

# ALFOUR LAYS WORLD'S PROBLEMS ON THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLES

ould Have the American and British Nations Working In Harmony.

WORLD IS A UNITY

Has Common Interests Which May Require Common Action.

By EARL BALFOUR, K.G., O.M.

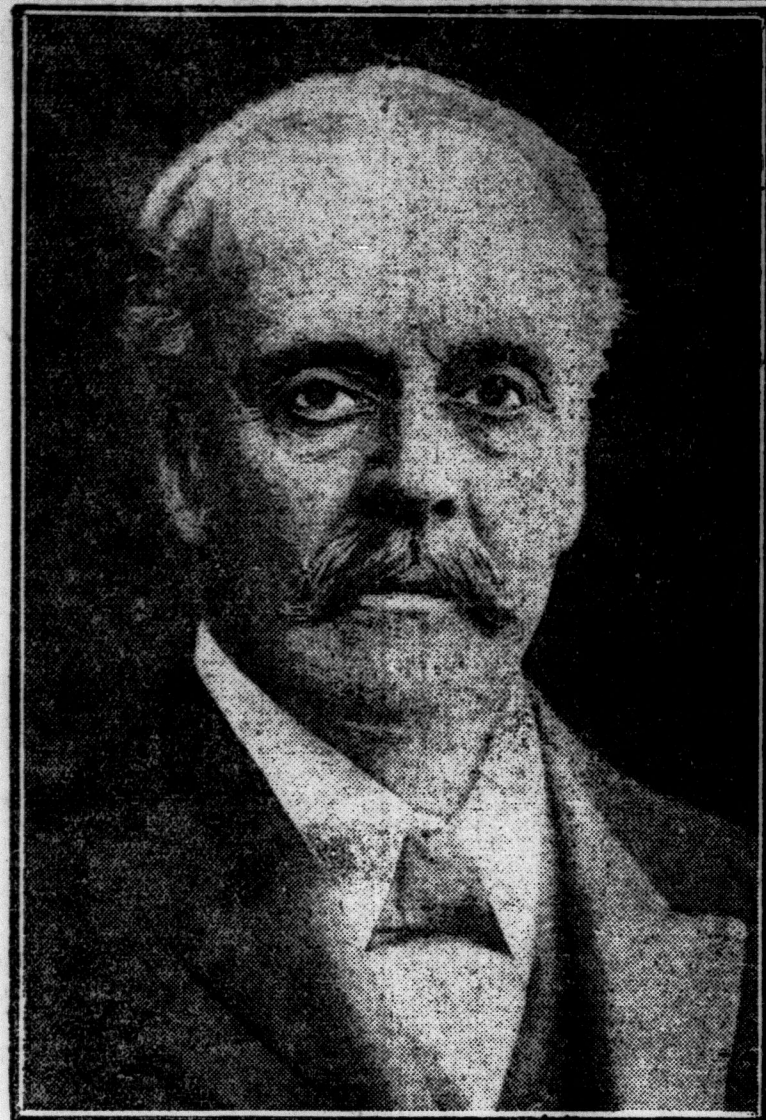
For nearly a generation, and under varying conditions, I have at intervals discussed the subject of Anglo-American relations. Sometimes this has happened in moments of temporary difference, sometimes during the long periods of friendly sentiment which have marked our international history, sometimes in moments of ardent exertions in support of a common cause. But whatever the occasion, I have preached one doctrine—and that with ever increasing insistence as time has rolled the tragic story of the twentieth century.

Let me say at once that in what follows I propose to make no appeal to sentiment. This is not because I think sentiment is to be despised, nor because on this subject I entertain strong sentiments myself. On the contrary, I happen to be one of those too common on either side of the Atlantic, who have always been led by what I may perhaps describe as an "English-speaking patriotism."

The conviction that the free communities of English-speaking peoples, whether within or without the British Empire, have, whether they know it or not, too much in common to be to other exactly what they are to the most friendly nations in a different racial and historic background, is one which I have held too long to be able now to

A Personal Opinion.

