cast off those dear prejudices, pet passions and singularities of manner which give them distinction. This would be coming too near to the day of translation. None need prepare their ascension robes as yet, but those of us who "do believe in fairies" fancy we see a bit more of clear sky than there was.

AGREEING IN DIFFERENCE.

Of course, nationality will persist. Human nature calls for it, and the differing conditions of food and climate and racial traditions. We will continue to bite our thumbs at each other no matter how many austere and menacing councils tell us that we must be good. We will continue to compete one with the other "in every good way and work," and no doubt in some bad ways and works. For Nature, with her love of variety, will not suffer nations or men to be run into a mould of uniformed sameness. Challenges and rivalries will still try us out. And I shall feel no fear that the great day of prophecy is at hand until an American fails to find an Englishman arrogant and an Englishman does not remark with crushing scorn upon American swank. Until then we must resign ourselves to the task of keeping the lion and the lamb apart.

"Surely ye are a peculiar people" may or may not be as it is written in the Book, but it is written in the hearts of men, and it will take a full day of the Lord for the feeling to be erased.

While, therefore, an American is not an Englishman (for which, let us agree, we are both thankful), we of the United States do always remember the inheritances which have come down to us from England, our impulse toward liberty, our laws in very large part, our respect for them, and, above all, our love of fair play. And this last is growing into something akin to an appreciation—a limited appreciation—of the profound wisdom embodied in the Golden Rule. Difficult as this rule is for any man to apply—rich man, poor man, beggar man, or thief—it manifestly is to impress our thinking and living much more than it ever has. This will result as an answer to fear in some cases, to conscience in others; but largely I believe it will come as an expression of that sense of brotherhood which is being discovered as a new religion by those who needed one.

With the acceptance of democracy as a political philosophy it was inevitable, war or no war, that it should express itself socially and economically. It will be much easier for America to meet this demand than for England, because in this new land men pass quickly from one phase of life to another, and our opportunities are richer than yours. And while England may meet her problem in some fashion other than that which we will employ, we both will be moved by the same spirit and the difference will lie in the mechanics of the solution.

MAN TO HAVE HIS CHANCE.

One charge is laid upon us both, that The Man shall not be carried. The rewards he gets must be his only if he struggles for them. Society is interested in the welfare of all, for here we not seen that all are called upon when Society is to be preserved and civilization perpetuated? That call presumes a reciprocal responsibility. What is that responsibility? Is it our duty to hold every one, no matter of what capacity, to a common level of flat-footedness? Is Society to engage itself in the suppression of initiative and ambition and to deprive itself of the benefits which come from the varying capacities, qualities, masterfulness of men who are not the way of liberty. We open doors. Civilization is one continuous process of opening doors, that we may see what the freed spirit of man can produce. Man is not to be carried—that is the way of militarism, not Democracy. But he is to be given his chance that he may run in the race—and this chance calls for food for the body, food for the mind, and food for the spirit while young, and no artificial barriers to block his progress when older. Then let the race be to the fleetest.

If there is any one purpose born of the war in the American mind I should say that it was to kill all philosophies of despair by making fuller demonstration of the reasons for hope which every American should have who appreciates that men are to be rewarded by society in proportion to the contribution which they make to it.

To place a premium on character, talent, and energy, to fix severe limitations upon the rewards which come to cunning and speculation as distinguished from foresight, to recognize that each man working must have not only enough to enable him to keep working but enough to live hopefully—these are the standards which we have set for ourselves as a social economic policy. And I trust England and America will rival each other in their race toward this goal.

