds mark the archer little meant.

Why must it be ever thus? Why must labor in high places in a democracy like ours be so frequently misunderstood and often misrepresented?

What a pity that death alone seems to end misrepresentation, cruel, and un-Christianlike criticism of great souls who need in the public service all their nervous and physical energy to fight the forces of selfishness and greed that are constantly throwing their influence into the shaping of legislation, to oppose reckless expenditures, to resist special privilege, and to stand guard against the power and influence of those who would gratify personal ambition to the disadvantage of the common rights of the people.

Massachusetts, that Senator LODGE loved with the ardor which characterizes the affection of all who know her traditions and have lived within her, has been more than generous in the men she has sent to represent her in the Senate of the United States. They have been selected from among the ablest and best of her citizens. They have made national reputations. John Quincy Adams, Daniel Webster,

Rufus Choate, Charles Sumner, Henry Wilson, and George Frisbie Hoar—statesmen that any Commonwealth might point to with just pride. With these, who will hesitate to link, now that the record is closed and our judgment is clear and impartial, the name of HENRY CABOT LODGE?

I know of nothing more descriptive of his last days or more appropriate to say of our deceased colleague than to repeat his classic peroration in eulogy of the late Senator Bacon, of Georgia:

He died full of years and honors, to use our consecrated phrase. In war and peace he had tasted of the great emotions which make life worth living. He had lived the life of his time, and he died in service, as he would have wished to die. Think how much that meant to him; how much it means to us. The waiting in helpless idleness for the inevitable close of all things earthly, the weary hours of the sick room, the "set, gray, life and apathetic end," all these were spared to him. It is better to wear out than—

> "* * * To hang,
> Quite out of fashion, like a rusty mail,
> In monumental mockery."

To him, most fortunate, it was given to say, as it is permitted to so few to say when the years have gathered thick in serried ranks behind them:

> "Blow, wind! Come, wrack!
> At least we'll die with harness on our back."

Address by Senator McCormick

Of Illinois

Mr. PRESIDENT: There will be none to-day who will speak of Senator LODGE more justly, more scholarly, more eloquently, than has the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Walsh], and yet others of us can not forbear to add a word to what already has been said.

This gathering of the Senate in honor of the dead, to whom we have come to pay tribute, may be counted a milestone in the march of American history. We meet not only to pay them reverence but to consecrate ourselves to the cause of liberty, of peace, and of independence which they served, together with those other patriots who served with them in that cause and now whom they have joined. Doubtless in later years history will judge them and their fellows more justly than can we who knew them and with them had some small part in that service, and so were moved by the political differences and passions of the day.

None the less, according to our venerable custom, we come to speak of them and their work, of the events in which they played a great part, and of the great men who thought with them and acted with them in the formulation of the policy which they held fundamental to the security of America and contributory to the peace of the

world. They were marked men in whose memory we meet to-day. Their going measures the passing of the years. We can cherish even now the lessons which they taught us, although we can not summon them to counsel in this time of trial.

> Eheu! fugaces, Posthume, Posthume,
> Labuntur anni; nec pietas moram
> Rugis et instanti senectæ
> Afferet, indomitæque morti.

> Ah! The years fly by;
> No piety of ours
> Can ring from withering decay
> And death's indomitable power
> A single hour.

They are gone. It is for us to preserve the heritage they kept undiminished for the American people.

HERNY CABOT LODGE for two score years served the people of the United States as a scholar, teacher, legislator, and leader. The public service was his sole vocation. He had no interest to further but that of the Commonwealth. Sometimes acclaimed as a leader among leaders, sometimes surrounded by the selfish and the selfless, again sometimes solitary and shunned, he followed the course which conscience, experience, and duty bade him follow, whether it brought him reward or obloquy. We can recall that as a young man in Congress he became known to the South only to be hated by thousands of southern people and to be fought by the southern leaders. Let us remember, then, that in after years Benjamin Tillman, of South Carolina, on his deathbed had come so to

love LODGE that he asked that his old adversary from Massachusetts might join in the memorial exercises of the Senate upon his decease.

HENRY CABOT LODGE was always an American rather than a partisan. His support of his distinguished opponent in the prosecution of the war was as striking as was his warning against the policy which the President purposed to adopt after the war. When the President unswervingly and with unflinching courage pursued the course which he had set out for himself, Senator LODGE at first would have yielded to the persuasion of those who sought to compromise the differences between them, but in the end he was as irreconcilable and uncompromising upon the issue of American independence as Philander Knox and Frank Brandegee.

It was HENRY CABOT LODGE'S fortune to be a conspicuous figure in the councils of his party, in the Senate, and in the country for half a long lifetime. Not so his friend Frank Brandegee. The great intellectual powers of Senator Brandegee, his indomitable will, his masterful influence upon his fellow Senators, were known to but few. The part which he played in formulating the foreign policy of the United States, like that of Philander Knox, may never be written. We here are aware that but for his indefatigable energy and resourcefulness the course of current history might have been other than it has been. He was one of two or three who steadfastly stood and thwarted the ratification by the Senate of the treaties of

peace as they came to us. With HENRY CABOT LODGE, with Philander Knox, with Theodore Roosevelt, he left an indelible impress upon American policy. There was a time when it seemed that with the little company who stood with him against the army of his opponents he would be overborne. His faith was as unyielding as his courage. Unaffrighted by the host of his adversaries, undismayed by slander, undaunted by attack, he stood forth against overwhelming odds against the time when forces might be marshaled against the adversary; when barriers might be raised to protect the republican liberties which he held dear.

> Hew down the bridge, Sir Consul,
> With all the speed ye may;
> I, with two more to help me,
> Will hold the foe in play.
> In yon straight path a thousand
> May well be stopped by three.
> Now who will stand on either hand
> And keep the bridge with me?

There are present to-day those who held that he was wrong throughout that long struggle which brought forth his greatest qualities. He was no shambling, shuffling, shivering Laodicean.

We are Americans, even though we may differ upon the destiny of America. We live under the same Constitution. We have read the same Scripture. Let us remember that once it was written, "Peace, peace, when there is no peace," and again it was written that "He that keepeth Israel shall neither slumber nor sleep."

Address by Senator Smoot

Of Utah

Mr. PRESIDENT: As Carlyle said—

> It can be said of him when he departed, he took a man's life with him.

The story of the career of HENRY CABOT LODGE is half a century of American economic and political life. It is an epic of heroic grandeur, a prose picture of true Americanism. He handled the pigments of history as an artist handles his brush, blending the colors with marvelous effect. He portrayed history, yet contributed largely to the history of his own time.

It has been given to comparatively few to blend successfully the scholar and the statesman. Usually scholars and profound students have no taste for politics or public life. Mr. LODGE said years before he entered public service that "every man should give of his leisure more or less to politics, for it is simply good citizenship for him to do so." Armed with a profound and philosophical, yet practical, knowledge of great men and events, he was able to illuminate his public service with the bright light of brilliant scholarship.

But he was more than a scholar; he had more than mere knowledge. He interpreted history and applied the principles and lessons to his time. He felt that a study of history was in vain unless its lessons were learned and applied. Thus armed and equipped he was a foe hard to overcome.

The passion of his life was his love for America and his devotion to his country's welfare. The key to his whole life may be found in the closing sentences of his memorable debate with President Lowell, of Harvard, March 19, 1919, when, recalling the words of Webster, he said:

> I am an American, born here, live here, shall die here. I have never had but one flag, never loved but one flag. I have never had but one allegiance, the allegiance of the United States. I can not divide it now. My first allegiance must stay where it has always been, to the people of the United States, my own people.

He was a statesman because he approached, studied, and discussed all public questions from a high and patriotic point of view. His speeches and addresses, his writings, in the mighty drama where he played a conspicuous part, are rich with ripe scholarship, legal knowledge, and sound logic, all crowned with sincere loyalty and patriotism. Statesman, historian, author, publicist, he was easily one of the three or four great Americans of the last half century. It is no easy task to fitly and adequately pay tribute to such a man.

He was born May 12, 1850, amid affluence and ease, yet he worked incessantly and almost greedily. He graduated from Harvard College in 1871; traveled in Europe a year; graduated from Harvard Law School in 1875; took up "literature" as his life calling; became an authoritative historian at the age of 30; was assistant editor of the North American Review; later editor of the International Review; was elected to the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1879; elected to the

National House of Representatives in 1886; elected to the United States Senate in 1893; was made majority leader in the Senate in August, 1918; in 1919 became chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate.

At the age of 43 he had reached the goal of his ambition. He said later:

> To be a Senator from Massachusetts has been the pride of my life. I have put aside great offices, for to me no public place has seemed equal to that which I hold. No one can ever serve Massachusetts with greater love or deeper loyalty.

At the age of 69 he was chairman of the powerful Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate, leader of the majority party, and, next to the President, perhaps the most influential member of his party.

Back of this 6 years of service in the National House and this 31 years of service in the Senate lies a lesson of industry, of fidelity, and of devotion to country seldom excelled in history. Born of sturdy stock, nurtured in the "Cradle of Liberty" and matured in "Liberty's Shrine," he blended a noble heritage with a lofty ambition to serve, and toiled unceasingly to reach the goal. His achievements came not by accident or chance; they were the direct result of personal toil and ceaseless effort. All of his historic works, essays, addresses, and speeches bear the marks of deep research and profound study, together with discriminating analysis and keen logic.

From the prolific productions of his pen it is clear to see that his ideal characters in American

history were Washington, Hamilton, Marshall, Webster, Lincoln, and Roosevelt. From a study of the deeds and words of this galaxy of brilliant Americans Mr. LODGE drew the greater part of his inspiration. Added to this was his love of poetry and the poets, which made his writings sparkle like precious gems.

In 1889 he wrote a history of George Washington and his times, a standard history. His chapter on "Foreign relations" in Washington's time is full of interest and significance, throwing much light on Mr. LODGE's own views in later years. He wrote:

> What our actual relations with other nations should be was something wholly vague. The one idea, however, that the American people did not have on that subject was that they should hold themselves entirely aloof from the politics of the Old World, and with other nations outside the Americas no relations except those born of commerce. It had not occurred to them that they should march steadily forward on a course that would drive out European Governments and sever the connections of those Governments with the North American Continent. * * * But to Washington it was not a vague idea, but a well-defined system. * * * His fixed belief that in our absolute breaking with the political affairs of other peoples lay the most important of the works which was to make us a nation in spirit and truth. It was the chief burden of the last words of counsel which he gave to his countrymen when he retired to private life.

Mr. LODGE says that this policy of independence was in Washington's mind when first he was President; for in 1785 he wrote to Morris:

> My policy has been and will continue to be * * * to maintain friendly relations with, but to be independent of, all nations; to share in the broils of none.

Mr. LODGE adds:

The national sentiment had had opportunity for rapid growth. * * * The American people were taught that their first duty was to be Americans and nothing else. There is no need to praise the greatness of a policy with such objects and results as these. * * * George Washington will always hold the love and reverence of men because they see embodied in him the noblest possibilities of humanity. * * * Washington had enemies who assailed him and friends whom he loved, but in death as in life he seemed to stand alone, above conflict and superior to malice.

In 1916, 27 years after his Life of Washington, he made an address before the Washington Association of New Jersey at Morristown, in that State. It was at a time when the sayings and teachings of Washington and the other fathers were pronounced "out of date." Said Mr. LODGE:

While I am far from thinking that all wisdom died with the forefathers, I am perfectly certain that all wisdom was not born yesterday.

What delicious irony! He had not changed his opinion of Washington. He continued:

He [Washington] was the greatest man of his time * * * and I think that from his calm wisdom we all * * * can learn much to-day. Our foreign relations then were under circumstances which have much resemblance to those which confront us to-day. * * * Washington was no phrase maker. * * * Washington was as sensitive about his Nation's honor as about his own.

Mr. LODGE edited the papers and letters of Alexander Hamilton; wrote a story of the American Revolution, a Short History of English Colonies in America, that is a textbook in schools; wrote a life

of Daniel Webster; compiled a collection of Ballads and Lyrics, for he was a lover of poetry. He wrote a popular history of Our War with Spain, in which he told the story of the Rough Riders and the heroic conduct of Theodore Roosevelt "having led dauntlessly and unhurt one of the most brilliant charges in our history." He wrote an historic review of Russia and the Russian Soviet, considered the most comprehensive of all the modern treatments of the forces of communism. The writings of this man of letters comprise a good-sized library.

There was a note of triumphant pride and glowing enthusiasm in his magnificent address on the three hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, December 20, 1920. His analysis of the Pilgrims and their work was illuminating and inspiring. His thoughts harmonized with his attitude of mind throughout life.

As a nation—

he said—

we must look before and after, and from the doers of high deeds, from the makers of the rare events decisive in history we must seek for light and leading, for help in facing the known and in shaping, as best we may, the forces which govern the unknown. We seem to catch a glimpse in those poor, struggling people of the *Mayflower* of

> "The prophetic soul,
> Of the wide world dreaming,
> Of things to come."

It was an interesting coincidence that Daniel Webster, 100 years before, had delivered the oration on this same spot in celebration of the two

hundredth anniversary of the same event. Mr. LODGE seized this fact as an opportunity to eulogize his brilliant predecessor—

then in the very prime of his early manhood—

and to venture that few among those who heard Mr. Webster—

dimly guessed what he who spoke to them was to be and to what heights he was destined to climb.

Then—

across the century comes to us the voice which so moved and charmed those who heard it. * * * What message does the *Mayflower* with its precious freight bring to us * * * when we bequeath the next century to those who come after us? * * * So the century swept on, and we are its children.

He revered Webster in these words:

There he stands before us, vividly, with all his glories and all his failings. * * * The uppermost thought as we look at him is of his devotion to the Union and of the great work which he did in strengthening and building up the national sentiment.

This oration was delivered two years after the struggle in the United States Senate over the covenant. Perhaps there was a delicate reference to personal experience when he defended Webster and scorned Webster's detractors by saying:

There are always people, few, happily, in number but very vocal, who can not bear to acknowledge greatness and to whom genius seems an offense. They search for

the flaws, the errors, the shortcomings, and forget that those are not what concern us. * * * Whatever their failings * * * they did a mighty work, and their work lives after them. * * * They never for a moment thought that life and its mysteries could be expressed in economic terms. They set character first.