I remember expressing this perception in a pamphlet written during the Great War, when no international problem occupied popular attention in either country, and when I believed myself to be permanently freed of all public responsibilities. The pamphlet was not concerned with American affairs; it was not in-



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tended for American eyes, and, so far as I am aware, it has never found an American reader. But it so happens that in the course of its argument I had occasion to refer to the way in which men may be, and indeed should be, swayed by different, though not incompatible, loyalties; and taking my own case as an illustration I observed, "that as a matter of fact, some combination of different patriotism is almost universal among thinking persons."

"If I consider the case I know best (namely, my own), I find that, within a general regard for mankind, which I hope is not absent nor weak, I am moved by a feeling, especially patriotic in its character, for the group of nations who are the authors and the guardians of western civilization, for the sub-group which speaks the English language, and whose laws and institutions are rooted in British history, for the communities which compose the British Empire,

or the United Kingdom of which I am a citizen, and for Scotland where I was born, where I live, and where my fathers lived before me.

"Where patriotisms such as these are not forced into conflict, they are not only consistent with each other, but they may mutually reinforce each other; and statesmanship can have no greater object than to make conflict between them impossible."

Argument Valueless.

But if these be my opinions, the reader may be inclined to ask, is the present paper designed to support them? Let me reassure him. It is not. Argument in such matters is of little value—unless in the case of those who agree, powerless in the case of those who differ. No advocacy is likely to make converts; indeed it is quite as likely to repel as to attract those who, to begin with, are indifferent or hostile.

The views I desire to put forward, I rest on grounds more solid and "objective" than those of sentiment; grounds not depending on individual preference but upon the permanent facts of national psychology and the state of civilized mankind as it exists today.

Put shortly, my view is this: I hold that the world, as never before, is conscious, however intermittently, that it constitutes a unity, however loosely organized; that it has common interests which may require, however rarely, a certain measure of common action; that it should cultivate an international public opinion, dispassionate, impartial, and instructed, capable of working through any form of international machinery, temporary or permanent, now existing or hereafter to be created; and that the English-speaking peoples, if they work harmoniously together, are especially fitted by temperament and tradition to contribute to the realization of this great ideal.

My reasons for this opinion I will give in a moment. But may it not be at once objected that, however excellent these reasons may be in themselves, the shadows of ancient conflicts, lying as they do across the formative years of American history, will always mar the full perfection of Anglo-American co-operation?

Appears an Enemy.

I do not desire to underrate the difficulty. Among the ironies of history, few are more tragic than that which, in the great drama of the American revolution, has made England appear as the enemy of freedom—France and Spain as its defenders.

No doubt England brought this on herself, and what did happen could not but happen. Nevertheless there is a touch of melancholy humor in the spectacle of the thirteen colonies, in their dispute with the Mother Country concerning the proper interpretation of the principles of British liberty (a dispute in which they were fundamentally right), fighting side by side with the two Bourbon governments, to whom the principles of British liberty on any interpretation whatever, whether that of Grenville and North or of Burke and Chatham, were utterly and hopelessly repellant.

But however this may be, the truth on which I desire to insist is not essentially affected. The reasons for it lie far deeper and are of far more venerable antiquity than any connected with the wars and treaties of the second half of the eighteenth century.

These to be sure were important enough. The Seven Years War, when the colonies fought side by side with the Mother Country against France, determined that North America should be English in speech and law from ocean to ocean.

War of Independence.

The War of American Independence, when the colonies fought side by side with France against the Mother Country, determined that all organic connection between the United States and Europe should be forever ended.

Momentous decisions truly—decisions which have profoundly altered the history of the world. But one thing (in my opinion at least) they have not altered—they have not altered the fact that the English-speaking peoples, separated though they be by three thousand miles of ocean, and some unhappy memories, are capable, when they like, of a mutual comprehension which neither can attain to the same degree in their relations with other great nations of the European continent.

