Here are My Leclures o

How Soon Can We Start The next war caps How Soon Can We Start The Nextwar?

qual with apologies to The many anotherces who have heard me formuse to start it, without my having yet made good.

I hupose to discuss The question, Low Soon Can we slad The next wan!, and 9 want bosa at once that on this question I am an optimist. I think that Things are comings our way o Now, I don't say that we can have the war for This autium. It's getty alittle too late, and the football season has been interfering without; and of course Xivas is approach; and That's appli

be tring along with a rather masty outbreak of goodwill which is troublesome while it lasts. But even allowing for these Temporary telays I thenk we can all look forward fortty confident to what we may call a general conflagration in the rear future. Some tour brinds aheady talk hopefuly of an armageddom which may end in world Chaos. So 9 Think Hal we stall certains get somethy, I'm this winter at any rate earl in the spring. I Bul I want to say at once That I this world was does come, we on This north amean continent, - Canadians and americang - can take ver litte dette credit to the

sag it shayt out: we have not been doing one share. We have been harging backata

there when one in sureporting have been water such splinded offer towards a

quealwar.

We have breaky that in The older will atter that have developed a mechanism that we havent got: : & system of conversations and incidents' and 'protocols' and 'ultimatums', by Which No.10 Downing Street Talks to The Quai d'Orsay and Ruhich They both addren an identical Communique to The Ball Plats & which, bring a Ball Plats -plays Il right airon tast to the Yilding Kirsh, aw from then to The Escurial

and then home. All that we seem about to be send a Minister in a plug hat from Ostoma twastytm to play solf, and bring back his offers like hunself to obtain to fish in the Gatirean. Um cast make a war out of Hat stuff. I we have boenember, too, that they havelong in got the maps of tempor all fixed up to war. Ihr have a set of corridors, butil one nation's territory runs right though another's and out on the other side; and they have little places called enclaves, - meaning a price d'one notions Territory enteres surround I the tendon & another o then there are but mth Iperial names Liter called Sandyaks,

like the Sandjak of Novi-Bazaar, and the Casino d Monte Carlo, and the Folies Bergins republie, - one reads of Hen. There is lerutory that is mentrato "Interstronged, and rentralized, and 'sterilyed + stupefiel on for want to Take our forper place in The world we have ful toget There things. Of little uhile afo, - I hope I am not violating official sevents in telling in about it, -I was instruental in starting a correspondence an between our, Atemal Atain Repartent al Ollaws and The american secretary of state at washyton, in regard the possibility of corridor of starting a comidor of we

department telegraphed broned eithe to offer your a corridor the Hudson Bay, air-conditioned I He are ignorant duber the Hudson Bay stops (stoh). But that start athy neva slops us (slop). Glady accept Corridor and que offer you in return enclave west side d'Chicago. Our forement sent a Telegramback in repoly. I Not ver heer on West Side d'chicago: Lon about Holyword, California. If Here the matter stands of present. 96 is what they call in European triplomay enough, you get a war.

It Bout there is more in the situations even Then That. In Sumper for centurius and centuries they have cultivaled The idea of nationality, till they have han Hemselver all I wided up in them minds into nations, Inhich They unders and that every penor in one nature is allogether defeunt from every the person in an other halim. In this way of thenly any hylishuan is just the Jame as ever othe bluman, and all of them quite deflust from all herebner: and every hereban is just like evy otto Frenchman and are differt from englis of Erman, - and So might down to Chinise and Canadians

(8)

There was a lot of bruth in this a
thous and rean app : have is hardly
any now. But limber an footities are
still worked on this system, It was
grand in the days of charlenague,
now worse Four wearingten, it is the
chief impedant to forgues.

But there the imaginary rations are
still persisting.

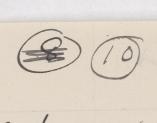


Type

perhaps, as you do so many things, in comic literature. Believe me, ladies and gentlemen, if I were allowed to talk upon humor as a serious matter I would try to show you that perhaps sometimes we can get a clearer view of the world by reading what is called its humor, looking at its comic characters rather than by looking at its serious phases.