Mr. LODGE's address at the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the incorporation of Greenfield, Mass., June 9, 1903, displayed rare scholarship and historic knowledge. There he paid a tribute to the early pioneers " throbbing with those incidents which stir the heart and touch the imagination "; who " heard the voices of the land and of its people and touched their highest notes when inspired by them." There is a suggestion of the heroic when he says—

it is the rate at which men live which must be counted. * * * The American people lived more and lived longer between 1861 and 1865 than in all the years which had passed since Yorktown. It is with nations even as with men.

" One crowded hour of glorious life
Is worth an age without a name."

Again he urged his hearers to profit by the lessons of history.

I am an optimist—

he said—

and I have boundless faith in my country and her people; but he would be a poor sailor who did not watch out for the reefs and the shoals.

Next to Washington, perhaps Lincoln was his ideal. He delivered two remarkable orations on the martyred President, one before the General

Court of Massachusetts in 1909 and another to the students of Boston University School of Law in 1913.

Touch if you can—

he said—

as he touched the "mystic chords of memory." Think of that noble character, that unwearied devotion to his country, that great heart which went out in sympathy to all his people. No one can recall all this and not feel that he is lifted up and made better.

Mr. LODGE's legal knowledge was displayed in a marked degree in two important addresses, one on Chief Justice Marshall before the Bar Association of Illinois at Chicago in 1901, and another on "The Constitution and its makers" before the Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina at Raleigh in 1911. In the first address he paid a tribute to Virginia, who gave to the country—

that small body of people * * * which at the close of the eighteenth century * * * produced perhaps a larger amount of ability than any equal numbers in modern times, and within a similar period.

Of Chief Justice Marshall he said:

He marched straight to his object with his head up and his eyes on his foe.

He was a man of—

purity and strength of character, a kind heart, and a simplicity and modesty which move our admiration beyond the bounds of eulogy. * * * His monument is in the history of the United States, and his name is written on the Constitution of his country.

At Raleigh he dwelt upon the fashion of changing and amending the Constitution, thus:

> Many excellent persons believe apparently that beneficent results can be attained by certain proposed alterations in the Constitution; often, I venture to think, without examination of the history of the theory of government, and without measuring the extent or weighing the making of the changes which are urged upon us. Every reformer of other people's misdeeds * * * every raw demagogue * * * now lift their hands to tear down or remake the Constitution. It is a situation of the utmost gravity.

In a masterly and illuminating manner he told the story of the making of the Constitution, what manner of men were the makers thereof, and the objects they sought to attain, closing with these words:

> There is no need to destroy the Constitution * * * in order to attain an amelioration of conditions * * * when statutes can effect all and more than is demanded.

Three of his addresses might be selected as revealing his intense patriotism, his love of America, and his interpretation of "national defense." The first was delivered in Hancock Church, Lexington, Mass., in 1896, on the one hundred and twenty-first anniversary of the Battle of Lexington; the second was a Memorial Day address at Nahant, Mass., his home, in 1903; and the third a speech before the National Security League in Washington, in 1916.

At Lexington he said:

> Here the memories dearest to our hearts awaken, and they are all American. They speak of American liberty, American courage, American union, and independence.

At Nahant in his memorial address he climbed to the noble heights of gratitude, and bared his soul to those who misunderstood him later. He said:

> It will be a sorry time for us when we * * * cease to care for the great examples of sacrifice and devotion which have given us a country. * * * We must now complete our victory by peace and good will. * * * We must finally obliterate sectional parties * * * We must exercise a large charity and a wise forbearance. * * * We must guard the Union and the principles which it represents.

Before the National Security League, in 1916, he linked peace with national defense in unmistakable words.

> In this question of national defense—

said he—

> lies the test of democracy, whether it has the foresight * * * to take precautions which it must take if it is to survive in a world so uncertain and so perilous as this. * * * No nation is safe while the world is as it is; and our duty is to make sure of our peace, our security, our freedom.

> "In the long vista of years to roll
> Let me not see my country's honor fade;
> Oh! let me see our land retain its soul;
> Her pride of freedom, and not freedom's shade."

Nor was the breadth of his scholarship confined to the American language, for he spoke French fluently and read French literature readily. He made two recorded and notable addresses in French, one before the Franco-American Republican Club of Massachusetts in 1915 and another

at the unveiling of a statue of Lafayette at Fall River, Mass., in 1916.

When Mr. LODGE was elected to the National House of Representatives, taking his seat in December, 1887, he met such party leaders as Hopkins, of Illinois; Reed and Dingley, of Maine; Long, of his own State; Grosvenor and McKinley, of Ohio; Kelley and Dalzell, of Pennsylvania; and Nelson, of Minnesota. When he was elected to the Senate and took his seat in March, 1893, he met such party leaders as Hawley, of Connecticut; Cullom, of Illinois; Hale, of Maine; Hoar, of his own State; Davis, of Minnesota; Chandler, of New Hampshire; Sherman, of Ohio; Aldrich, of Rhode Island; Morrill, of Vermont; and Vilas, of Wisconsin, a brilliant group of statesmen.

His record in the House was that of a student, scholar, and loyal party man, for he believed in political parties. He was chairman of the Massachusetts State Republican Committee and made scores of political speeches and addresses, vigorous yet fair. He was permanent chairman of two Republican National Conventions—one at Philadelphia in 1900, another in Chicago in 1920. He took an active part in formulating national party platforms. He is credited with being the author of the phrase "international bimetallism" in the Republican platform in 1896. He was an ardent protectionist and a master of the principle. He loyally supported Mr. Blaine in 1884 when many of his closest political associates bolted.

His political ambition was not altogether unopposed, for he failed to receive the nomination for

the National House the first time he made the race, and was stoutly opposed for United States Senator in 1910 and again in 1922; but Massachusetts stood loyally by him on both occasions. Massachusetts could not afford to lose him.

In 1912 he took the lead in the senatorial expression of hostility to the colonization of Japanese in Magdalena Bay, near the southern end of Lower California. The resolution adopted by the Senate was, in the words of Senator LODGE—

> a declaration in regard to the statement in Mr. Monroe's message that the American continents are not to be considered further subjects for future colonization, in order to make it clear that that statement is not confined to government action merely, but that the word "colonization" means action of companies or corporations by citizens or subjects of a foreign State which might do precisely what the Monroe doctrine was intended to prevent.

In effect, this was a bold and justifiable interpretation of the Monroe doctrine.

Mr. LODGE was a member of the Alaskan Boundary Tribunal, of the Tercentenary Commission of 1920, of the Conference on the Limitation of Armaments in 1921, regent of the Smithsonian Institution, and of the Carnegie Institute of Washington.

Between HENRY CABOT LODGE and Theodore Roosevelt was a sort of Damon and Pythias friendship. History and literature brought them into close communion and fellowship, lasting until the death of Mr. Roosevelt. Mr. LODGE's eulogy of Mr. Roosevelt, February 9, 1919, is pronounced one of the finest pieces of literature of that character ever

produced. In it is seen clearly the personal grief and sorrow of Mr. LODGE. Through it runs the refrain of America and Americans that was the soul song of his departed friend and the eulogist. He said, when Mr. Roosevelt died—

> "A power was passing from earth
> To breathless nature's dark abyss."

We must remember that when history, with steady hand and calm eye, free from the passions of the past, comes to make up the final account, she will call as her principal witnesses the contemporaries of the man or the event awaiting her verdict. Here and elsewhere the men and women who knew Theodore Roosevelt, or who belong to his period, will give public utterance to their emotions and to their judgments in regard to him * * *. Thus there is a responsibility placed upon each one of us, a duty to posterity * * *.

Like Cromwell, he would always have said: "Paint me as I am * * *."

There was no hour down to the end when he would not turn aside from everything else to preach the doctrine of Americanism * * *. He was a great patriot, a great man; above all, a great American. His country was the ruling mastering passion of his life from the beginning even unto the end * * *. His ideal of public service was to be found in his life.

How aptly these very words apply to Mr. LODGE!

While Mr. LODGE did not always indorse what Mr. Roosevelt said and did, nevertheless there was an underlying loyalty and devotion between the twain, now doubtless renewed beyond the grave. In 1912 Senator LODGE, although a devoted friend of Mr. Roosevelt, stood loyally with his party's candidate for President. It was Senator LODGE, more than

any other man in public life, who was Mr. Roosevelt's confidant and friend from 1912 to 1916, and who urged the latter to again give his brilliant talents to the Republican Party.

The war with Spain and the peace of Paris brought many new problems. To a solution of them Senator LODGE, with rare ability and wisdom, gave his attention. In October, 1910, he discussed before the Union League Club, of Philadelphia, the question of "imperialism" and the "retention of the Philippines." Here he said—

> it is better to have the American flag respected first, then discuss the Philippine policies later. Where the United States flag has been raised rightfully it never has been hauled down.

His great speech on retention of the Philippines was made in the Senate March 2, 1900. With boldness and patriotic fervor he said:

> This should be an American question, not the sport of parties or the subject of party creeds. Personally I have no doubt that our Constitution gives full right and authority to hold and govern the Philippines without making them either economically or politically part of our system * * *. When our great Chief Justice John Marshall declared in the Cherokee case that the United States could have under its control, exercise by treaty, or laws of Congress a "domestic and dependent nation," I think he solved the question of our constitutional relations with the Philippines.

Then he discussed with a master hand the query as to whether we had taken the Philippines "righteously," the question of "the consent of the governed," Jefferson's real meaning of the words,

an historical review of governments, self-government for the Filipinos, closing with these dramatic words:

> In the long process of the patient years, those who now assail the President [McKinley] with epithets and imputations will shrink down beyond the ken of the antiquarian's microscope, but the name of the President who took the Philippines and planted our flag at the portals of the east will stand out bright and clear upon the pages of history, where all may read it, and he will have a monument better than any raised by human hands.

He dwelt upon the importance and significance of Dewey's victory, the progress of the races around the world, almost back to the "cradle of the Aryans." This march of the nations was neither "chance nor accident," but by law. He concluded with this burst of eloquence:

> I believe in the reign of law. We stand like children on the seashore, * * * understanding only the ripple of the waves breaking at our feet, while far away before us stretches the great ocean of knowledge. * * * There must be a power which grasps the infinitely little as well as the infinitely great. * * * If we say with reverence * * * that we are in the care of Him "who doth the ravens feed; yea, providently caters for the sparrow," are we to suppose that nations alone are not subject to law? * * * I want to see my Nation step forward boldly and take its place at the head of the nations. * * * I am proud of her past, and in that past I read her future * * * with a spirit of reverence and gratitude for all that has gone.

This speech was a masterpiece of historic and literary value. It has been quoted many times as a fine specimen of modern eloquence.

When the World War broke out in 1914, Senator LODGE was at the height of his mental and political power. He was the leader of the minority in the Senate and in line for the chairmanship of the powerful Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs. In fact, with a President in the White House of the opposite party, Senator LODGE was his party's leader in and out of Congress. To him his party looked for counsel and advice.

The World War gave him an opportunity to show his country and the world the masterful quality of his leadership. Already, in the discussion of the Philippines, he had made a deep impression. Now came another demonstration in the debate over the Panama Canal toll question in April, 1914. In a great speech in the Senate on the 9th of that month Senator LODGE boldly took his stand with President Wilson in the latter's effort to have the free tolls bill repealed. This speech was an historic review of the Clayton-Bulwer and the Hay-Pauncefote treaties, displaying vast legal knowledge and acquaintance with the diplomacy of the world.

To those who looked upon Senator LODGE as a narrow partisan and a provincial statesman, likewise defender of the policy of "splendid isolation," listen to his words:

> I am not in the councils of the President of the United States [Wilson], but I believe that during the past year the present position of the United States in its foreign relations has been very apparent to him; and with this appreciation * * * has come the earnest wish to retrace some of our steps * * * and regain * * *

the high place we formerly occupied. * * * I have for many years fought the battles of the Republican Party alike in days of sunshine and in days of storm and darkness. * * * But when the relations of my country with other nations are involved, I can not yield to them [political advantages]. My politics have always stopped at the water's edge. * * * Within our own borders Mr. Wilson is the leader and chief of the Democratic Party. In the presence of foreign nations he is to me simply the President of the United States. * * * To discredit or break down the President of the United States upon a question of foreign policy is * * * never to be undertaken except for very grave reasons. * * * In the great forum of the nations of the earth. * * * We paralyze his future power and usefulness in that field where he alone can declare the policies, the honor, and the dignity of the United States. * * * I should be faithless to the principles I have always cherished if I did not now give to him an unreserved support.

These words from the living lips of Senator LODGE should wipe away all the hate and venom of later years.

In everything pertaining to the conduct of the part the United States played in the World War, from April, 1917, to November, 1918, Senator LODGE stood by President Wilson loyally. He was even more loyal than some of the President's political family.

The real test of Senator LODGE's leadership and his conception of duty came in those memorable years between November, 1918, and November, 1920, when Mr. Harding was elected President. In discussing this important period in the life of HENRY CABOT LODGE, let me reverently quote from the words of Dr. Edwin Anderson Alderman,

who recently delivered an eloquent, kindly, and notable eulogy in honor of the late President Wilson. Said Doctor Alderman:

> In the case of a statesman, all experience warns us not to attempt to fix his final place in history until the generation that knew him and loved him, or hated him, shall have passed away. * * * Loyalty and duty and reverence none the less urge us to set down, while memory is clear and events are fresh, what we know of men upon whom their fellow men placed great burdens of power, to whom whole races and nations turned in moments of peril and disaster, and upon whose decisions, from time to time, rested the courses of history.

In this same spirit I approach the delicate yet pleasing portion of my eulogy. At this hour, when the grave silences all hate and levels all passion, it is well to accord to the two great leaders of opposing thought their just due and dwell upon the noble and sincere efforts of each. As Doctor Alderman says, the details of this controversy are "a sea of fascinating but futile conjecture, upon which I shall not embark."

Amid the storm centering about the proposed covenant, so dear to the heart of the President, it is only just to clearly and concisely and honestly give the point of view of Senator LODGE and those who stood with him in that historic struggle.