WASHINGTON, FOUNDER OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

"British-American Discords and Concords" is the title of a valuable little book compiled by the History Circle of America and published by Messrs. G. P. Putnam and Sons. It gives we think, perhaps an excellent and dispassionate survey of Anglo-American relations from the beginning, and the following paragraph about George Washington is worth quoting here. After pointing out that the character of the Revolutionary War as a civil struggle, the writer says:—

George Washington had the support not only of Americans but of the best minds in England; he was opposed not only by British autocracy but by the reactionaries in America; he not only achieved America's independence from England, but he liberated both America and England from the rule of an autocratic King; he not only founded the American Commonwealth of States, but the example he thus set showed Britain how to evolve the Britannic Commonwealth of Nations. He was not only "the Father of his Country," he was also "the Founder of the British Empire." Yet even this dual *rôle* gives him and his fellow patriots but half their due. Far more than any other group of men, accelerated the growth of modern democracy, English-speaking democracy, the democracy under which are fashioned all great modern democracies.

AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD.

The Hon. W. G. McAdoo, in an address upon the League of Nations, delivered in New York on May 26, 1919, said:—

"Germany found it to her interest to use the submarine in defiance of international law to destroy American lives and American commerce in her effort to defeat England. The sacred obligation which every Government owes its citizens to protect them against wrongful aggression forced the American people finally to drop the role of a neutral and to assume the character of a belligerent. If we had failed to defend our rights which had been challenged by an arbitrary force we would have not only neglected neither at home nor abroad; we should have found our moral influence destroyed and our legitimate commerce injured to an extent even greater than the distress and suffering to our own people. First of all for liberty, humanity, and our ancient ideals, and next for the vindication of our vital rights, we entered the fight and fought the war to the finish and to victory. We shall then be able to fight again unless the nations of the earth now organize an instrumentality through which the peace of the world may be preserved, for we shall find ourselves confronted again with aggressions upon our vital rights by one combatant or another or all the combatants who may be engaged in some future European war. Our isolation has been destroyed for ever. Three thousand miles of the Atlantic are no longer a protection. . . . More than ever America is interwoven into the very warp and woof of the fabric of the world."

OUR FOURTH OF JULY.

SURVIVAL OF OLD FEUDS.

GROWING ACQUAINTANCESHIP.

By OWEN WISTER.

To the secular days which you mark with especial observance every year, you have added some of ours. Thus, as your most sacred days, Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, have always been ours because we inherited your way of faith, henceforth you are going to join us in those moments when we pause to do honour to our history. You could have made no gesture of friendship more gracious. It will deeply touch every enlightened heart in my country. May she rise to the occasion! A few weeks ago, on May 30, while we were decorating the graves of those who died in our Civil War, you were strewing your graves over these 90,000 American soldiers who lie in England's earth, united with your dead in their supreme gift to the great cause we share. To-day you join us again.

Not any British festival, that I know of, do you celebrate with the fervour that we Americans give to our Independence Day. We more than celebrate it, we live it. Upon it our great traditional emotion rises to the surface and unifies us. Beneath the noise of the day and the rockets of the night flows in the silence of the spirit that which puts us at our best. I cannot believe that any of those of foreign speech who have mingled their lot with ours, wholly know or wholly feel what this day means to us of English descent.

THE CENTENARY OF INDEPENDENCE.

Never shall I forget our 100th keeping of it, July 4, 1876. In the square, beneath the old hall where the words had been first read aloud a century before, were gathered as many thousands as the square could hold. On that day we listened to an orator of genius, William M. Evarts. But no word that he or any man might say then, could evoke what the mere sight of the original document did, the very Declaration itself, when a descendant of him who had read it first aloud there, lifted the framed parchment and held it toward the multitude before us. A silence fell for an instant, followed by what a sound! That moment counts as my earliest unforgettable inward experience. The funeral service of Edith Cavell in Westminster Abbey is my latest. Wide apart though their aspects and occasions may be, these two are kin. Throughout the electric ardour with which our Fourth of July has been charged, there has vibrated a changeless hereditary hostility to you Britain. It is far from plain to many of us yet that what we so jubilantly celebrated was not the triumph of a political split, but the vindication of a racial unanimity. To the general American mind you are still what it supposes you to have been on the day of Washington, something which, even at the time of the split, was only a part of you, and was even then on the wane. Upon the split I must now expatiate a little before I can reach the unison.

In London, not many weeks ago, the question was asked me, "And do you still dislike us as much as ever?"