9 Fust, the Imaginary Frenchian, still seem on the comic stage and still used as the basis of the world's politics; always called Alphonse or Gastin; wears a bell shaped coat; eats frogs; prefers other mens wives to his own; good taste lutino morals

Put beside him The Englishmen: haycoloured hair and straw-coloured
whishers: and only one eye, - The
strive is glass. Why Cylishmen for I'v
to have a glass eye, I don't have. But
is so. To be a real Cylishean you



must have ont one eye: and you must use words like ripping and topping, and say, in deah fellah, I herrib deery in since The Baw Wah, or his comin has, and is verstand offish . De Cooner hong on Infreeds watching or he'll borrow It Contrasted withhim is The timeyinay Frishman; always sayon Macushla' and mavourneen, always read for a fight, no restect for law; makes a fine policeman. Il Wether is one the type that 9



Lean towards him, but not from any Pords doscut. I have no Scotch in me except what I put in.

no.T

who, I will say, has perhaps kept his national characteristics more stubbornly than the others: very hard, very dour, believes in hell—hopes to go there; looks on any other place as not economical enough.

[[Type]]

The true international Spirit and The international type, just coming, perhaps into Aislance C I can illustrate it bath quiting a # little anecdole that I read in the paper the other day . I a young wan at a dance approached a girl and said.

I have to admit I'm just a little stiff from polo", "oh, "said the girl" E dont care where you come from: let's That was a truly international ful. we -strong, we keep up onght to how more like her Se, then, having all these imaginary beings going of, the conviction is kept up that the world is divided into nations. Mind, if I were speaking to you this morning as a political scientist—a forbidden role— I would be willing to say that, yes, of course in the past the nation was a wonderful thing; the nation is conception in history was at one Inostrate Under morasin) Type time the salvation of Europe. At the time when all Europe was strewn with the wreckage of the Roman Empire, at the time when the peace and civilization of the Antonine Emperors had been scattered into fragments, the upbuilding of the European nations, around a castle here or a cliff there or a harbor somewhere else, the upbuilding of the European nations is a wonderful story. "Nationalism" and "Progress" were one and the same thing. And with that story still Type goes the marvelous allegiance, the pride of race, which has been so wonderful for all of us,-the tattered flags, the long history of victories and struggles. All of that we must never forget, never throw That have made our countries what they are

For, the trouble with the new cosmopolitanism is that it tries in vain to turn its back on history. You can't do that. There is no need to. But when the world gets a little wiser all our history will become a common product in which each and all of us can take pride in the achievements of the other people.

Look at our North American history and now the fires of anger have died out, there is no sorrow in the record, there is only the twin glory of an equal contest, a Wolfe and a Montcalm pitted against one another, and an American Revolution in which, as usual, both sides are right. They always are. In any epic contest, like your civil war, both sides are right, or the war would never go on. We must never think that internationalism which I am preaching indirectly this morning must force us to turn our backs on the splendid national history. That has been the inspiration of every great people.

But the world has got to realize that time moves on, that the salvation of one era is the ruin of another, and that the thing carried over from one generation to another, once noble, can lose its meaning, and perhaps spell disaster. The world must unify or die. And it cannot be done with books or pen and ink or with corridors or enclaves. The Quai D'Orsay can't do it; 10 Downing Street or the Ball Platz can't do it. Nothing can do it except a new spirit in the human heart.

Let us go on and measure then some of the forces working in each direction, for nationalism and against it. And first we have that powerful instrument, the League of Nations. Those are the boys who make trouble! The League of Nations, without whose kind offices we would never know half the quarrels that are going on in the world. But they keep us well informed. We have had more accurate history of external war since the League began to function than we ever dreamed

other peoples wars

- realise That

long ago in England,
and the civil was

fyosleday in

America,

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Should

I have been privileged to see a little of their correspondence for next year. They hope next year to be able to do something as between Wales and Scotland. And I have here an advance copy of a letter from the Secretary of the League of Nations to the business manager of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland.