If I should search for the underlying cause of Senator LODGE's activity and attitude in this matter, I would find it in his sketches of lives of Washington, Hamilton, Lincoln, Webster, and Roosevelt; in Washington's fixed belief in an absolute breaking with the politics of other peoples; Hamilton's

superb nationalism and central government; Webster's eloquent "Liberty, union, now and forever"; Lincoln's sacrifice to save the Union and nationality; Roosevelt's uncompromising Americanism. To Senator LODGE peace without victory seemed a surrender of honor. He said frankly in the Senate April 4, 1917, that—

> there are some things worse for a nation than war * * * national degeneracy and national cowardice.

On many occasions Senator LODGE expressed the hope that universal peace might come and war be outlawed forever. In 1912 he gloried in "one hundred years of peace" for the United States. Before the National Security League he said:

> We wish to be at peace with all the world.

In the Senate February 28, 1919, he said:

> Everybody hates war; everyone longs to make it impossible. We all earnestly desire to advance toward the preservation of the world's peace, and difference in method makes no distinction in purpose.

In his memorable debate with President Lowell of Harvard University, he said:

> I want peace throughout the world.

Senator LODGE's whole life was a life of ideals studded with poetic gems all breathing the spirit of peace; but he would not surrender what he believed to be the independence of the United States nor would he indorse a policy that "meant an abandonment of the policy we have hitherto

pursued." Almost his last comment on the work of the Arms Conference, of which he was a member, was:

> It will help to maintain the peace of the world.

In his debate with President Lowell, Senator LODGE frankly admitted:

> I am in favor of a union of nations in any league, alliance, or society, or whatever name they choose to call it, that will tend to suppress war and so far as possible secure the world against war; but I am opposed to any league that, in my judgment, will promote war instead of peace.

Nor was he willing to surrender American independence and nationality.

Now the curtain must drop over the controversy. It is a problem for the future to solve. Both of the leading actors have passed off the stage. They have passed into history, and to both a generous Nation yields homage and respect.

Of this important period in Senator LODGE's career, Bishop Lawrence said at a dinner given in Mr. LODGE's honor in Boston:

> He undertook to rebuild in the hearts of the people the conviction of the integrity, the duty, and the independence of the Nation. In this great campaign, streaked with passion and tragedy, the voice of HENRY CABOT LODGE led. He was moved by the deepest sense of duty, of love for his country, and a desire to see her stand that in time she may serve all the nations of the world.

Time is a great healer, and it is fortunate that the passing years bring new scenes to conceal the bitterness of the past. Senator LODGE suffered keenly from the performance of what he deemed

his duty. Soon after the death of President Wilson, Mr. LODGE said to a friend:

I have always regretted that circumstances prevented a continuance of my former friendly relations with Mr. Wilson. I have always accorded to Mr. Wilson sincerity in enunciating views and expounding doctrines I could not look upon with favor, or support. There was nothing personal in my attitude toward a policy I believed would prove detrimental to my country.

There were a few essential guiding principles in Senator LODGE's career for all to remember.

A man in public life—

He said—

stands on his own merits, not on the faults or sins of others.

In a letter to a friend in Massachusetts he wrote:

There is only one absolute master whom I recognize, and that is my own conviction of what is right. There is only one approval that is absolutely essential to me, and that is the approval of my conscience.

The life and soul of HENRY CABOT LODGE were a part of the Nation. Mr. LODGE was painfully aware that not a few called him cold, austere, and severe. In his Lexington, Mass., speech in 1896 he said in passing:

They tell us sometimes that our people are too much like the granite of our hills. So let it be. Strength and endurance * * * are qualities of granite, and the foundation also on which a race can build a great present and a mighty future. But let it not be forgotten that when you pierce its heart, you find running across it the rich, warm veins of color gathered there through dim ages in which contending forces molded the earth forms we now see about us.

Of HENRY CABOT LODGE, Bishop Lawrence once said:

There rests in you one of the tenderest hearts and a sentiment as sweet and refined as any man would wish to have, and a sentiment of such delicacy and refinement and affection as belongs to those who are of the choice characters of the world.

Here let us leave him "among the immortals." In life his one prayer seemed to be:

There studious let me sit
And hold high communion with the mighty dead.

Throughout his career he was guided by Webster's appeal at the laying of the corner stone of Bunker Hill Monument:

Let our object be our country, our whole country, and nothing but our country.

It has been said that the great are appreciated only after they leave this life. Not so with HENRY CABOT LODGE. In the words of Macaulay:

What a singular destiny has been that of this remarkable man! To be regarded in his own age as a classic and in ours as a companion! To receive from his contemporaries that full homage which men of genius have in general received only from posterity.

Address by Senator Underwood

Of Alabama

Mr. PRESIDENT: Through nearly three decades of service I have seen the men who directed the destiny of the Nation come and go as actors upon the stage. They played their parts, they lived their hours, and marched on into the fields of private life or into the long road of eternity. Most of these men have possessed character and attainments. In their hour they have served their country with the highest sense of patriotism directing their course. Many issues of public importance have been raised and many political battles have been fought with earnestness of purpose, and sometimes with rancor, to the final conclusion of victory or defeat. We meet and know these men more or less on the legislative battle field. They are our comrades in defending principles in which we believe or they are our opponents in barring the way to our success, but with it all they are "good fellows"—kindly, charming men, possessing more than the average brains and ability, coming from the best of the Nation. Thus we meet, battle and strive among ourselves until we awake to find the flag on the Capitol at half-mast, and we know that one of the legislative soldiers has passed away from life's battle field. Then we lay aside the sword of political combat and truly see the outstanding character of the friend and comrade who has marched on.

I am sure that all of us felt this way about Senator HENRY CABOT LODGE when the press dispatches told us that the end had come. All of us did not belong to his political party, but we regarded him as an able, learned, and forceful adversary, tenacious of his own political faith, grounded as few others were in the fundamentals of his party, and always loyal to the principles and policies of the great Republican Party, to which he dedicated the best years of his life. But when the end came our arms were grounded; the battle was over; time and history stood guard over what was left to us of a good friend and a worthy companion.

I shall not attempt to speak of his long and successful career as a legislator. Others more intimately allied with him in his legislative work can tell the story of his great and successful career better than can I. Nor will I attempt to review that portion of his life that in the end will bring to him fame and fix his place for all time on the pages of history. He died occupying a distinct place among the literary men of America. As a historian his works stand without challenge in the front ranks. As an essayist and a critic he has given to the country and to the world some of its very best thoughts and ideas and ideals that will endure into the centuries to come.

What I principally desire to say, Mr. President, is in regard to my service with Senator LODGE on the conference called at Washington looking to a reduction of armament and the settlement

of some of the grave questions that confronted us in the Far East. At the conference table there was no partisanship or party politics. The four men who represented the United States of America as commissioners had but one desire, and that was so to serve their country that their work might lead toward the lasting peace of the world. At the Washington conference Senator LODGE's long training in diplomatic questions, his splendid education in the history of the world's affairs, his masterful knowledge of the dangerous issues that lead to world embroilment, and his clear and analytical mind blazed the way toward the solving of many of the difficult problems that confronted the American delegation.

When the clouds of political discord have rolled away, when time has cleared the skies and given us a juster vision of the outstanding questions of our day as they will stand among the mountain peaks of history, I feel sure that the work of the Washington conference will be regarded as having attained high ideals in insuring the peace of the Orient and blazing the way to a permanent disarmament of the nations of the world, and when that time comes HENRY CABOT LODGE will stand in the front rank and among the great leaders who accomplished this successful result.

Address by Senator Wadsworth

Of New York

Mr. PRESIDENT: I am glad of this opportunity to express my appreciation of HENRY CABOT LODGE. I shall not attempt to review his remarkable achievements in public life or in the field of literature, but shall confine myself to one or two comments as to his personal characteristics as I found them to be.

At the outset, Mr. President, I may be pardoned a personal reference. Ten years ago or thereabouts I came to the Senate, comparatively speaking, pretty much a youngster both in years and experience, and conscious of that fact, sought advice from those who could give it. It was with some trepidation that I went to Senator LODGE and with what boldness I could summon asked him for help. I shall never forget the generosity of his response. Not only at that time but during all our service together in the Senate he extended to me, as he did no doubt to many others, that friendly hand and generous slap on the back which is so encouraging, especially when coming from an older to a younger man. I learned, therefore, early in my contact with Mr. LODGE of his innate kindliness and generosity.

It has been said or thought of him, perhaps, by some people that he was not very approachable. I have a different conception of him in that respect. Mr. LODGE had a sensitive regard for the privacy

of others. One can not visualize him, or one would find it difficult to visualize him, "scraping acquaintance" with a total stranger. He might be well-nigh overcome with desire to know a man and discuss some topic of interest with him, but he could not bring himself to invade that man's privacy. This may have been shyness; it may have come from the old New England habit of thought—and it should be remembered that in his blood flowed the essence of old New England—but whatever gave rise to that habit in him it had a most profound effect upon his relations with his fellows. He wanted friendship; he could not go out and demand it; but when he formed a friendship or when friendship came to him, he was proud of it and cherished it in a manner difficult to describe.

There was much of the poet in him. He loved beauty in art and in literature, and one could have no more delightful experience than to hear Mr. LODGE discourse about great authors, great books, great paintings, and great statues. To the most ill informed on matters of that sort, Mr. LODGE could describe works of art and of literature in a manner to capture the imagination of his listeners.

He could clothe an author or a book in his description in such fashion as to excite the interest of his hearers and bring them to a better comprehension of the classics in these fields. I say it was a delight, as well as an education, to hear him discourse on things of that sort. Sometimes I thought that he was at his very best when, surrounded by a group of friends, he found an opportunity thus to converse.

I say he loved beauty in nature. Perhaps it is not generally known to the public that Mr. LODGE loved a good horse. In all of his life he loved horses. Nothing gave him more of a thrill, I am led to believe, than galloping across country, across fields, out in the open, on an intelligent and high-spirited horse. He loved to exchange reminiscences with lovers of the horse, and he did it in such fashion as to display his affection for that noble animal and also his liking for the outdoors; and, Mr. President, if I may be pardoned the suggestion, it is very seldom that a man who loves an intelligent and high-spirited horse fails to be a good sportsman in all of life's contentions.

His patriotism has been mentioned here this afternoon and full justice has been done to it. I might make this observation: It seemed to me as I heard him talk with his friends on both sides of the Chamber during the days when great debates were going on in the Senate in relation to the future of our country and its contact with other nations, that his patriotism had a certain element of fierceness in it. I am sure that all of you can remember the intensity with which he would express his convictions concerning the destiny of the United States, whether he was expressing them upon the floor of the Senate or in private conferences. There was an element of fierceness in it, and this may be regarded as somewhat unusual in a scholar and historian. All too often, in my humble judgment, scholars extend their national affections a little too liberally and are lacking

in that very intensity of love for their own country which, after all, is so essential to a nation if it is to survive in a crisis. But Mr. LODGE's reading, his study of the history of nations and the habits of human beings, apparently led him to that kind of patriotism which I have endeavored to describe. He was proud of his country, always proud of it. No matter whether the administration here at Washington was Democratic or Republican, he was proud of the United States. He could not bear to think that it was taking second place in any of its international contacts. I have often thought, as we have talked with him in the Committee on Foreign Relations, that his consistent support of the Diplomatic and Consular Service was due in large measure to this feeling. He wanted to be sure that the American ambassador or the American minister or the American consular officer was holding his own against all comers at his foreign post.

The Senator from Utah [Mr. Smoot], in referring to Mr. LODGE's patriotism, has mentioned his support of an administration of an opposite party while the country was facing a great crisis. That was perfectly typical of him. He was not without ambition. What good man is without ambition? But his ambition was to serve. He took pride in service. He might have led a much happier life had he not been in public service. He had many resources at his command—financial, social, literary—which would have engaged his time and delighted his mind; but he wanted to serve, to serve

his country. He wanted to serve her well; and at times he was conscious, I think, of the fact that he had served his country well, and that made him happy. His pride in service was not confined to his own service. He was happy and glad to see others serving well; and, I think, nothing in all his life made him quite so happy and quite so proud as the service rendered to his country by his son-in-law, Augustus P. Gardner. Many of you, no doubt, have heard him mention Mr. Gardner with a very evident thrill of pride.

Mr. LODGE was devoted to his home; and his home was in Massachusetts, never in Washington. Whenever he got the chance he went back to Nahant, which had been his home from early boyhood, the home of all his family, the home of his children, and in some measure the home of his grandchildren. His heart was there, and there was much of deep and rich sentiment in his heart. As I recollect him now, I feel that he would have been even happier had he been able to express his tender sentiments to his fellows as freely as he would have liked. His inability to do so—if I may use that expression—was due to that quality or habit of thought which I tried to describe a few moments ago.

Mr. President, contact with a man like Mr. LODGE is inspiring; it is helpful, and, I say frankly, especially helpful to those of younger years. We are all better men for his having been here, and this country is a better country.

Address by Senator Moses

Of New Hampshire

Mr. PRESIDENT: When HENRY CABOT LODGE entered the House of Representatives there were those who later sat with him here who still lisped in their numbers, and there were those who later came to follow him in the other Chamber who were yet unborn. During his service here he passed through the whole or a part of nine presidential terms; he helped to formulate the legislation necessitated by two wars; he took a leading part in the most fiercely contested fiscal controversy which has ever divided the country, and he made a notable contribution to its solution; he sat as a member of two great international conferences, with one of which he crowned his life work; he twice declined to give up his seat here to take a Cabinet portfolio; he outlived every man whom he found here; yet he died at an age when his expectation of life was far from depleted, and the shock of his going from us may be likened to the loss of an institution rather than to the departure of an individual.

He came to the other Chamber, sir, with a high reputation as a legislator and as a party leader in his own State, and he came here with a heightened fame gained by his service in the other branch, where his intimacy and cooperation with the two great leaders of his party in that period had made him an outstanding figure. And he

brought with him also those intrinsic qualities which we all later came to know so well and which made him a leader in his own right quite apart from any of the privileges of seniority.

But it must be remembered that he came here when the old traditions of the Senate were yet unbroken, when the rule of silence upon newcomers had more than one way of enforcing itself, when no fledgling Senator could count himself as inter pares, except perhaps upon some highly venturesome record vote, and when high committee place or a foremost seat in party conference were the concomitant of years of service not unmixed with good behavior. And he came here, too, as a member of the minority.