"As much as ever, I'm afraid," was my answer. "We can't get over George the Third."

ANCIENT BITTERNESSES.

This pleasantry is truer than it sounds. George the Third is more alive with us than with you. You have had several Monarchs since him, you see, but he was our latest! It is our school histories that have been keeping his memory green. Don't blame them too much. Let me tell you why. We were weak and young. We had not long broken away from you. We had to make out our case. Now, our case, once you go into the original documents, was not over strong. The truth of it was, you had been driving us colonies with such light reins for so long that directly you tightened them we took the bit between our teeth and bolted. We meant to be our own nation and not your colonies, no matter how easy with us you might be. And you were easy, very easy, until quite late in our Revolution. So our school histories had to make out a case. They played up George the Third and Lord North strong, and they suppressed Burke and Pitt and the whole Liberal element in England that was in sympathy with us; thought of us as free British brothers over the water who were insisting on our British rights. In short, they painted a distorted picture of England's political condition at that time.

INFLUENCE OF SCHOOL BOOKS.

Generations of American schoolboys have studied this picture. To fathers and grandfathers all over our States, the names Concord, Bunker Hill, Valley Forge, mean resistance to the tyrannical enemy of liberty, England. England is still that to our schoolboys of to-day, though less so many. Amendments to correct the school books has been started and will go on. It will be thwarted in every way possible by certain of your enemies. These will busily remind you that our Civil War broke in the next war we had; that you let loose the Alabama upon us during our Civil War; they will never mention the good turns you have done us. They will never tell how, could, the better understanding that so many of us are striving for. They would pry us apart, if they could. They will fail. Our dead over whom you strewed flowers on May 30 will help us living to defeat them. Could I name all the matters wherein we have varied much or little from you since that original Fourth of July, one hundred and forty-three years ago, a learning page would be compiled. In fact, a whole book devoted to these differences, with the history of such divergence, would have that same light-throwing quality which is possessed by any great dictionary giving the evolution and successive uses of words. We vary from you, for instance, in our Protestant episcopal prayer-book, here and there; in our vocabulary, written and spoken; in the custom of primogeniture, the rule of the road, coinage, spelling, pronunciation, enunciation. Many of us speak through our noses, none of us drop our h's; omission of the g, as in shockin', denotes, mostly, the 'umble, with us, the 'aughty with you. And so forth, and so forth.

What then?

This whole mass of divergence is as dross, weighed against the golden nugget of similarity; our identical attitude toward life. We alone have it in common. Nobody else on this planet shares it with us. Our Constitution was the achievement of minds sprung as directly from the British constructive genius as Minerva from the brain of Jove—and far excelsior in its results. Without your common law our law had not existed. Upon it rests all the home our social fabric rests. Climate—or something—has made many of us more volatile, more loquacious than you; but when there is something doing we can force to a silence remarkably like yours. We, too, have a pagan stoicism, and Christianity has bred in us the same sense of pity for the weak and sick, understood by none others of mankind. Above all else—to be the captains of our souls. This uttermost thing we got from you. This war, especially the great year 1918, has added considerably to the number of British who say, "Yankees are not half bad when you know them"; and to the number of Yanks who say, "I've met a whole lot of British who hate the same things I do." May their tribe increase!

LIBERTY AND PROHIBITION.

If ever we cease to be like you, if ever the streams of foreign blood that have poured into us pollute the race current that flows through our veins from yours, we shall perish from the list of free nations. George the Third never struck at American liberty as it was struck at the other day by our Prohibition Act, passed by doctored Legislatures, even as his Parliament was doctored when he willed of an unorganized, unrepresented majority.

Thinking of all these things, that is why the Westminster Abbey service for Edith Cavell stirred in me the same solemn chord that was wakened across the sea in Philadelphia 43 years ago, when I watched the Declaration of Independence held up for those thousands of American eyes to look at. Is there not a deep kinship between the two? Both seem to me to symbolize the spirit of our race that stands for freedom even unto death.