"Reverend Sir:

I write on behalf of the League to inquire whether you would feel interested in getting up a war this season between the Scotch and the Welsh. As you are doubtless aware the Welsh have been saying a lot of dirty things about Scotland. There was one here in our office yesterday said he could lick any three of you north of the Tweed. And we think we ought to bring it to your notice and ask if you are prepared to stand for it. If not, the League offers its publicity at any rate that you think suitable. We will also supply propaganda. We have a good deal of dirty stuff against them ready to give to you and we will help you to float an international loan in the United States,—and sink it there."

Ah, but observe the answer, and in this answer which the Scotch are to send you see the first slight warning note that perhaps there may be difficulties in getting up a war. This is from the business manager of the Presbyterian Church:

"Cable

Secretary, League of Nations Collect

Regret to say that war with the Welsh practically out of question. Great interest international bagpipe competition Inverness keeps our people breathless stop Apprehend war financially injurious to the interest Scotch International Aberdeen Terrier Show."

Aha! Notice that the dogs, wiser than men, know nothing of our little quarrels. The Aberdeen terrier, an international character, wagging his tail in every quarter of the globe and holding his international show. We have to deal with him. So you see the Scotch, much though they would like to get into this business, are held back. Their cable says: "Suggest you apply instead Japanese Bureau of Oriental Love stop. But send us that Loan Anyway."

Again I would not wish to be disparaging of the League of Nations. Everybody says it is a good thing, and it must be. Some day, if we live long enough, we shall see it in real operation. And it is not the fault of the League; it is the fault of us, its "unseen assassins", as Norman Angell calls us. There can never be a League of Nations, there can never be any institution, until there is a spirit outside which

ends



15)

THE ALUMNI COUNCIL NEWS

sanctions and maintains it, a spirit which corresponds to it. And the world is not yet ready for that.

But even then it is well too keep the form, perhaps, while still the substance is lacking. Let us be like Pygmalion and have the statue first and put the spirit into our Galatea afterwards, and let the League at any rate stand for an aspiration of the future.

Of course, mind you, when I say that we, each and all of us, are working against the common welfare, perhaps you do not realize how much there is, how many small, minor annoyances in which all Americans sneer at all Englishmen or all Englishmen sneer at all Americans.

You remember that famous character of Alphonse Daudet's, Tartarin of Tarascon, that mock-hero of southern France filled with the meridional spirit, you recall how it was rumored that he was, after all not going to Africa to hunt the lions and there was a mob collected around his house to mock at him and Tartarin, facing the crowd, threw himself up into one of his noble postures and said,—"Des coups d'épie, messieurs, mais pas des coups d'épingles!" ("Strike me with a sword, if you like, but not with pin-pricks.") It is the pin-pricks very often that are the major offense.

I have gathered here (in Exhibit No. 4) some little extracts that were actually taken from the press, just colored a little, not much, and they—well, sometimes truth is not good enough, and half the truth is better, just as a half a brick carries further in an argument than a whole one. I have gathered together specimens of those pleasing little comments that pass back and forth across the Atlantic in which some English traveller comes out here, takes a look for a week, let us say, at our education and then denounces it. You see if he approved it that wouldn't be news. News has to be dirty and disagreeable. Happiness is never news, only misfortune.

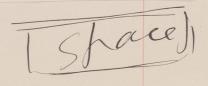
Well, you get this kind of thing: Extract from the New York Press:

"New York, such and such a date."
"Denounces American Education."

Mr. Farquhar McSquirt, who holds a high position in the kindergarten department of the Scotish Orphan Asylum at Dumn Foolish landed yesterday from the "Moratorium" on a tour of American and Canadian schools and at once uttered a scathing denunciation of education on this continent. He considers that the whole system of education is America is punk. He admits the pupils attend school, but denies that they learn anything. Considers that the average boy of 12 in the Orkney Islands knows more than a graduate of Harvard."

his tall talk

95



So he may, perhaps. We

"The American student he says, has never learned to think, whereas the Scotch boy begins to think soon after he learns to

Well, he goes on with half a column of that kind of thing. And then of course when he has said all that, half a dozen college presidents have to be called up to know whether that is so. And then they say, though they "have not the honor of knowing Mr. McSquirt personally, etc." -that is the dirtiest thing you can say about any man. If you want to get after a person good and hard just say you don't know him, personally, never heard of him.