To these conditions the new Senator from Massachusetts accommodated himself. His first committee assignments carried no major positions and were, for the most part, selected from that list which we some years ago discarded as no longer serviceable even for the purpose of providing clerkships to a fortunate chairman. Neither of the two committees to which he aspired most ardently and with the largest individual right fell to him until after two sessions of service, and it was four years before he gained a place upon the great committee where he served so long and for the chairmanship of which he was forced to wait for more than 20 years.

Therefore it came that Mr. LODGE succeeded, almost simultaneously, to the majority leadership and to the chairmanship of the Committee on

Foreign Relations. This collocation, synchronizing with the formulation of the great problems growing out of the end of the war, and some of them seeming even to this day to have no end for themselves, led him into the period of his greatest fame and of his greatest successes.

It is but just to remember that between Senator LODGE and his great antagonist a gulf was fixed; and it is equally just to remark, now that both are gone, that Mr. LODGE never permitted personal rancor to tincture any of his most private discussions of any phase of the great question which was finally answered by our definite rejection of the League of Nations. The differences which this controversy engendered were, so far as the two chief contenders were concerned, fundamental, both as to philosophy and to practice.

Mr. LODGE, however, had but one source of approach to the topic—through the personnel of the Senate, in his own committee, and here on the floor.

He was early, I think he was the first, to perceive that the most effective manner of averting from the country the perils which he believed inherent in the treaty of Versailles was to attach reservations to the instrument. Accordingly, when the document was brought upon the floor after committee deliberations which were painstakingly conscientious and marked by sharp divergence of opinion, it carried in its train what were and are and will always be known as the Lodge reservations, though few of them originated with him, and none of them emerged exactly as he first prepared them.

Then followed the brilliant debate which marked the sessions of the Senate in the first session of the Sixty-sixth Congress—a debate worthy of the greatest days in our old Chamber or here, flowing at a high level of conscience and expression despite occasional outbursts of irritation arising chiefly, no doubt, from the heat of summer and the jaded condition of Senators long confined to a stern task. To this debate Mr. LODGE made continuous and signal contribution, both in running colloquy from day to day and in set speeches wherein his saturation with the subject, his blazing conviction on the central issue, his superb style, his wealth of scholarship, and a speaking manner which he never before had equaled made him the admiration and despair of both friend and foe.

Not less brilliant, and of far greater practical consequence in the shaping of the issue which he had clearly foreseen from the beginning, was the tactical skill with which he marshaled his forces. The majority was a slender one at best, and there were divisions of opinion in it almost as sharp as those which have lately existed here. Yet we saw the leader, day after day, gather up his entire party vote and cast it unbroken in support of the policy which he had devised and through which he planned to shape a greater policy for a wider test. And the end saw him successful. The issue was joined for a nation-wide battle; it was he who sounded the keynote for the contest; and it was his name about which the contest was waged quite as much as about the name of him who really bore the banner.

His fame mounted to its zenith in those years, and culminated with his membership in the disarmament conference of 1921. But in attaining to these heights he spent his fragile physical forces. He sought reelection and secured it. But his fine strength broke and his campaign went on without him, through willing volunteers who gave of themselves that he might husband his days. These, as it proved, were found to be all too few; and his return here, though triumphant, was followed by many a lapse in an hitherto singularly constant attendance. The mists of consciously unmerited disfavor chilled him at times; and the exactions of the years at last laid him low. The finger of a sudden visitation fell upon him and his powers crumbled. There was a brief and characteristic rally of his will, but it could not summon the forces which he had once been able to command—and he fell on sleep. Those of us who felt that we knew him best, who believed that we had followed him the truest, and who cherish the thought that we loved him most, see now the place where he stood and know that that place was great, and realize that he filled it worthily.

> Now is the splendid column broke,
> The signal fire quenched in smoke;
> The trumpet's silver voice is still,
> The warder silent on the hill.

Address by Senator Fess

Of Ohio

Mr. PRESIDENT: The death of Senator LODGE is not only the loss of a great figure, but it is the passing of the rarest example of a distinctive type of public servant, the scholar in politics. In other days in our own country this was a more common type, especially in New England, who gave to the public service her Adamses, her Quincys, her Choates, her Sumners, her Hoars, and her Concord school. While in this country the scholar in politics was the exception rather than the rule, in Europe, especially in England, it was the rule rather than the exception. The best known names in the parliamentary history of our own times are Gladstone, Disraeli, Rosebery, Morley, Salisbury, Balfour, Bryce, and leaders of similar note.

For generations in English history the ambitious parent educated and trained his son for the field of politics. Invariably after taking his academic work in the preparatory school he was put through a classical training in the university, and then sent to the Continent for travel and study, to further fit him for the parliamentary career for which he was being prepared. So great was the emphasis placed upon the value of an unbroken career, undisturbed by defeat, that when a promising figure like Gladstone was endangered by one constituency some other district took him up and sent him. In this way the Kingdom could be assured the public service

of her most distinguished talents for a period of 60 years or longer, not uncommon in England.

It has been truly said of the earlier Parliaments of England that when matters of any particular interest in legislation came up for consideration it could be committed to a special committee made up of experts in the subject taken from the body of the membership of Parliament.

Mr. President, HENRY CABOT LODGE is the latest and the most distinguished Member of the American Congress to represent scholarly attainment devoted to public service in the legislative halls of the Nation. Measured by the highest standards he holds high rank with the best in any period of our country's history.

Eminently favored by ancestry, among the best of the New England type, carefully trained by the greatest teachers in the oldest educational institution of the land, he took the first step in serving the intellectual cause of his time as editor of the North American Review. It was not long until he entered Congress, first the House of Representatives, then the Senate, in which body he spent close to a third of a century.

While service in this body would claim the entire mind of the average Member, it for him was but the occasion for a still wider service outside, as evidenced by the number of books he wrote, the speeches he delivered upon sundry topics on various occasions, and the special articles contributed to magazines, in addition to the numerous books he read and criticized. It is stated by high authority that letters written to authors reviewing

volumes coming to his attention would, if collected, be a notable work on literary criticism. The catalogue of the titles of the books which came from his pen, showing the large number of volumes and the various subjects therein treated, is suggestive of his versatility.

While all his addresses were invariably scholarly and erudite, some of them, such as the Widener Memorial Library address, will rank with the very best when judged by the highest standards of classical oratory.

I am reminded of an incident in the life of a former scholar in politics, James A. Garfield. A constituent called for him at the Capitol and was told he would likely find him in the Library, whereupon he sought him out and found him seated behind a pile of books. "What are you reading?" inquired the constituent. "Oh, I am reading Horace to see if I can find something new." This is a characteristic of the scholar. LODGE's familiarity with the classics is disclosed by the frequent allusions to classical literature and his timely quotations from the masters. He was equally at home in Greek and Latin, and his familiarity with history, whether ancient or modern, was revealed in almost every line in his addresses.

Senator LODGE loved the library. He believed and often quoted Milton's famous saying:

> A good book is the precious lifeblood of a master spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life.

He profited by the literature of knowledge and reveled in the literature of imagination. The

former served him as a basis of judgment in coming to conclusions, while the latter was his chief joy as he conversed with the master minds of the past.

The former was his background and chief reliance as a statesman, a man of action, while the latter gave him the enviable position of the man of scholarly attainment employing his leisure hours in thinking over and enjoying the best in the field of literature.

His logical mind was stored with historical information which served him well as a legislator, since every question was viewed from the background of what had already taken place. He was never taken unawares or swept from his feet by some new proposal, for not infrequently what was new to the mind unfamiliar with history was but a retrial in the present of what had been tried and failed in many other countries many times. In our times we have heard proposed schemes of finance entirely new to many legislators and to most of our citizens unfamiliar with history, but to Senator LODGE a mere repetition in other phraseology of what had been attempted dozens of times before. So it is with measures like the League of Nations, new to many, but to such as the distinguished Massachusetts scholar a revamping in a more elaborate fashion what had often been proposed in European history before. This familiarity with history, and his conversance with literature, together with his ability as a linguist, gave him a place in our national life which will most likely remain vacant for time to come.

His equipment admirably fitted him for the position of a teacher, whether in the university, the editor's chair, the open forum, or the Senate of the United States.

For his chief devotion he chose service in this body, where the public has been served for a third of a century. During his career he has enjoyed the sympathetic friendship of the leaders of his own party and the respect of those of the opposing party. He counted as his warmest friends leaders in other countries, such as Arthur Balfour, Lord Bryce, and others. When Sir Arthur Conan Doyle was recently in America he was asked by an admirer of this great figure in the world of letters what American he would like to meet. His answer, without hesitation, was Senator LODGE. This reputation was not accidental but a well-merited recognition of real literary worth.

While it is true that his name is not attached to many statutes, neither were the names of the greatest of his predecessors in this body. His chief service here was given to our foreign relations, better understood by him from the historical angle than any of his contemporaries. His guidance in this field was quite generally followed until the League of Nations became an issue.

Without entering upon the merits of that issue, leaving it to time to determine, his leadership on that issue must be conceded by the impartial thinker as the most remarkable in this generation.

The issue called for a reversal of policy and involved, as was contended, our national sovereignty.

It was supported on the one side by a President universally conceded as a leader of remarkable ability and power. He was supported by party leadership, both in and out of the Senate, and by a popular clamor unequaled in our time. His position was at first strongly advocated by the church, the college, the press, and much of the womanhood of the Nation. In opposition stood Senators, both Republican and Democrat, led by Senator LODGE. Among these were the irreconcilable group and the mild reservationists, almost as far apart as the parties in contention on the main issue. To lose any of either group meant to lose what was alleged the battle for national independence.

The problem of leadership was to so conduct the consideration as to hold these elements together and in opposition to a proposal backed by the most powerful propaganda for peace in the history of mankind. Whatever be the verdict of history as to the wisdom of the result, no fair-minded citizen will deny the character of leadership that achieved the final result.

This brilliancy of the leadership of our former colleague was dimmed by that part of the press which ascribed partisan motives rather than fundamental principle as the driving force of the opposition to the covenant. So well planned was this propaganda that the brilliant career of the distinguished Senator suffered somewhat in spite of the overwhelming verdict of the people supporting his position.

Mr. President, it is but additional evidence that the rewards of public service are evanescent. Deeds of men, no matter how distinguished, are not long remembered. He is unwise, indeed, who allows his conduct to be determined by the mere desire for the approbation of his times. Senator LODGE took the wiser course, to square his words and deeds with the rule of national duty, knowing full well that in the heat of partisan debate uprightness of public conduct has small chance of immediate vindication.

Senator LODGE is missed by his colleagues. His absence from our councils is felt. His genial presence and commanding figure will not again appear. He will ever be remembered in the most kindly manner by those who knew him. His deeds are a part of his country's history, and his words are among her choicest records. His death is the passing of the best type of the scholar in politics. Quite naturally his going will be most keenly felt by his State, which he so loved and so signally honored.

The Nation will suffer the irreparable loss of such a defender of her honor and her rights. But, most of all this body, the forum in which he exerted his talent and gave his best service to maintain its standing and dignity as the greatest legislative body in the world, will suffer most in the passing of this universally recognized scholar in American politics. While it is too early to properly fix his definite place as a statesman, it is not too soon to assert that as the scholar in politics he will not suffer in comparison with the greatest of the long list of great men who have served in this body.

Address by Senator Butler

Of Massachusetts

Mr. President: It has been an occasion of pride to the sons of Massachusetts that those among them who seemed most accurately to typify her special and acknowledged characteristics have so often been representative of a broad and richly cosmopolitan nationalism. In their loyalty to the traditions and institutions of their native State, they have sacrificed nothing of devotion to the greater, indeed the supreme ideal of the Nation.

Massachusetts in this respect in no wise differs from the other sovereign Commonwealths which make up our Union. Rather, let me say that to this capacity for a dual loyalty, capable of embracing at once the modest needs and interests of a neighborhood and the mighty concerns of a continental republic, this Nation owes alike the high fortune which has attended its past and the noble destiny for whose realization we look so confidently to the future.

To-day we devote a solemn hour to acknowledgment of the Nation's debt to a great son of New England, one who united in his life and public activities this loyalty to his native Commonwealth with an intense love for the Republic of which it is a part.

Henry Cabot Lodge was characteristically a New Englander, partly because his ancestry and traditions made him so, and partly because

Massachusetts generously sustained him in his ambition to be that. He was just as characteristically an American, and the Nation gave to him, in his quality as a great national figure, the same confidence and admiration that were bestowed upon him by his State in his character as one of the foremost of its sons.

His forbears had from early colonial times been among the leaders of the Commonwealth, bearing a large and honorable part in building up its maritime establishment. Shipowners and merchants, they traded extensively with the Far East and many other parts. Intimate knowledge of distant lands and a keen interest in their history, peoples, institutions were thus as much a part of his inheritance as was his intense pride in his own country and his confidence in its splendid destiny.

Equipped with such an inheritance and such traditions, it was natural that his tastes should have directed him toward a public career. From the first his studies were such as better to fit him for it. Public affairs and the science of public administration were his dominating interests. Though he probably never thought seriously of practicing at the bar, he took the Harvard law course and graduated with distinction. As a Harvard lecturer on American history, and as editor of the North American Review and the International Review, he further perfected his training for the career which had now become his controlling ambition. In these preparatory tasks he gave an example of thoroughness. Restlessness and impatience to gain a start in the race have too often resulted in failure

at its end. Senator LODGE was willing to risk the end if he could be sure of a good beginning.

The habits of industry and study remained with him always. They grew upon him through the years of more engrossing tasks and larger participation in big affairs. One needs but to survey the long list of his published writings to realize how indefatigable a producer he was. It was an unending wonder to his intimates that he could find the time and keep alive the zeal for his wide range of occupations.

In his boyhood he was constantly in touch with the traditions of the sea. He could sail a boat with the skill of an able seaman, and while he was fond of horses and riding, and during his collegiate days boxed with a skill that few suspected and none realized so fully as those who tested their skill against his, the sea had most attraction for him. This love of the sea persisted to the end. He loved to watch it from the vantages of his home at Nahant, perched high above the waves that all but surrounded it.