AVIATION IN AMERICA.

DIFFICULTIES HAMPERING ENTERPRISE.

NEED OF AN AIR MINISTRY.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

The Aviation industry in America is backwards at the present moment. A period of suspense is ensuing from the war which will not lift until the mind of the country is made up on the two subjects of (1) a consolidated Air Service with Cabinet representation, and (2) what measures of active support, if any, is to be given towards fostering commercial enterprise.

As is natural, an economical reaction has set in which has pointed reference towards a subject so costly in its necessities as is that of aviation. Disposal of the enormous stocks of material is a burning question and directly bearing on the industrial aspect.

LARGE STOCKS NOW IN HAND.

Although Armistice day found the American Air Service in France with little of its own equipment in use, yet the continuation of the war would before long have brought an enormous amount of machines and engines into the field. These are now in storage in various parts of the country and, even if they do not deteriorate they will rapidly become obsolete. It would seem, therefore politic and economical in the long run to dispose of them in the open market, even at a great loss. To do so, however, will seriously handicap the industry because the manufacturers will then have idle shops until the mass is absorbed, the Government being able to place the material at cut prices.

It would, moreover, have the effect of prolonging, unduly from the point of view of the needs of civil aviation, the type of machine and engine produced by the necessities of war. The two bear no relation to each other; and without a realization of this fact, commercial aviation will handicap itself at the commencement. Even now, the minor enterprises already afoot show, in the types of machines and engines used, a slavish copying of war models.

THE COUNTRY SUITED TO FLYING.

One thing is beyond doubt and that is that commercial flying should flourish in America or nowhere at all; for the country in size and shape and terrain and distribution of population favours it to a high degree. The public interest and public capital remain nevertheless apathetic and unattracted towards the subject; and this can only be ascribed to the fact of public ignorance. Few people in England have failed during the war to observe enemy aircraft—or at any rate their effect—directly or indirectly; in America very large numbers of people have never seen an aeroplane of any description whatever. The result is a colossal ignorance on all matters aeronautical and a more or less complete lack of interest.

This is fully realized by the few who are deeply interested, particularly the governing bodies of the Aero Clubs and the membership of the Aircraft Manufacturers' Association, and it is their intention to attempt a propaganda throughout the country on a large scale by means of meetings, lectures, displays, flying circuses and newspaper articles. Whether this will bear fruit remains to be seen; but it is a matter for marvel that nothing has hitherto been attempted on a commercial scale other than very minor enterprises.

A SECRETARY OF AIR.

The Post Office Department must be excepted from the above. For more than a year now a flying mail has been regularly delivered between Washington and New York and extensions are being considered to Chicago, Cleveland and elsewhere at the present moment. A large utilization of the aeroplane may be expected in the near future for the Postal Service of America.

A proposal is in favour of a consolidated Air Service for both military and commercial needs such as obtains in England now. The creation of such a service would be a material solvent of many vexed questions and would provide a necessary fillip to civil enterprise sufficient, in all probability, to start it safely off on a successful career. It is only the initial energy which is required. Vested and political interests are, however, strong; and long and bitter will be the altercations before a Secretary of Air takes his seat in the Cabinet.

Meanwhile, with the example of other countries, notably England, before her eyes, America fails to seize the opportunity, wilfully determined that American built machines and American built engines shall serve her needs now and in the future and jealous of the introduction of foreign types. Aeronautically speaking the condition is chaotic, the up-to-date results puny and the future dependent on a correct solution of the question of a consolidated Air Service.

TO ENCOURAGE AMERICAN SHIPPING.

In the article on American Merchant Shipping on another page of this paper, reference is made to a plan drawn up by Mr. Hurley which provides for the practical subsidization of the shipping without an actual "subsidy." The plan, which, while subject to many possible modifications, seems certain to form the groundwork of endeavours to build up build the American merchant marine. Briefly, he would sell the vessels now owned by the Government to quasi-private corporations to the extent of two-thirds of their cost, the government reserving the right to name one director of each corporation, to prescribe maximum rates for transportation, and to exercise a measure of control over routes of travel, sailings, &c.