However, before they have time to wipe it all up, the account is balanced from the other side, from London. Thus:-

"Denounces Oxford

TQ, PF,

Mr. Phincas O. Cactus, TQPF, president and principal of the Texas Agricultural Institute for Feeble-Minded Navajo Indians, uttered a scathing denunciation of the University of Oxford. He says that after a man leaves Oxford he is fit for nothing except the House of Lords, or the church, or the bar. He claims that the average Oxford professor would make only a poor showing as a cowboy in Texas."

But of course the most cruel denunciation is when they start at our women. Now, there you touch us where we live! When any outsider dares for a moment to criticize our English women, or our American women, then we rise, the whole nation solid in a lump. Listen to this:

"Denounces American Girls

Lady Violet Longshanks, a direct descendant of Edward I in the male line, landed yesterday from the "Rule Britannia" and at once gave an interview to the press which has practically jarred society off its hinges. Lady Violet who represents the haut ton of the oldest noblesse and is absolutely carte blanche, gave expression to a scathing denunciation of the American Girl. She declares that the American girl has no manners, doesn't know how to enter a room, still less how to get out again when she is in, and doesn't even know how to use her feet."

Well, that is awful! So, naturally, of course, the press send out warm tokens of assurance to the effect that the American girl will use her feet if Lady Violet doesn't get a move on back to England.

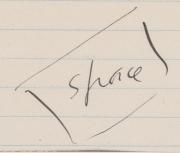
Then back comes a similar denunciation from the other side:

"Denounces English Girls

Mrs. Potter Pancake, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, President of

Small caps

Shace



(17)

the American Womens' International Friendship League, has just jarred English society off its base by a denunciation handed out from the window of her hotel against English girls. Mrs. Pancake says the English girl is without grace and her movements inferior and the those of a horse. She attributes this to the fact that the English girl drinks gin in inordinate quantities."



Well, of course, when you get to that, that might lead to a serious situation, but in England they have one or two old fashioned remedies that can always be brought on to put oil on the troubled waters. For instance, somebody can ask a question in the House of Commons. Just why they do it, or what the questions mean, I don't know, but in this connection, of course, somebody would probably have risen up and asked whether "ministers"—they never use the definite article there— (Students of language please take notice of this queer old-fashioned habit)—whether ministers are aware that English girls are less graceful than a horse and, Thanswer to this question, it seems that ministers are not aware, but will bring a horse and a girl, and see.

15

But better still, in any dilemma, of course, we can appeal to the Primate of the Church, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and it is a part of his function, carried down since Edward the Confessor, to say something soothing, something that, While without giving offense, leaves the whole thing,—well, this is what he said in this case, that he "had yet to know of any English girl drinking gin in what he considered inordinate quantities."

So there you have the press. One wonders how can the world stand up against this tidal wave of minor annoyances. How can the barriers as between the nations, the barriers that ought to be broken down into

levelists an open plain of friendship, - how can they ever been abandoned of three must always be the need of refelling these invidious attacks.

If then as noon as The press run shorts of these personal denuncishins, the military Aperlo step in with another set of linterwise, this time about The Character of the result war. To que il the propon thrill of interest they refer to it as The next toolawar. It is underslood that every will want to get into it on origide or The other. He only deficult The 4ports find is with the alignment. That means who fights who. Il is one ather most important trys about a world war to get it properly aligned, because 4 it's not, Il runs out on your after a few reass. The lad war it athean, was back aligned. We

ought whom given the Cemans the Portiguese and lent Them alleast some d the Roberton Chinese, Propas aligned it honed han been going on still. Il Hence The unportane of alignment for The next world war, Here for example is, in Substance, & an interview given recently to the New York forces, & Colonel the Honorable Fizzle Bungshark, a member 1 the British general statt and, an ever body known, a son of Lord Angletodd, - in fact so far, notody has ever doubted it. The "The colonel," surities The interviewer," is Confident is confident that in the next war (which may begin in the spring) the most probable alignment is Great Britain, France and the United States against Germany and Russia, but he thinks it might be Great Britain, Russia and Germany against France, the United States and Portugal. On the other hand, the Colonel admits that if the Chinese wish to come in it would be scarcely possible to keep them

Tepe

out. The Chinese, he says, have practically reached the level of a Christian nation. Their knowledge of poison gas is as yet a little inferior, but they will rapidly be able to take their place on an honorable footing in the coming contest.