With such tastes it is not strange that he wrote vividly when he touched topics which concerned the sea and naval history and maritime power. In public life he was always concerned in behalf of the Navy and zealous to maintain the early glories it had won, and of which he had been one of the most engaging historians.

Yet his predilection for the things of the sea did not dominate his literary efforts. At 27 years of age he produced a volume, The Land Law of the Anglo-Saxons, which in its own field of historical

review, legal exposition, and social analysis has never been displaced. His histories and biographies cover all epochs of American life. As editor or as author his works aggregate a good-sized library. Yet their production never interfered with his activities in current affairs, his place as a leader and a power in State and Nation. His authority and weight in this body went far to shape national policies for many years. His part in the momentous events which took place in this Chamber during the years immediately following the World War assures his place among the great parliamentary figures of all time. It is yet too early to judge where he will at last be ranked by reason of those activities; but, whatever the final verdict of history, we may be sure that his courage, his determination, and his unfaltering patriotism will never be questioned.

Mr. LODGE was elected to the House of Representatives in 1886, and from it was sent to the Senate in 1893. Remaining here until death closed his career, he made one of the longest records of continuous service in the country's history. It was a service marked by constant growth in intellectual stature, in influence, and in authority in the councils of party and of Nation. He was a vigorous, at times a bitter, partisan; but his partisanship was always based on a firm conviction that his party's success was the means to his country's advancement.

His friendship, his intimate companionship, with President Roosevelt, a friendship which began in the youth of both men and continued to the death

of the former President, was one of those fine epochs in the life of men which belongs also to the life of the Nation.

For many years he made it a rule to spend a good part of each third year in foreign travel. Through these journeyings and his voluminous correspondence with friends both at home and abroad he became well-nigh as widely and intimately acquainted with leaders in European as with those in American life.

Here was one of the most versatile, accomplished, and widely cultured men that our American public life has claimed. The State which sent him here was always sure that in doing so it alike honored itself and served the Nation. On this day of your memorial his native Massachusetts joins in the tribute which you pay him, shares in your mourning for his loss, and yet feels its sorrow tempered with a stern pride. For it knows that in the honor you pay to his arduous works, his clean life, and his unsullied memory you do honor also to the noble Commonwealth which gave him to the Nation.

Mr. President, I ask for the adoption of the resolutions submitted by my colleague.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Pepper in the chair). The question is upon agreeing to the resolutions submitted by the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Walsh].

The resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Senator, I move that the Senate do now adjourn.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and the Senate (at 7 o'clock p. m.) adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, January 20, 1925, at 12 o'clock meridian.

FRIDAY, *January 23, 1925.*

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair lays before the Senate a communication from J. E. Lodge, a son of the late distinguished Senator from Massachusetts, acknowledging receipt of resolutions recently adopted by the Senate, which will be printed in the Record.

The communication is as follows:

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
FREER GALLERY OF ART,
Washington, D. C., January 22, 1925.

GEORGE A. SANDERSON, Esq.,
Secretary United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: On behalf of my family and myself, I beg to thank you for the copy of the Senate resolutions of January 19, 1925, and to ask that you will convey to the Senate our grateful appreciation of the action they have taken in connection with the death of my father.

Very truly yours,

J. E. LODGE.

MONDAY, *February 16, 1925.*

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Farrell, its enrolling clerk, communicated to the Senate the resolutions of the House adopted as a tribute to the memory of Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE, late a Senator from the State of Massachusetts.

Proceedings
in the
House of Representatives

Proceedings in the House of Representatives

MONDAY, *December 1, 1924.*

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Craven, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with deep regret and profound sorrow the announcement of the death of the Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE, late a Senator from the State of Massachusetts.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, it is with a sense of very great sorrow that I announce the death of the Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE, late a Senator from the State of Massachusetts. I offer the following resolution, which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read (H. Res. 364) as follows:

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE, a Senator of the United States from the State of Massachusetts.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased Senator.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Mr. Speaker, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 55 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, December 2, 1924, at 12 o'clock noon.

TUESDAY, *January 20, 1925.*

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Craven, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE, late a Senator from the State of Massachusetts.

Resolved, That as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the business of the Senate be now suspended to enable his associates to pay tribute to his high character and distinguished public service.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution which I send to the Clerk's desk and ask its immediate consideration.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

Ordered, That Sunday, February 15, 1925, at 2 p. m., be set apart for addresses on the life, character, and public services of the Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE, late a Senator from the State of Massachusetts.

The question was taken, and the motion was agreed to.

SUNDAY, *February 15, 1925.*

The House met at 2 o'clock p. m.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, our heavenly Father, Thou hast been our dwelling place in all generations, therefore we would close the outer doors of our beings and rest in the quiet of the inner chamber for a moment. By this silent effort we would renew our vows, declare our Christian faith, and ask Thee to direct the issues of our lives. Give us the trust that lifts skyward and sees beyond the sky line. We thank Thee that there is nothing in life, nothing in death, and nothing beyond the grave that is able to separate us from the Father and His love.

Bless unto us the memories of those who have left us, and may the service that they rendered to our country abide while time passes by. Do Thou give unto us the faith and the courage to break through earth's cares, earth's burdens, and earth's sorrows, and wait patiently, work industriously, and rest sweetly until the dawning of the perfect day. Amen.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the special order for to-day.

The Clerk read as follows:

On motion of Mr. Treadway, by unanimous consent—

Ordered, That Sunday, February 15, 1925, be set apart for memorial addresses on the life, character, and public services of the Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE, late a Senator from the State of Massachusetts.

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following resolution, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read (H. Res. 442) as follows:

Resolved, That the business of the House be now suspended that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE, late a Senator from the State of Massachusetts.

Resolved, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, and in recognition of his distinguished public career, the House at the conclusion of these exercises shall stand adjourned.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

Resolved, That the Clerk send copies of these resolutions to the family of the deceased.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

Address by Representative Treadway

Of Massachusetts

Mr. SPEAKER: It is only within a few weeks that the Senate of the United States paid deserved tribute through the eulogies of several of its Members to the memory of one of their former colleagues, HENRY CABOT LODGE, of Massachusetts.

The addresses delivered at that time were equally keen in their praise of Senator LODGE on whichever side of the political aisle the seats of the speakers were located. For 31 years he had been a Member of that body. During that entire time he was always prominent, always forceful, always expressive of his opinions on great public questions of the day.

It is not of that service to the State of Massachusetts and to the Nation that I wish to speak to-day—others are more competent to do that—but of a certain personal side of the life and character of this distinguished statesman.

My first recollection of Mr. LODGE was as a visitor to Washington when quite a young man. He was then a Member of this body. Mr. Reed was Speaker, and I listened with rapt attention to an address by Mr. LODGE on a naval appropriation bill. His clear voice rang out in resilient tones throughout the Chamber and his speech made a marked impression upon me.

It would be practically impossible for any man in any way connected with Massachusetts affairs

not to feel a personal acquaintance with Mr. LODGE during the last third of a century. Although meeting him frequently at political gatherings, my first actual contact with him in a somewhat intimate way was when he accepted an invitation to address the Massachusetts Legislature upon the life of Abraham Lincoln.

It was my privilege to act as the presiding officer of the joint convention. The address of Mr. LODGE showed a most careful study of the life and character of the Great Emancipator and was received most cordially by our membership.

Perhaps the most striking occasion of association with him was when he made a most remarkable appearance before the Legislature of Massachusetts of 1911 in Symphony Hall, Boston, on the eve of the balloting for his reelection. Clouds had gathered over his political horizon, and, as so frequently happens in a prominent and lengthy public service, he had incurred the enmity of certain influential people in our State.

His friends were solicitous regarding the outcome of that address, as a small group of the legislature represented those in opposition to Mr. LODGE'S reelection.

The legislature occupied front seats in the hall, which was the largest auditorium in the city of Boston, the remainder of the building being filled to the roof with citizens to hear what might prove an address of great moment to the people of our Commonwealth.

No music, no stage setting, no presiding officer. At the appointed hour this slight figure, slight in

physique but large in mentality, came upon the stage—unaccompanied and unheralded. We usually are pleased to have honors bestowed upon friends, but a very different sensation possessed me that night. It was one of regret and sadness that a man who had given his all to our Commonwealth should feel compelled to publicly describe and defend the course he had followed in carrying out his trust.

Deliberately and plainly he described the positions he had taken upon questions before Congress during his period of service. He never spoke with deeper feeling or with less oratorical display. A great ovation was deservedly given him at the close of his address, and shortly thereafter the account of his stewardship was approved by the accredited representatives of the people of Massachusetts assembled in the general court.

This meeting was unique. Here was a great man accounting for the way in which he had filled a great office. But he also realized that his greatness was on trial. It seemed to me as though he was being persecuted for the great services he had performed. He was pleading his case almost as a lawyer would defend a client. The reverse should have been the case. He should have been receiving the praise of the State for the services he had rendered to her and to the Nation.

Excerpts from that Symphony Hall address are particularly appropriate here:

Two things only will I say: My public service is all public. I have never had a private interest which in the

remotest way conflicted with or affected my performance of my public duties.

I have no secrets. I have nothing to conceal. No one is so acutely conscious as I of the mistakes I have made; no one realizes as I realize how often I have failed to reach in full completion the ideals I have sought to attain. But the record is there for the world to see. There is not a page upon which the people of Massachusetts are not welcome to look; there is not a line that I am afraid or ashamed to have my children and my grandchildren read when I am gone.

* * * * *

I was born and bred in Massachusetts. I love every inch of the old State, from the rocks of Essex and the glittering sands of the Cape to the fair valley of the Connecticut and the wooded Berkshire Hills.

* * * * *

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. * * * Others may easily serve her better than I in those days yet to be, but of this I am sure, that no one can ever serve her with a greater love or deeper loyalty.

Frequently we watched his methods in partisan addresses. He himself said that at times he realized he lost political support by the frankness of his speeches. I remember an occasion of this kind during the campaign of 1916 when he had become involved in a disagreement with the administration here. A less courageous man would probably have avoided the issues, especially after realizing that the explanation he made was not popular with

the people. Not so with Senator LODGE. He was convinced of the correctness of his position and reiterated his attitude upon the subject in spite of unfriendly criticism.

His hold upon the leaders of the Republican Party in Massachusetts was in evidence at every State convention he ever attended, and he rarely, if ever, missed one throughout his entire career.

In the days before the direct primaries there was frequently exhibited at these meetings considerable animosity between the friends of rival candidates or upon questions of party expediency. Mr. LODGE never failed to be in the thick of these family discussions, but in spite of it all he retained the enthusiastic support of the participants on whichever side they might have been aligned.

I especially remember a conciliatory speech he made after there had been bitterness and rancor of many hours' duration during the previous night. He said in effect that when the leaves of life began to fall and the shadows lengthen, the disagreements which in earlier life might have continued over a longer period naturally decreased, and after the questions were actually settled harmony and good feeling should again prevail.

His words were a most beautiful expression of harmonious agreement after adjustment of differences.

There was another side of Mr. LODGE'S character deserving of brief reference. A man of education, a student of world affairs, an international character, there naturally grew up a feeling on the part

of those not knowing his personal side that he was austere and cold. The reverse of this was true. He enjoyed the company of his fellow men, and among those privileged to know him, he was always fond of their association. He was never so happy as when at his Nahant home. To some it would seem too retired, but to him the rocks on the wave-swept shores, the view from the grounds, the grass of the lawns, and the sunshine over all were his companions.

Many of you recall the great address he delivered in this Chamber upon the life of Theodore Roosevelt. Words which he then spoke for his lifelong friend can be appropriately quoted as applicable to Senator LODGE:

> He had that entire simplicity of manners and modes of life which is the crowning result of the highest culture and the finest nature. Like Cromwell, he would always have said: "Paint me as I am."

We remember the Senator's intense satisfaction in the attitude taken by our own esteemed colleague, his son-in-law, Hon. Augustus P. Gardner, in the matter of national defense, resulting in his resignation of his seat in this body to actively participate in the World War. I have many times said that those of us privileged to be colleagues here of Mr. Gardner did not appreciate the service he rendered in Congress. Had we, in 1914 and 1915, followed his oft-repeated admonition upon the subject of preparedness, our men would not have been called to arms in 1917 so completely unprepared as they were for the crucial test so soon to be thrust

upon them. Like many others, Senator LODGE's son-in-law was not given the credit then due him. It is, of course, unavailing to conjecture what might have occurred in this House had Mr. Gardner not considered it his duty to resign his membership to enter active service.

I wish the Members of the House might read the Senator's address at Plymouth on December 21, 1920, marking the three-hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims. It was a complete historical sketch and demonstrated the education and accurate knowledge of its author.

Let me read you his final lines about the Pilgrims:

> They strove to do their best on earth and to make it, so far as they could in their short existence, a better place for their fellow men. They were not slothful in business, working hard and toiling in their fields and on the stormy northern seas. They sought to give men freedom both in body and mind. They tried to reduce the sum of human misery, the suffering inseparable from human existence. Whatever our faith, whatever our belief in progress, there can be no nobler purposes for man than thus to deal with the only earth he knows and the fragment of time awarded him for his existence here. As we think of them in this, the only true way, our reverence and our admiration alike grow ever stronger. We turn to them in gratitude and we commend what they did and their example to those who come after us. While the great Republic is true in heart and deed to the memory of the Pilgrims of Plymouth, it will take no detriment even from the hand of Time.

It is a frequent source of wonder how a busy man can always find time to accomplish various

things. For 40 years Mr. LODGE was prominent in House and Senate—during many years of his senatorial service he was one of its most active and influential members. Still we find him continuously engaged in literary work of the most studious kind.

From 1881 on, he contributed very regularly to the literature of the day, both in magazine articles and in books, usually of an historical nature. The various volumes he printed would almost constitute a history of this country from colonial days.

While his intimate friends were perhaps limited, his general friendship was very extended. His closest personal associates were Right Rev. William Lawrence, Bishop of Massachusetts, and Theodore Roosevelt. The former performed the last sad rites for Senator LODGE at Cambridge on November 12, whereas the Senator himself delivered the eulogy to Mr. Roosevelt in this Chamber.