Sales would be made on a basis of one-fourth cash, 5 per cent. interest being charged on the unpaid portion of the purchase price. Purchasers would be required to insure their vessels with a Government operated insurance company. To the creation of a "Marine Development Fund" would be devoted 1 per cent. of the interest received on the unpaid portion of the purchase price of the vessels, as would also this difference, estimated at 1 per cent., between the cost of marine insurance purchased from private companies and that paid to the Government, the Government charging the insured the same as he would be required to pay by private companies. Mr. Hurley estimates that the revenue from these two sources would amount to $14,000,000 the first year and would steadily increase until by the end of the 10th year a total of $85,500,000 would have been received. From this fund allotments would be made to the owners of the vessels in such amounts as might be needed to enable them to operate their ships with reasonable profit in competition with the shipping of the world.

TRANSATLANTIC FLYING.

OPENING OF A NEW ERA.

A FRESH BOND OF UNION.

(By MAJOR-GENERAL J. B. SEELY.)

I accept gladly the invitation to add my contribution to the special edition of *The Times* issued to celebrate July 4, Independence Day. The day commemorates a great event in the life of the two sections of the English-speaking race, but this moment of successful accomplishment by joint effort demands special celebration. Both nations have been united and brought to a better understanding of each other by the tremendous struggle in which they have taken part and by the victory which they have won, side by side; quite recently they have been still further united, in a physical sense, by the remarkable feat achieved by both in the crossing of the Atlantic by air.

No man can foretell the possibilities of air travel in the future. To me it seems clear that while the old methods of locomotion on the surface of the globe, by land or sea, are limited to slow expansion, this is not the case in movement through the air. Here we stand at the threshold of a new era. That there will be a network of air routes all over the globe in the not distant future is certain. Of these routes not the easiest but the most beneficent will be the route which bridges the distance between North America and Britain.

PROGRESS IN TEN YEARS.

No one can belittle the importance of the transatlantic flight. It would be impossible to pass by the consideration of this great achievement without some reference to the debt which aviation owes to Lord Northcliffe for his persistent encouragement of the art and practice of flying. The crossing by air definitely ushers in a new era. Subsequent development may be slow, but the most difficult step—the first one—has been successfully taken. It is only 10 years since the brave Bleriot just managed to struggle over the Channel. Now that same journey is performed many times, almost every day, and as a matter of course. During the war it happened that no fewer than 103 British machines crossed in a single day. So far these flights have been made by service machines, but in the near future, with the opening of international flying, there can be no doubt that the Channel will be constantly crossed by civilian fliers. Such rapid progress may not be possible in the case of the Atlantic crossing, but now that inventors, constructors, and designers can turn their minds from war to peace, great possibilities lie ahead. So far the Atlantic has been crossed only from west to east by America *via* the Azores, by Britain direct. The next step is to cross from east to west. I hope and believe that this will be carried out by another type of aircraft—the airship—in the very near future.

There is a particularly happy augury in the fact that the first direct crossing was made by joint effort, in that the machine was piloted by an Englishman and navigated by a man born of American descent. Another remarkable aspect of the flight has been the splendid sporting spirit in which both the successful and the unsuccessful efforts have been carried through; the spirit which has permitted the people of each country to applaud and welcome the achievements of the other quite as cordially as their own.

GENEROUS COMPETITION.

There will be competition in the air, but we now know that it will be competition without bitterness and for the benefit of both. All the experience and knowledge that Britain and America have acquired during these years of war in this latest system of transport is of such vital interest to both that the greatest hopes for rapid progress in safety, comfort, reliability and economy lie in the mutual interchange of ideas and the results of technical research and practical experiment in both countries. I hope there may be this interchange; that it may be fruitful it will be necessary for the best brains on both sides of the Atlantic to devote their minds to the problem. The universities can do much to help. Generous donors have founded professorships and schools of aeronautical engineering in London and at Cambridge, and the Royal Air Force are cooperating with them in every practicable way. The universities of the United States and Canada, with their splendid endowments of money and brains, have here a field for original research with infinite possibilities lying ahead.