Has died down a little, There lands
when York The great tranch air
here, you and another interior follows, this
lime not on alignment bout
on materiel. This is a French word
that means what they hil you

"General le Marquis de Rochambeau LaFayette, director in chief of the French Aerial Forces, was interviewed yesterday as to the prospects of world peace. The General, whose real name is Charles Marie Felix Rochambeau LaFayette de Liancourt belongs to the old noblesse of France and is a cultivated French gentleman of the old school, a veteran of seven wars, decorated with the croix de guerre, the croix de feu, the nom de plume and the cri de Paris. He thinks the next war will begin or perhaps be preceded by blowing up New York from the air."

/ Type /

The skysmapers the hotels, he said, will offer an all mirable point de mire let he is afraid it will be hard to hit the churches.

But The provision streets and squales will offer plenty of targets.

21

That's good! Can let somether I don't have the d, This larger businen! It gives me a chill the jumps. It ocem to mean that in The next was we, we oundres, set blown up, - right here! Now It at's ridiculous!

91

You know, that is the thing that I don't like about this "next war." It gives me the jumps. We are going to get blown up. Now, that is too bad. The old, old wars were so safe, so far away, so romantic. A hundred years ago an expedition sailed away to God-knows-where. The band played and they went away, and then presently they came back from God-knows-where, looking a little bewhiskered and brown, but they had licked somebody somewhere, and everything was grand! And then war began to get a little nearer and a little nearer and to take a heavier and heavier toll, and now they actually propose to drop the bombs on us. That makes me think it is time to quit the war business.

But that isn't the whole of it.

We have got a new and first class implement of war all forged in the new mechanism of publicity. If there is a war we are going to have the hideous, gloating satisfaction of following, as we can now in unhappy Spain, following every stage of slaughter and holocaust, gloating, exulting, with all the worst that is in us, reading with that kind of half-hidden delight of the horrors and misfortunes that go with war.

[5pace]

In the old times some kind of shield and shelter, some kind of darkness, hung over those black spots. When Saragossa was torn as Madrid is now, the world knew nothing of it at the moment. When Napoleon's army froze and suffered in the snow the world did not see it with television as it will when the next great army goes under. For now we have got already, or will have for the next war, a hideous commercial instrument of money-making that will sell us the sight of the war, day by day, and agony by agony.

It is not the fault of anyone. What I am trying to say is that humanity has now been caught up by forces for which no single person is to blame,—not the capitalist, not the Socialist, not even all together. What the Greeks called Anargke, the fate of man. But whereas the Greek submitted to Anargke and let himself be borne along like Oedipus, by fate, we have learned a different attitude and I think we won't suffer it for ever, but we shall manage, somehow, to bend ourselves into a different direction and alter our fate.

But I am not saying the fault is that of any one person or country or any particular creed. It is a huge collective fault, and with it goes that strange thing "publicity" by which war will be turned into money. Figure to yourselves—suppose they had had publicity in the wars of the past, that everything came over the radio as it happened. Let us imagine that when Duke William of Normandy went across the Channel to invade England, the radio followed him and could send back the news to a Norman castle and they could tune in and hear what was happening at Stamford Bridge and Senlae Hill and how the battle was going.

Carry yourselves with me to a Norman castle. It is the castle, let us say, of a Norman knight who has gone with William of Normandy. We are in the castle of Count Guesshard de Discard, one of the companions of William. Count Guesshard has gone, but his wife Lady Margaret of the RubberNeck and her beautiful daughter, Lady Angela of the Angle Eye are there. They are supposed to have the anachronism of a radio there and they are tuning in to try and get some word of what is happening over at the Battle of Hastings.