Let me close this imperfect sketch of the great Senator, who so well upheld the traditions of Massachusetts, and who can rightly take his place beside the other leaders Massachusetts has furnished the Nation in the persons of Webster, Sumner, Wilson, and Hoar, by quoting from these two intimate friends.

Mr. Roosevelt in his autobiography thus speaks of Senator LODGE:

> Throughout his quarter of a century of service in the Senate and House, CABOT LODGE has ever stood foremost among those who upheld with far-sighted fearlessness and strict justice to others our national honor and interest.

Bishop Lawrence thus spoke of him at a gathering in his honor a few years before his death:

Finally, my old friend, let me say of you and before you what few of these guests know, that beneath your occasional sharpness of tongue and vigor of language and deed there rests one of the tenderest hearts, and a sentiment as sweet and refined as any man would wish to have, and a sentiment of such delicacy and refinement and affection as belongs to those who are of the choice characters of the world.

Address by Representative Gallivan

Of Massachusetts

Mr. SPEAKER: My acquaintance with Senator LODGE was political, across party lines. He was the Republican leader in Massachusetts for many years; I was a subaltern in the opposition and had opportunities to estimate in my feeble way the political leadership of the man. I think I can say without contradiction that I watched his leadership closely.

Some one has said, "Learned or unlearned, we are all politicians." Senator LODGE demonstrated many times, especially in the controversy over the League of Nations, that he was a masterful politician when he overcame some of the most distinguished college men of America who professed to be above politics. He regarded the question as one of the most far-reaching politics that had been presented to the American people, and I studied him as he fought it out on political lines.

HENRY CABOT LODGE was of gentle birth and of aristocratic lineage. He was born to wealth and educated by private tutors until he entered Harvard University. He belonged to the most exclusive cultured circles of Boston. All his environments and his early education suggested a life of travel and study and of following his chosen profession of literature; but he became a man of the people and devoted his life to the service of the State. I believe that he was conscious from the beginning

that he had chosen the life of a politician and deliberately decided to devote his intellect and his education to the people of his State as one who could meet any adversary in the field of politics.

His service in the House and Senate was longer than that of Webster, or Sumner, or Dawes, or Hoar, or any other of the illustrious sons of Massachusetts, and it was quite as distinguished. I believe he has written his name most conspicuously into the greatest chapter of American history of the last half century.

Throughout his long service here Senator LODGE never lost the confidence of his constituency. The record is unique and serves to illustrate not only the ability of the late Senator but also his understanding of the people he represented and whose confidence he retained. He was called the scholar in politics. I would put it in another way. He was a scholar and he was also a politician in the best sense of the term. He not only understood government but he tried to make his people understand. I do not forget his literary work; it was prodigious and gave him high standing; but it was apart from his politics. It was throughout his life a diversion rather than a profession. It was not done at the sacrifice of his public duties or activities.

His politics was not personal for his own advantage or advancement, but always for his party. Some of you who knew him only here in Washington, who heard him speak in the Senate or saw him absorbed in some trying foreign complication, do not realize just how he retained his influence over

the people at home or how he conducted his campaigns in Massachusetts.

May I say to you that he was always the learned politician, learned in history and in foreign affairs, and learned in human nature, knowing how to appeal to a great constituency made up of almost every condition of American life. Yet, in a campaign he was without pretense or great learning, for there he was one citizen talking to and consulting with other citizens. He could mingle with the crowd, call men by their first names, discuss their own affairs, be they farmers, millmen, fishermen, merchants, or bankers.

Senator LODGE, in my judgment, sought the support of his people as do the rest of us, getting down among them and mingling with them instead of confining his efforts to the rostrum. He was elected to this branch of Congress in 1886, reelected in 1888, 1890, and 1892; and after that last election he entered the contest for Senator to succeed Senator Dawes, and he was successful. On March 4, 1893, Mr. LODGE had the distinction of being by election both Representative and Senator from the old Commonwealth of Massachusetts, an honor that has come to few men in this country. He resigned his seat in this House and took his place in the Senate, serving there nearly 32 years.

As an alumnus of the great university which honored him and which he honored, I ever admired Senator LODGE as a scholar, as a literary man, and as a statesman; but most of all, as a Democrat, I admired him as a politician who knew how to

hold the confidence of his people as few men in public life have held a great constituency. He kept on the crest of the political wave for nearly 40 years. The great Webster did not always have the entire confidence of the people of Massachusetts when the population was much smaller and more homogeneous, nor did the eloquent Sumner or the philosophic Hoar. They all felt the sting of sharp criticism from large elements of their constituents, but Mr. LODGE, serving longer than any of them, was strong in the hearts of his people throughout his public career; hosts of his political opponents up in Massachusetts, while they did not vote for him, acknowledged that the senior Senator from Massachusetts was an honor to the State and that he was faithful to the party that elected him.

As a young man Mr. LODGE was selected as a delegate to the Republican National Convention in 1884. There were sharp divisions over candidates in that convention, as I read the report. Mr. LODGE was associated with a brilliant group of men from New England and New York who might have been called scholars in politics. There was George William Curtis, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Josiah Quincy, Richard H. Dana, Francis Cabot Lowell, Moorfield Storey, and other men of reputation from the East, and they were united for Senator George F. Edmunds, of Vermont, for President. Mr. LODGE went with them and voted for Edmunds until Blaine was nominated. They were all disappointed and chagrined, but when they got back to New York and Boston and began to discuss ways and means to

" purge the party " by defeating Blaine and helping to elect Mr. Cleveland, Mr. LODGE was not among the scholars in politics. He was a Republican, having enlisted in the Republican cause, and would not turn back or aside. He could not be an independent or a mugwump. His old friends who had encouraged him to go into politics might go their way, but for him the party had named the candidate, and he was with the party and for the candidate. He made his campaign for Blaine and was himself defeated in his first race for Congress, probably with the help of the old friends who would not support Blaine, and adding their votes to those who pretended to think LODGE was too much of a scholar in politics to represent the plain people in the district. It must have been a strange, a paradoxical entry into national politics, but it demonstrated that Mr. LODGE was not a fair-weather Republican, but a seasoned politician who followed the decisions of his party, whether it accepted his dictates or not. He played the game in the open, and its seems to me that then and there Mr. LODGE, like a master seaman, laid his course along political lines which he followed to the end.

Mr. LODGE knew that public office meant in this country political office and that honest and courageous politics was the most important element in the public service. Some of his intimate associates have told me that Mr. LODGE loved a spirited horse just as did Colonel Roosevelt and enjoyed a canter across country. But what seems more to the point, old fishermen and coast guardsmen along the

Massachusetts coast have told me that Mr. LODGE sailed a yacht or a fishing smack like a master seaman; that he had no fear of cross currents or head winds off the coast where a real seaman is necessary to control a fishing boat in a storm.

There are cross currents and head winds in Massachusetts politics, and, in my judgment, Mr. LODGE recognized both and knew how to deal with them. He no doubt had as keen delight in sailing a rough sea in politics as on the ocean, for he was an accomplished master politician. He did not expect to sail always before gentle political breezes and have his constituents blindly follow his lead. In great contests he always fought tenaciously, as we saw in that titanic contest over the League of Nations.

My greatest admiration for Mr. LODGE was as a two-fisted politician and party man. He was a Republican who fought for his party and its candidates whether they were of his choice or not.

In 1912, when his closest personal and political friend, Colonel Roosevelt, grievously disappointed over the action of the Republican National Convention, permitted his name to be used at the head of another ticket, Mr. LODGE sadly remarked to a friend that children's quarrels had no place in politics nor had personal ambitions or grievances. The Republican Party had made both Roosevelt and Taft and the party must go forward regardless of personal friendships or animosities. Grieved over the quarrel that split his party, he bravely carried on in the face of certain defeat. That was

LODGE, the politician, the learned politician; it was LODGE who had the spirit of the Spartan. He could not refuse to take orders from his party, and every regular party man applauded him.

Where is there a red-blooded man, whatever his party, who can fail to recognize courage like that in American politics, can fail to admire LODGE as a fighting politician as much as they admire a great scholar, a great author, or a wise statesman?

As for me, I have chosen to pay my tribute to Mr. LODGE, the politician and typical American.

We are all politicians, great or small, wise or unwise, courageous or lacking the fighting quality, and I take for my typical American the earnest, honest, courageous, and learned politician. That was the late HENRY CABOT LODGE.

Mr. Speaker, we have assembled to pay our tributes to three distinguished Senators who served New England constituencies. To quote from the eloquent Ingalls on an occasion similar to this—

> if the lives of these men we mourn to-day are as a taper that is burned out, then we treasure their memories in vain, and their last prayer has no more sanctity to us, who soon or late must follow them, than the whisper of winds that stir the leaves of the protesting forest or the murmur of waves that break upon the complaining shore.

But this, we know in our hearts, can not be. The mind, perhaps, may quail before so stupendous a theme, and fret and chafe at its own limitations; but the soul receives its illumination more simply, by rays direct from the sources of things.

Two objects of contemplation—
said Kant—
excite my wonder—the starry heavens and the moral law.

To which the world has added a third:

Life after death.

For, good friends, this is the faith that has healed myriad sorrows and persuaded myriad mourners to the resumption of bitter tasks after the heartbreak of the newly opened grave. This is the truth, seen through tears, that has decked great cities with monuments, and inspired mighty chants of hope, triumphant over grief. A Milton and a Shelley, a Tennyson and an Arnold, easing their soul's anguish in rhythmic lamentations, voice for humanity the universal loss and its sole consolation.

What life is led in the undiscovered country none may presume to declare. We visit it only in imagination, blindfolded, as it were, by these wrappings of mortal clay. But visit it we must, now and then. Like Orpheus searching among the shades for his lost Eurydice, like Demeter descending to embrace once more her stolen daughter, we, too, are led by irresistible impulses to enter the world of the departed, and we know after such communions, brief though they be, that it is a higher and nobler world than this, for we have beheld our dear ones there, beatified and exalted, and we ourselves return radiant with a tenderness and a tranquillity not of earth.

Let us then here and now publicly commune with those immortals and acknowledge it our noblest privilege to do so. Let each of us here summon vividly the image of those dearest to him. They differed while on earth; perhaps one was greater, one was less; but the least of them now holds the key of a wisdom which was denied to Solomon and Socrates. So, doubtless, while among us he filled his place, and was, if we but knew it, indispensable. Without him there would have been a little gap in the circumference; the great circle would have been notched and marred.

"Exaltavit humiles!" He has exalted the humble! These are the profoundest words ever spoken, the seal and motto of eternal progress. They express the deepest lesson which we may learn from our brethren who are here no more—that all are worthy in a degree. So be it with the departed New England Senators whom we mourn in this hour.

Address by Representative Dallinger

Of Massachusetts

Mr. SPEAKER: I would be derelict in my duty if, representing the old historic city of Cambridge, I did not come here this afternoon to pay my tribute of respect to the memory of Senator LODGE. For it was in Cambridge that he received his collegiate education. It was in her great university that he taught American history and obtained the inspiration which made him a leader in the public life of his day and generation. It was there in old historic Christ Church, where George Washington worshiped in the days of the Revolution, that he was married. It was in Cambridge on the banks of the beautiful Charles River basin that he passed his last days of illness, and it was in that same old historic church fronting on Cambridge Common and in the sight of the old Washington elm that the last sad rites were said over his earthly remains.

It is obvious that in the short time allotted to me it is impossible to speak of all or even many of the phases of this great American statesman, but perhaps it is fitting that I should speak of HENRY CABOT LODGE as the scholar and historian. My colleague, the gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. Gallivan, who just preceded me, has spoken of Senator LODGE as a party man. He was a party man as the result of his study of American history and he was a consistent party man throughout his career. One of

his ancestors was Senator George Cabot, of Massachusetts, one of the leaders of the Federalist Party, and Senator LODGE inherited a love and admiration for the leaders of that party. Throughout his life, amid hostile criticism and bitter opposition, he remained true to the Federalist doctrine of protection to American industry. I can remember the bitter attacks made upon him when the people of his own State wanted to have free hides. He went before them and told them frankly and bravely that the policy of protection was a national policy, and that if Massachusetts and New England wanted protection upon their products they must be willing to give protection to the products of other States. He always believed in national preparedness, and this belief as well as his belief in protection was the result of his study as the historian of George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, and Daniel Webster, three great American statesmen who believed in and advocated the same policies in their day and generation.

But the man of all others in the history of our country who inspired Senator LODGE was the Father of his Country, and if Senator LODGE had rendered no other service to the American people than to leave behind him his biography of George Washington, written for the American Statesmen Series, he would have won their undying appreciation and gratitude. That life of Washington is written not only accurately, but it is written in a style so clear, vigorous, and beautiful that it is a model of historical writing. Anyone can read that life with

interest, pleasure, and fascination, and I want to trespass upon your patience by reading a few extracts from that wonderful work. How clearly and concisely Mr. LODGE refutes the charge that Washington was only a military commander of ordinary ability and paints Washington as a great military commander, one of the greatest who ever lived:

> To fight successful battles is the test of a good general, but to hold together a suffering army, through years of unexampled privations, to meet endless failure of details, and then to fight battles and plan campaigns, shows a leader who was far more than a good general. Such multiplied trials and difficulties are overcome only by a great soldier, who with small means achieves large results, and by a great man who by force of will and character can establish with all who follow him a power which no miseries can conquer and no suffering diminish.

That is one of the most beautiful pieces of English and one of the most wonderful pieces of historical writing that it has ever been my good fortune to read.