This does not mean that the English-speaking peoples must necessarily be in friendly co-operation. I wish it did. Still less does it mean that they are heirs of some natural superiority which marks them off from the rest of mankind. The peoples of the world are differently endowed, their contributions to the common stock of civilization are correspondingly different, and assuredly I am not qualified to weigh them in the balance.

My contention is simpler and more modest. I hold that in addition to the direct and indirect effects of a common language, a common literature, common laws, and institutions springing from a common source, there are deep lying identities of character which no political or military conflicts, nor any differences of external conditions, nor any admixture of alien blood, have been able to destroy.

Cannot Be Demonstrated.

This is not a proposition I can demonstrate; it is obviously incapable either of proof or disproof. But if anyone will consider, not merely the formal side of the political and social machinery through which the activities of any great community find an outlet, but the spirit in which that machinery issued and the purposes to which it is applied, he will be inclined, I believe, to share my opinions.

Consider some such random list of heterogeneous entities as the fol-

lowing:

Churches, universities, schools, representative assemblies, debating societies, games, sport, charitable institutions, religion, irreligion, modes of philosophic thought, quality of moral judgments, political aptitudes, national ambitions, individualistic preferences.

These are but samples; but does not each one of them suggest points on which, for good or for evil, the English-speaking peoples instinctively resemble each other, and instinctively differ from the rest of the world? Resemblance and difference may be hard to describe, they may successfully defy verbal analysis, but can any competent observer doubt either their reality or their importance?

Now I feel sure their reality; but how about their importance? Granting for the sake of argument that resemblances springing from roots so deep make mutual comprehension easier of attainment, is this of any practical value from an international point of view?

Our answer will in part depend on how we measure the needs of our war-scarred civilization. Its wounds are many. The remedies are hard to find and harder still to apply. Must we not count among the most serious of the difficulties with which Europe is confronted the absence of that instinctive understanding which, did it exist, might do something to smooth the working of the international machine?

Must Find a Core.

I cannot doubt it. And the more we desire that international affairs should be governed by international opinion, the more needful does it become to discover, somewhere, a core round which opinion might grow and crystallize.

It is not, I think, merely "English-speaking patriotism" which makes me feel that in the formation of that "core" the English-speaking peoples should play a great part. They enjoy many advantages. Liberty among them is of older growth than elsewhere; its fruits are more obviously valuable. And they have besides an advantage due to historical and geographical conditions which no great, and few small, nations enjoy to an

equal degree.

Territorially they want nothing. Internationally their main desire is peace and the assurance of peace. They have no traditions of departed greatness, or lost lands which through some change of fortune might conceivably be theirs once more; they have no "unredeemed" populations who turn to them for help.

All that is most ideal in their public morals, all that is most utilitarian in their economic life, work together to further their dislike of war. Would it not be both a folly and a crime to do, or say, or think, anything which would imperil the possibility of a co-operative effort based on complete understanding which might, were the occasion favorable, do so much for a stricken world?

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## MONTREAL CHAUFFEUR FOULY MURDERED

J. A. Bartlett Is Struck Over Head With Iron Bar.

Canadian Press Despatch. Montreal, April 30.—Struck on the head with an iron bar in the hands of a man he was driving in his automobile in the east end of the city on Saturday night, J. A. Bartlett, 40, a chauffeur for a local taxicab company, suffered a fractured skull from which he died in the General Hospital tonight. His murderer, after the assault, walked calmly away in the full sight of several persons. He has not yet been arrested.

Witnesses state that he was a man of about 21 years of age, slim, and wearing a dark overcoat and a hard hat.

CABINET TO DECIDE TEXT.

Associated Press Despatch. London, April 30.—A despatch to the Central News says the text of Germany's reparations proposal will be finally decided on at a cabinet meeting to be held next Thursday.

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