It is difficult at first. When they try to tune in they strike a Welsh bard,—as you would now. The bards are not like the good; they don't die young. But after having tried in vain Lady Margaret and Lady Angela twist the dials on this mediaeval instrument in their bower (that means something like a stone cow stable, what the historians call a "tapestried bower." It is, as I say, like a stone cow

by an anachronism

Ananke

9 Let us

to have

Frace V

stable with old cloth hung up; no glass windows, and rushes and dirt on the floor.) But by anachronism there is a beautiful radio at the side, to skip ten centuries for them, and thus they tune in and then the voice of the announcer sounding just the same a thousand years ago as it does now:

23

"Now, folks, this is Senlac Hill, and we're going to put a real battle on the air for you, and it's going to be some battle. The principals are Harold, King of England-lift your helmet, Harold-and William, the Dook, or as some call him, the Duck, of Normandy. Both the boys are much of a size, both trained down to weight, and each has got with him as nice a bunch of knights and archers as you'd see east of Pittsburgh. Umpires are: for Harold, the Reverend Allbald of the Soft Head, Archbishop of Canterbury; for William, Odo the Ten-Spot, Bishop of Bayeux. Side lines, Shorty Sigismund and Count Felix Marie du Paté de Foie Gras. Referee, King Swatitoff of Sweden, ex-Champion of the Scandinavian League. Battle called at exactly ten a.m. They're off. The Norman boys make a rush for the hill. Harold's center forwards shoot arrows at them. William leads a rush at the right center. Attaboy, William! That's the stuff! Harold's boys block the rush. Two Norman knights ruled off for interference. William hurls his mace. Forward Pass. Ten-year penalty. Quarter time."

The radio stops and Lady Margaret says:

"Lady Margaret: How terrifically exciting! Do you think we are winning?

haha

Lady Angela: It is very hard to tell. I've often heard father say that in the first quarter of a battle they don't really get warmed up. (The radio starts.)

Small caps

Announcer) Battle of Senlac. Second Quarter. Change of Ground. Duke William has won the west end. The Normans make a rush against the left center. Hand-to-hand scrimmage with Harold's front line. Many knights unhorsed and out of the game. Several men hurt on both sides. Count Guesshard de Discard receives a crack on the bean with a mace.

Lady Angela: Oh, Mamma, papa got one on the bean.

Lady Margaret (laughing): He certainly did. I can just see your papa's face when some one landed him one!

Lady Angela: What happens to you, Mamma, if papa gets knocked out?

Thacal

Lady Margaret: (Looking at her little steel mirror) I don't know, but I think Cousin William is to give me to one of his knights." (And if you think that exaggerated, oh no, that isn't it. Not at all! Not at all!)

(24)

gets

(small caps)

And just then the radio, even in 1066, suddenly got full of static, and only static, and when they get it going again, the battle is all over and the announcer is saying:

"The foul Saxon, Harold, lies dead across the fifty-yard line with his whole center scrimmage dead round him. Spectators leaving in all directions in great haste. The noble William is everywhere victorious. Norman crowd invading the club house. Number of injured and dead knights being piled up at the side of the field. Among the dead are Count Roger the Sardine, Count Felix Marie De Paté de Foie Gras, the Seneschal Pilaffe de Volaille and Count Guesshard de Discard.

Lady Angela: Ah, do you hear that, Mamma? Odd's life, papa's killed. That must have been that smack on the bean. I had a notion that papa would get it, hadn't you?

Lady Margaret (picking up the little steel mirror again and adjusting her cap): Oh, I was sure of it. A juggler phophesied it to me last Whitsuntide. I wonder which of the knights Cousin William will give me to. Isn't war exciting, darling?"

Oh, yes, and still is—still is. But in those days on such a different footing—on such a very different footing—from what it is now.

So here you have, as far as I can give it in that kind of picture, some notion of the two forces between which humanity is torn. Fortunately there are, though less spectacular, enormous forces moving the other way,—economic forces, forces which are beginning to insist that the world economically and physically is all one, that the old days when a valley made a nation and a river separated two peoples and the world was broken by its own geography, that that is finished, and that modern power and modern flight and the whispering currents that pass everywhere—those uniting forces and the forces of disunion are locked in a deadly struggle.