In his life of Washington Senator LODGE takes issue with the commonly accepted idea that George Washington was not the first American, but that he was an English country gentleman, an English commoner, fighting an English King. Senator LODGE combats that proposition with all his matchless eloquence, with all his splendid command of the English language, and with his great knowledge of American history. This is what he says of Washington's Americanism:

> The faith, the hope, the thought of Washington were all in the United States. *His one purpose was to make*

America independent in thought and action, and he strove day and night to build up a nation. He labored unceasingly to lay the foundations of the great empire which, with almost prophetic vision, he saw beyond the mountains, by opening the way for the western movement. His foreign policy was a declaration to the world of a new national existence, and he strained every nerve to lift our politics from the colonial condition of foreign issues. He wished all immigration to be absorbed and molded here, so that we might be one people, one in speech and in political faith. His last words, given to the world after the grave had closed over him, were a solemn plea for a home training for the youth of the Republic, so that all men might think as Americans, untainted by foreign ideas, and rise above all local prejudices. He did not believe that mere material development was the only or the highest goal; for he knew that the true greatness of a nation was moral and intellectual, and his last thoughts were for the upbuilding of character and intelligence. He was never a braggart, and mere boasting about his country as about himself was utterly repugnant to him. He never hesitated to censure what he believed to be wrong, but he addressed his criticisms to his countrymen in order to lead them to better things, and did not indulge in them in order to express his own discontent or to amuse or curry favor with foreigners. In a word, he loved his country, and had an abiding faith in its future and in its people, upon whom his most earnest thoughts and loftiest aspirations were centered. *No higher, purer, or more thorough Americanism than his could be imagined.* It was a conception far in advance of the time, possible only to a powerful mind, capable of lifting itself out of existing conditions and alien influences, so that it might look with undazzled gaze upon the distant future. *The first American in the broad national sense, there has never been a man more thoroughly and truly American than Washington.* It will be a sorry day when we consent to take that noble figure from " the forefront of the Nation's life " and rank George Washington as anything but an American of

Americans, instinct with the ideas, as he was devoted to the fortune, of the New World which gave him birth.

It was from George Washington that Senator Lodge received his inspiration, and throughout his life he was true to the teachings of the illustrious Father of his Country, even amidst the hostility and bitter opposition of the men who had been his life-long friends.

In the preface to the last edition of his Life of Washington, right after the bitter contest over the League of Nations, he speaks about Washington's Farewell Address, and refers to the two great lessons taught by the Father of his Country, national preparedness in time of peace and freedom from foreign entanglements, and closes with the following beautiful tribute, much of which might well apply to his own political career:

> There are but few very great men in history—and Washington was one of the greatest—whose declaration of principles and whose thoughts upon the policies of government have had such a continuous and unbroken influence as his have had upon a great people and through them upon the world. The criticism, the jeers, the patronizing and pitying sneer, will all alike pass away into silence and be forgotten just as the coarse attacks which were made upon him in his lifetime have faded from the memory of men; but his fame, his character, his sagacity, and his ardent patriotism will remain and be familiar to all Americans who love their country. In the days of storm and stress, when the angry waves beat fiercely at the feet of the lofty tower which warns the mariner from the reefs that threaten wreck and destruction, far above the angry seas and in the midst of the roaring winds, the light which guides those who go down in ships to the haven where they would be shines out

luminous through the darkness. To disregard that steady light would mean disaster and destruction to all to whom it points out the path of safety. So it is with the wisdom of Washington, which comes to us across the century as clear and shining as it was in the days when his love for his country and his passion for America gave forth their last message to generations yet unborn.

However men may criticize the life and public service of the great Senator from Massachusetts or differ with his attitude on public questions, no one can question his consistency and the tenacity with which he held to the views which he had reached by the long and careful study of the history of his country.

Mr. Speaker, in the death of Senator LODGE there has passed away a great statesman, a great scholar, a great orator, a great historian, and, above all, a great American, and it will be difficult to fill the place which he has left vacant in American public life.

I know of no more fitting way to close this imperfect tribute than by quoting the closing lines of the second volume of his own Life of Washington:

> The end had come. * * * He died as he had lived, simply and bravely, without parade and without affectation. His last duties were done, the last words said, the last trials borne with the quiet fitness, the gracious dignity, that even the gathering mists of the supreme hour could neither dim nor tarnish. He had faced life with a calm, high, victorious spirit. So did he face death and the unknown when Fate knocked at the door.

Address by Representative Luce

Of Massachusetts

Mr. SPEAKER: Nearly two-score years ago, as a young editor on the staff of the Boston Globe, I chanced to notice that the anniversaries of the birth of Robert C. Winthrop and HENRY CABOT LODGE fell on the same day. A paragraph linking the two men in felicitations came under the eye of Mr. LODGE and he took the pains to express his appreciation to Colonel Taylor, the publisher of the Globe. Probably Mr. LODGE never knew who was the author of the paragraph and had forgotten it when years afterwards the accidents of politics brought us together, but it has stayed in my memory as a proof of his thoughtfulness, of his regard for the good will of others, and particularly of his pleasure at being associated in the minds of men with a great Massachusetts statesman whose career may well have given to him sympathetic inspiration.

Robert C. Winthrop, then nearing the end of a long life, had presided in this House more than a generation before, resigning the Speakership to take the place of Daniel Webster in the Senate. His lineage went back to the earliest days of the colony. He was an aristocrat in the best sense of the word. He was a man of means who might have taken his ease through life, but who chose the

thornier road of public service. He was born with or developed some power of eloquence. He was a leader among the Whigs, which means that he approved the theory of a strong central government and believed in the protection of every citizen's person and property.

Henry Cabot Lodge, just beginning to make his power felt in public life, came from the same environment, under much the same circumstances. He, too, could take a just pride in the achievements of his ancestors. He, too, might have chosen the primrose path and passed through life as a dilettante. Yet he, too, preferred the toils and troubles of statesmanship. His, however, was the better fortune in the achievement of his aim, for whereas Mr. Winthrop never recovered politically from the error of his decision when slavery became the paramount issue and passed the remaining 40 years and more of his life as a private citizen, Mr. Lodge survived all the perils of a legislator and died in office.

These two men were shining examples of a type of citizenship fortunately not rare in our country, yet not appreciated. All honor to the self-made man! To him the credit for conquering obstacles and mastering fortune! Yet is he more to be extolled than the man who puts aside ease and comfort, the man impelled by no motive of personal advantage, who deliberately decides to put at the service of his country whatever fortune has brought to him?

Take one illustration of Mr. LODGE's determination to make himself of the greatest possible use to his fellows. When in the legislature he was not an attractive nor especially effective speaker. He is not remembered in this Chamber as an orator of note. Yet through study and practice he came to be a master of the power of speech, unexcelled in forensic argument, one of the few men of his time able to sway and convince multitudes.

Or, again, take his command of the written word. From the pure love of writing, rather than pass his days in the idleness of club or parlor or fritter them away in sport, he plunged into the drudgeries of authorship, and by that toil in the field of history which alone can win the plaudits of the critic achieved high standing at an age when most men have not found themselves. Then all through the busy cares of public service he continued his devotion to literature, producing from time to time essays and addresses that were the finest flower of scholarship. Their workmanship showed at every turn assiduous and constant study of the best of the world's literature. For instance, his quotations were never stale and hackneyed, were usually from sources unfamiliar to most men, yet from authors we all might well read but rarely find the time to enjoy. Throughout his life he evidently turned for both relaxation and profit to the best minds of the ages.

His achievements in statecraft others have discussed, and they will still further be discussed as

long as American history is read. Let my share in these tributes to his memory be only this record of the impression his life work made on a younger man from the same college, the same community, the same Commonwealth, who takes this opportunity to acknowledge his debt for the inspiration to work and to endeavor that through many years came to him from the example of the foremost Massachusetts statesman of our time.

Address by Representative Paige

Of Massachusetts

Mr. SPEAKER: HENRY CABOT LODGE—the very name itself has a meaning and a place in history. The man who bore it wrote it high on a half century's annals. Nurtured in environs of culture, ancestral pride, wealth, and refinement, this man might have chosen the easy way to fame—easy to him. His natural bent might have led him to some great seat of learning, or if facile to his inclinations literature would have claimed him exclusively for its own. Either sphere would thus have been enriched even beyond those contributions for which alone his name is high enrolled. Whatever course he should choose led to fame. One so well equipped had but to make the choice. He chose the thorny path of politics. With inflexible will and purpose he gave his mind and heart and service to his country and to his State. He loved both with an unwavering and undying love. For them he courted disaster to ambition, the calumny of enemies, the heart-burnings of misunderstandings. But however great the personal sacrifice it was not too great for him to make. Shafts of venom and hatred and vituperation inflict wounds and scars. He invited them; he knew they were inevitable. Yet while he took he also gave. And this warfare, though bloodless, was in his country's service. What the

reward? That only which is the fruit of a life well spent—at the end of which he could say in the words of another Massachusetts statesman, John Quincy Adams:

> I have the approbation of my own conscience.

What a splendid example was the life and the character and the public service of HENRY CABOT LODGE to the youth of America. That life was built on character and that service was the full expression of both. Yet, while an example, it is doubtful whether that life furnished an incentive—for public service to-day does not attract or allure men of the Lodge type, if such there be. Men are seeking a career, not a mission.

Material rewards are more desired than the mere honors, such as they are, in the realm of statecraft. Thus men are reasoning. And then, too, republics are ungrateful, they say. Alas, it is only too true that eminent, not to mention modest but conscientious public service, goes unnoticed and unrewarded. Must we more and more leave the work and the future destiny of the Republic to chance and to blind fate?

Patriotism demands sacrifice—not alone the supreme sacrifice, but the giving of true and loyal service—the very best that is in us, with every talent. This HENRY CABOT LODGE did. Not with one but with many talents. He gave them all to his State and to his country—his vigorous well-trained intellect, his scholarship, his mental resources, his forensic ability, his facile pen, his world knowledge, his developed statesmanship—all, all that

he was, all that he hoped to be, he gave unselfishly and unstintingly—from youth to hoary age—to a people whose flag he revered, whose Constitution he supported, whose Republic he honored.

Sir, the biographer of HENRY CABOT LODGE doubtless will find in his public utterances and in his published works of many volumes indices to his character and to the elements of his striking personality; but there will not be found, I dare say, a better insight into that element we call sentiment than is to be found in certain of his patriotic addresses, which, lest they be overlooked or forgotten, I shall take the liberty of quoting.

The first of these addresses I heard Senator LODGE deliver some 30 years ago; his theme, very dear to him, was his beloved Massachusetts. A classic, chaste in its English, eloquent in expression:

> To all who dwell within her confines, the old State is very, very dear. She has a right to our love and pride. "Behold her and judge for yourself." Here she is, a queen among Commonwealths, enthroned amidst her hills and streams, with the ocean at her feet. Trade is in her marts and prayer within her temples. Her cities stir with busy life. Her wealth grows beyond the dreams of avarice. Her rivers turn the wheels of industry, and the smoke of countless chimneys tells the story of the inventor's genius and the workman's skill. But the material side is the least of it. We rejoice mightily in her prosperity, but our love and pride are touched by nobler themes. We love the old State. The sand hills of the Cape, with the gulls wheeling over the waste of waters; the gray ledges and green pastures of Essex, with the seas surging forever on her rocks; the broad and fruitful valleys of the Connecticut; the dark hills and murmuring streams of Berkshire, have to us a tender charm

no other land can give. They breathe to us the soft message that tells of home and country. Still it is something more than the look of hill and dale, something deeper than habit which stirs our hearts when we think of Massachusetts. Behind the outward form of things lies that which passeth show. It is in the history of Massachusetts, in the lives of her great men, in the sacrifices, in the deeds, and in the character of her people that we find the true secret of our love and pride. We may not explain it even to ourselves, but it is there in the good old name, and flushes into life at the sight of the white flag. Massachusetts! Utter but the word and what memories throng upon her children! Here came the stern, God-fearing men to find a home and found a State. Here, almost where we stand, on the edge of the wilderness, was placed the first public school. Yonder, across the river, where the track of the savage still lingered and the howl of the wolf was still heard, was planted the first college. Here, through years of peril and privation, with much error and failure, but ever striving and marching onward, the Puritans built their State. It was this old town that first resisted England and bared its breast to receive the hostile spears. In the field of Middlesex the first blood was shed in the American Revolution.

On the slopes of Bunker Hill the British troops first recoiled under American fire. Massachusetts was the first great Commonwealth to resist the advance of slavery, and in the mighty war for the Union she had again the sad honor to lay the first blood offering on the altar of the Nation. This is the State that Winthrop founded. Warren died for her liberties and Webster defended her good name. Sumner bore stripes in behalf of her beliefs, and her sons gave their lives on every battle field for the one flag she held more sacred than her own. She has fought for liberty. She has done justice between man and man. She has sought to protect the weak, to save the erring, to raise the unfortunate. She has been the fruitful mother of ideas as of men. Her thought has followed the sun and been felt throughout the length of the land. May we

not say, as Charles Fox said of Switzerland, "Every man should desire once in his life to make a pilgrimage to Massachusetts, the land of liberty and peace. She has kept her shield unspotted and her honor pure. To us, her loving children, she is a great heritage and a great trust."

HENRY CABOT LODGE was not provincial. He could love Massachusetts and still love the Union. He rejoiced to see a reunited country. Thinking of him as some were wont to think of him, as irreconcilable toward his brethren of the Southland, it would be difficult to convince such that he uttered these fraternal sentiments at a dinner in Faneuil Hall, in Boston, in 1887, given in honor of Robert E. Lee Camp of Confederate Veterans—responding to the toast "The Blue and the Gray":

To such a toast, sir, it would seem perhaps most fitting that one of those should respond who was a part of the great event which it recalls. Yet, after all, on an occasion like this, it may not be amiss to call upon one who belongs to a generation to whom the Rebellion is little more than history, and who, however insufficiently, represents the feelings of that and the succeeding generations as to our great Civil War. I was a boy 10 years old when the troops marched away to defend Washington, and my personal knowledge of that time is confined to a few broken but vivid memories. I saw the troops, month after month, pour through the streets of Boston. I saw Shaw go forth at the head of his black regiment, and Bartlett, shattered in body but dauntless in soul, ride by to carry what was left of him once more to the battle fields of the Republic. I saw Andrew, standing bareheaded on the steps of the statehouse, bid the men Godspeed. I can not remember the words he said, but I can never forget the fervid eloquence which brought tears to the eyes and fire to the hearts of all who listened. I

understood but dimly the awful meaning of these events. To my boyish mind one thing alone was clear, that the soldiers as they marched past were all, in that supreme hour, heroes and patriots. Amid many changes that simple belief of boyhood has never altered. The gratitude which I felt then I confess to to-day more strongly than ever. But other feelings have in the progress of time altered much. I have learned, and others of my generation as they came to man's estate have learned, what the war really meant, and they have also learned to know and to do justice to the men who fought the war upon the other side.