There is, I believe, one school of theologians which has pictured human fate from its earliest times as being the prey sought for by two spirits, the one of light, the other of darkness, fighting over humanity as the Greeks and Trojans fought over the body of the dead Patroclus. And if that is true in one form or another, there was never a better illustration of it than in these anxious and critical times in which we

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Shace

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are living, in which the bygone forces that made the nations may still drag us into war, in spite of the fact that a Frenchman is not a Frenchman, that he is a man, and an Englishman is a man, and an Irishman a man and a half.

The unity of mankind has powerful allies. Science calls for it. Men of science must move together. Invention cannot be separated. And behind those forces there goes, in the good sense, athletics, such as the splendid contest for which you have my best wishes today—all of that defies national boundaries and tries to build up for us a different kind of world.

Which is going to succeed I do not know, but I do know the duty that is laid upon every one of us to do what best he can to mould opinion, to shape destiny, to be within our little sphere blameless for these awful things which still might happen. It almost looks as if we could see over in Europe the handwriting on the wall that means coming disaster. Please God, not. But every step that is taken by the major governments shows how close they know the crisis may perhaps be.

There are no people more sane and steady than those who govern England. With them government is not and never has been a matter of the collective votes of the majority of the people. That sounds a strange statement. That sounds contrary to the plain fact of parliamentary elections. But I repeat it. In England government has never merely represented the majority vote of the people. It has represented something hard to define without being lost in the mazes of philosophy,-but a kind of collective wisdom, collective loyalty of a governing class. Those are brutal words, easy to misuse, hard to understand properly. Not a tyrant class, but a class of people like Stanley Baldwin, with an infinite sense of responsibility, people to whom office and opposition are all one, and both mean service. It has been my privilege to know some of those men who in the last thirty years have governed England, and I am convinced that there is not in the heart of any one of them any other motive than that of the welfare of all mankind, of Europe and of England. When you see the steps that are being taken even by such a government as that, the fortification of what was once a self-protected island, the air that hums with danger, the sleep that may be broken at any moment, then such a situation calls aloud for sympathy.

Do not think that we can escape it here. Do not think that we can shelter ourselves behind the ocean and look upon this wreckage as

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destined only to blot the continent of Europe and never matter to America. If it comes it will spread like a plague driving across the continents with all the evil winds of disaster behind it. We are as much interested as they. "Hodie tibi, cras mihi", so wrote the mediaeval monks on the stone coffins of their dead. "Yours today, mine tomorrow." "Your fate will be mine and your salvation shall be mine."

So we must plead unceasingly for an earnest sympathy with Europe, wiping out all the angers of the past, wiping out all the questions of whose are the honor and whose the guilt of the late war, remembering not the brutality, but only the bright pages of the heroism, the golden pages that open in either direction, pages that open as well for our so-called enemies as for ourselves.

We must remember that there are no people better situated than you in the United States and we in Canada. We can show an example of what is to be done for salvation. We do not need for our friendship a pen and ink, a contract, a document, a scrap of paper. We do not need that. We are bounded by our hearts. We have long since decided that politically our ways lie separate, but the very fixity of that resolve makes it easier and better and finer for us to let our ways mingle as closely as ever they possibly can. At times the English get worried about the so-called "Americanization" of Canada. They don't realize that that is the best thing that ever happened for Canada, for the States, for the Empire, for the world at large. The aspect of one single peaceful continent, from the frozen sea to the Rio Grande, bound together as we are by friendship only, mutual agreement and coöperation and relying only upon the path of peace.

I tell vou this: If the world is to be saved, that is the path of salvation in Europe. They may take it; they may not. The sky is heavy with a lurid light threatening to break from the clouds. There is the cool, fresh air blowing above. Which can conquer? We don't know. You and I and all of us who live a few years will know of wonderful happenings in the world, for the path that has got to be made straight or the path will lead over the abyss. The problem cannot wait. It has grown too acute. The world has no time for bungling, or muddling through. That was good enough for the older civilization, but not for us now.

What I have been trying to say is that there is a responsibility, not only on them, but on us, on you in the States and on us in Canada. All the nobler assets of youth and courage and optimism are needed

in the struggle. There is room for every one of us to take our part in this coming settlement of the fate of mankind.

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