I do not stand up in this presence to indulge in any mock sentimentality. You brave men who wore the gray would be the first to hold me or any other son of the North in just contempt if I should say that, now it was all over, I thought the North was wrong and the result of the war a mistake, and that I was prepared to suppress my political opinions. I believe most profoundly that the war on our side was eternally right, that our victory was the salvation of the country, and that the results of the war were of infinite benefit to both North and South. But however we differed, or still differ, as to the causes for which we fought then, we accept them as settled, commit them to history, and fight over them no more.

To the men who fought the battles of the Confederacy we hold out our hands freely, frankly, and gladly. To courage and faith wherever shown we bow in homage with uncovered heads. We respect and honor the gallantry and valor of the brave men who fought against us, and who gave their lives and shed their blood in defense of what they believed to be right. We rejoice that the famous general whose name is borne upon your banner was one of the greatest soldiers of modern times, because he, too, was an American. We have no bitter memories to revive, no reproaches to utter. Reconciliation is not to be sought, because it exists already. Differ in politics and in a thousand other ways we must and shall in all

good nature, but let us never differ with each other on sectional or State lines, by race or creed.

We welcome you, soldiers of Virginia, as others more eloquent than I have said, to New England. We welcome you to old Massachusetts. We welcome you to Boston and to Faneuil Hall. In your presence here, and at the sound of your voice beneath this historic roof, the years roll back and we see the figure and hear again the ringing tones of your great orator, Patrick Henry, declaring to the first Continental Congress, "The distinctions between Virginians, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers, and New Englanders are no more. I am not a Virginian, but an American." A distinguished Frenchman as he stood among the graves at Arlington said: "Only a great people is capable of a great civil war." Let us add with thankful hearts that only a great people is capable of a great reconciliation. Side by side Virginia and Massachusetts led the Colonies into the War for Independence. Side by side they founded the Government of the United States. Morgan and Greene, Lee and Knox, Moultrie and Prescott, men of the South and men of the North, fought shoulder to shoulder, and wore the same uniform of buff and blue—the uniform of Washington.

Your presence here brings back their noble memories, it breaches the spirit of concord, and unites with so many other voices in the irrevocable message of union and good will. Mere sentiment all this, some may say. But it is sentiment, true sentiment, that has moved the world. Sentiment fought the war, and sentiment has reunited us. When the war closed, it was proposed in the newspapers and elsewhere to give Governor Andrew, who had sacrificed health and strength and property in his public duties, some immediately lucrative office, like the collectorship of the port of Boston. A friend asked him if he would take such a place. "No," said he; "I have stood as high priest between the horns of the altar, and I have poured out upon it the best blood of Massachusetts, and I can not take money for that." Mere sentiment, truly,

but the sentiment which ennobles and uplifts mankind. It is sentiment which so hallows a bit of torn, stained bunting that men go gladly to their deaths to save it. So I say that the sentiment manifested by your presence here, brethren of Virginia, sitting side by side with those who wore the blue, has a far-reaching and gracious influence, of more value than many practical things. It tells us that these two grand old Commonwealths, parted in the shock of the Civil War, are once more side by side as in the days of the Revolution, never to part again. It tells us that the sons of Virginia and Massachusetts, if war should break again upon the country, will, as in the olden days, stand once more shoulder to shoulder, with no distinction in the colors that they wear. It is fraught with tidings of peace on earth, and you may read its meaning in the words on yonder picture, "Liberty and union, now and forever, one and inseparable."

That which LODGE dimly foresaw came to pass. War did break again upon the country, not once but twice—and the sons of the South and of Massachusetts did stand shoulder to shoulder in the common defense. And early in that last war—the great world strife—when pacifist influences were seeking peace without victory, Senator LODGE, stirred by deep emotions, voiced the sentiments of red-blooded Americans in a ringing speech at Springfield, Mass., and emphasized anew his own unswerving and uncompromising Americanism:

If we accepted those peace terms we should go back to the precise situation of July, 1914. I say to you, what I ventured to say to the highest authority in the country, that if we should consider peace on the basis of the situation before the war, the President who wrote that great war message and each one of us who voted for a declaration of war will be guilty of the blackest of crimes—to

have spent the treasure of the people and given their lives only to go back to the situation before the war.

We find in this war a very difficult situation, which arises from the fact, pointed out by the President in his letter to the Pope, that we have no one we can negotiate with. You can not negotiate with a Government that deliberately says that a treaty is a scrap of paper to be torn in shreds whenever they feel it wise to do it.

The Chancellor of the German Government, when it published its last decree about the submarine zone, permitting us to send one ship a week painted like a barber's pole to some point named, said they had been delaying it only because they needed to build more submarines. Do you realize what that meant?

You can not negotiate with people like that; you make a treaty and they will tear it up in six months.

What is the alternative? If paper guaranties are of no value, we must bring Germany to a position where she can not make war again. It is the only way.

We are seeking nothing for ourselves, no territory, we are not out for conquest, but we must have a peace that will last, and a peace of justice and righteousness—one that will stand—and if we can not get it in the ordinary way of nations which respect treaties, we will have it by guaranty that will prevent such another scene of horror as the one now spread before us. We will break down that Prussian autocracy, black with perfidy and red with blood.

The voices of women and children are crying to-day from the depths where they were hurled to death by German submarines. There are 75,000 of your men over there to-day; there will be about 600,000 by next April. They are going constantly. They are over there; they will go over the top very soon. They will fight as Americans always fight. They will leave their dead there—our dead—on the field. Our wounded will come back to us in our hospitals.

The voices of those men, and the voices that come from the deep—it is to those voices that I propose to listen for my instruction as to the kind of peace that shall be made.

The mortal—HENRY CABOT LODGE—rests in the bosom of his beloved Massachusetts—the immortal soul marches on to know and to be known—while to those who linger here he has left a heritage so rich in service to his fellow countrymen as to make better and more unselfish Americans of us all.

Using his own words uttered in this Hall in eulogy of Theodore Roosevelt, by substituting his own for that of the name of his friend:

Of all the ideals that lift men up, the hardest to fulfill is the ideal of sacrifice. HENRY CABOT LODGE met it as he had all others and fulfilled it to the last jot of its terrible demands. His country asked the sacrifice and he gave it with solemn pride and uncomplaining lips.

Address by Representative Connery

Of Massachusetts

Mr. SPEAKER AND GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE: HENRY CABOT LODGE, of Nahant. Born at Boston, May 12, 1850. Harvard College, A. B., 1871; Harvard Law School, LL. B., 1875; Harvard University, Ph. D., 1876; Suffolk bar, 1876; Massachusetts House, 1880–81; chairman Republican State committee, 1883; Congressman, 1887–1893; Senator, 1893 until death, 1924. Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations and leader of the Senate. LL. D. Williams College, Clark University, Yale University, Harvard University, Brown University, Amherst College, Union College, Princeton University, and Dartmouth College.

It would be entirely futile for me to attempt to eulogize fitly the departed Senator from Massachusetts after the glowing tributes which have been paid to his memory by men great in the councils of our Government. As the representative of his friends and neighbors—the people of Nahant and the surrounding cities and towns—I come to record in the archives of the Nation the respect, admiration, love, and affection of those friends and neighbors for HENRY CABOT LODGE.

Descendant of merchants and sailors, sea captains and soldiers, men of action in business and in public life, of a family stock which included

George Cabot, his great-grandfather, a distinguished statesman of Revolutionary days and a friend of Washington and Alexander Hamilton, it would almost seem with the blood of such ancestors coursing in his veins as if he were predestined to take an active and patriotic part in the affairs of his State and of the Nation.

His boyhood home was one of culture. He had a natural penchant for reading and early developed a taste for good literature under the guidance of his first teacher, Mrs. Parkman. At the age of 10 he had read with avidity every Waverly novel, but despite his studious nature he still found time to lead the life of a perfectly normal American boy—normal indeed to the extent of possessing a great liking for coasting on the big hill on Boston Common, skating on the Frog Pond, engaging in snowball battles against the boys from the South Cove and the North End, diving off the rocks of Nahant, playing baseball and football, and an utter dislike for summer sessions of school.

At Nahant he spent the happiest years of his life. The romantic appeal which Nahant made to his artistic soul is perhaps best described by his own words:

> A rock-bound peninsula of singular beauty, thrust out into the sea between Cape Cod and Cape Ann, the home from the early part of the seventeenth century of a few fishermen and farmers; from her bold headlands she has watched the stately ships go on to their haven under the hill from the days of the long low boats of the vikings to the huge steamships throbbing and smoking as they come up out of the ocean or start forth to Europe.

In the eyes of the American people Senator LODGE was invariably pictured as cold, stern, and uncompromising. And yet to those who knew him, to those who came in daily contact with him, under the apparently cold exterior there abided the tenderest of hearts and the kindliest of natures. There was nothing austere about HENRY CABOT LODGE to the folks "back home." At no time during his career did the burden of the responsibility of his office rest so heavily upon his shoulders that he was precluded from looking forward with interest and pride to presiding, as he did each year, as moderator of the Nahant town meeting. This simple bigness of the man ever endeared him to his constituents, and his loyalty to them was reciprocated by their loyalty to him.

The service men of the Nation will revere his memory. His courage, his high-mindedness, and his strength of character in placing principle above party were clearly evidenced when he said:

> I voted to send those boys to war. I was too old to draw the sword myself, and as I stood and watched those boys march away and realized that my vote was instrumental in sending them, I made up my mind that when they returned, if I could help them to secure what they deserved, I would gladly do so.

His word was his bond. He kept his pledge to the men who went to battle, and despite a storm of criticism he nobly fought for their cause, declaring that his "personal honor was above political expediency."

Lawyer, litterateur, journalist, teacher, statesman, citizen, patriot, true American—HENRY CABOT LODGE has gone from our midst. Massachusetts is proud of the greatness of her departed son. With Adams, Webster, Sumner, and Hoar his memory is enshrined in the hearts of the people of our State and in the hearts of the people of the American Nation. Peace to his soul.

Mr. Frothingham assumed the chair as Speaker pro tempore.

Address by Speaker Gillett

Of Massachusetts

Mr. SPEAKER: In the Senate Chamber, where Senator LODGE's service was so largely rendered, appropriate memorial exercises have been held, and this is not the place for any extended review of his career; but I can not refrain from expressing briefly my high regard for one with whom I was connected politically for so many years.

In one respect Senator LODGE's career runs counter to the ordinary rule of human life. Most of us work under the spur of necessity. When Lord Chancellor Eldon was once asked by a member of the House of Lords how he could insure that his son should make a name for himself in the world, he answered:

> I know of but one way, my lord; give him parts and poverty.

It is the compulsion of necessity that drives most of us. Mr. LODGE lacked that ordinary incentive for work. He was the son of wealthy parents; he had distinguished ancestors in the city where perhaps they were valued as much as anywhere in our country and opened to him all the avenues of social enjoyment. In college he could select his own class of associates and on the day he graduated he married a beautiful and brilliant woman of rare charm and sailed for Europe. There was every probability that he would slide through life enjoying the pleasures it offers to those who need

do nothing but select them and accomplishing nothing except perhaps some finished products of a dilettante.

His life was a singular contradiction of any such forecast. Beyond that of most men it was a life of constant effort, unflagging industry, and contentious struggle, and that is a great tribute to his robust energy and intrepid resolution.

I can remember him very early in his political career, and those who are modest about their own capacity as public speakers should take hope and courage from the fact that Senator LODGE at first gave little promise of his brilliant future as an orator. He was rather unimpressive and dull. I remember vividly how true the same experience was in the case of another favorite son of Massachusetts, whose untimely death ended what would have been a great career, Governor Wolcott, who at first was singularly ill at ease as a speaker and yet became one of the readiest and most charming of platform orators.

I think Mr. LODGE first established his hold on the regard of Massachusetts Republicans when he was chairman of the State committee in the early eighties, in a notable campaign, and by his vigor, his information, his clear-sightedness, and his careful handling of all details proved himself a master of political management.

This ability he maintained to the end. I have sometimes thought it would have been both easier and wiser for him if he had followed the example of his colleague, Senator Hoar, and when he became the senior Senator relinquished the

troubles and duties of patronage to his junior and devoted himself purely to the intellectual work of the Senate. But that was not his nature, and he always clung with a tenacious grasp to the details of political management which he understood so well.

Now is not the time to appraise his great life work as a Senator, but there is no question that he achieved a position of power and influence in the Senate which few men have attained and that at one of the critical periods of American history he was both the titular and the actual leader, and by his personal power exercised a decisive influence on the history of his country.

If I were to search for the key to his great success I think I should say that it was primarily his knowledge. He illustrates as well as any man I have known the maxim that "knowledge is power." He had a fine literary style, an unflagging industry, a noble ambition, and a remarkable skill in political management, but I think his superior information was, after all, the great factor in his success. He read far more widely than most of his contemporaries and he had one of those retentive memories which held firmly whatever he had once read. The minds of most of us are like tablets of wax and receive an impression, slight or deep, which time quickly wipes away; but Mr. LODGE's mind was like a plate of steel, on which every impression is engraved indelibly and remains forever.

I was much interested and solaced recently to read that James Russell Lowell, who had one of the great well-stored minds of Massachusetts,

noticed one day in his library a two-volume edition of an early English writer and was surprised to find that he owned it and did not think he had ever read it; but on opening the volumes he found scattered through them notes in his own handwriting showing that he had both read and studied them years before, but every trace of that work had been forgotten.

Such an incident would never have happened to Senator LODGE, though it is consoling and appreciable by most of us.

I have only known two men who it seemed to me approached him in the vast store of their information on worth-while subjects. One was President Roosevelt and the other was Ambassador Jusserand. Such memories are given to few men, and it is just and appropriate that their possessors should attain distinction.

Although I think some little peculiarities prevented Mr. LODGE from becoming what would be called a popular man, yet to those who knew him well in the privacy of his home and the confidence of private life he was a most kindly, sympathetic, and delightful companion. In him Massachusetts has lost one of the most influential and productive of her great men.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the resolution heretofore adopted the House will now stand adjourned.

Accordingly (at 4 o'clock and 10 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Monday, February 16, 1925, at 12 o'clock noon.