America was the first birthplace of practical flight. The airmen of Canada have shown their special aptitude for flying; France has rendered unique service to the science and practice; Great Britain, at the close of the great war, was pre-eminent amongst the fighting forces in the air. With North America, France, and Britain, above all others, lies the future development of air travel. The time is surely drawing near when the interests of the English-speaking nations will, of necessity, develop upon closer lines. There is now in the hands of both a unique opportunity for furthering the science of aviation for the benefit of the whole world. It can be done if we work together in the near future, for, marvellous as has been the progress of flying in the last decade, the next will assuredly witness still greater improvements and accomplishments both in the technical means and knowledge of flying, and in actual flight. The achievements of the last four weeks are a foretaste of what is to come—conquest of the air means the eternal union of Britain and America.

NEED OF THE LEAGUE.

A Correspondent writes:—

The welfare of Europe is the concern of the world. Certainly no British or American financier, manufacturer, merchant, or indeed any citizen of either country who has money invested in commercial enterprise, or who has hands or brain to work with, can afford to see Europe sink into a low industrial state, or allowed to stand idly by while hundreds of millions of people are on the verge of starvation and in urgent need of industrial opportunity to lift themselves out of a state of anarchy. Unless all these unfortunate peoples continue to exist, much less to restore their shattered fortunes, unless they have assurance of unmolested opportunity? How is hope to be rekindled in those prostrate countries, how is industry to be re-established, except by infusing new life into them through the arteries of trade and commerce? What is to satisfy them as regards their future safety except a firm friendship between the English-speaking peoples—a friendship in which there is no room for any possible misunderstanding, a friendship so broadly based that no shock of circumstance, no demagogue or lying propaganda, in either country can play successfully upon the ignorance of the common people?

Unless we go forward together in this matter, shoulder to shoulder, and firmly convince mankind that nothing shall shake our determination to bring all of our combined economic and military weight to impose a peaceful settlement of international disputes upon all nations, the whole world will be crushed under a burden of taxation to meet anticipated attack.

INSURANCE OF PEACE.

THE GREATEST THING IN THE WORLD.

A MATTER OF BUSINESS.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

The League of Nation's policy must be underwritten by the British Empire and the United States. The biggest problem in the mind of man to-day is to devise the requisite means for establishing peace between all the nations of the world, so that mankind once more can engage promptly in secure industrial, social, and intellectual development. Without hope and confidence no start can be made; industry offers no reward, investments steadily depreciate, commerce disappears, social conditions become unbearable, and civilization itself dissolves into chaos.

A COMMERCIAL MATTER.

This, in its final analysis, is a commercial matter, and must be accomplished by those interested in commercial affairs. Neither the Government nor the military alone can do it, but together we can do all that is required. Nothing can be accomplished if we pull against each other. Nothing else is so urgently required as a complete British-American understanding. Only good will that will stand any strain that may be put upon such an understanding will ensure world peace.

Good will will not create itself any more than goods will sell themselves. Therefore any British-American good will that may be expected to stand the strain of every future thrust that will be made against it must be so "sold" to the British and American publics that every patriotic man, woman, and child in both countries will come to think rationally upon the fundamental policies of their respective countries, as regards international matters. Existing good will is too flabby and sentimental. It has not the strength of fibre to stand heavy strain. It is too attenuated by jealousy to meet the demand it will be called upon to bear. It needs the alloy of self-interest; of national interest; of practical necessity.

Our two great Democracies reflect in their legislation the common thought of the common people. The political leaders in both countries remain leaders only so long as they keep an ear to the ground to discover the direction in which the public is marching. It is this great democracy of mind in both countries that is continually shaping the destiny of our two nations. It is the mass-mind of the English-speaking peoples of America that will determine if we shall march together, shoulder to shoulder, to carry out a beneficent world-policy, or fly asunder under the strain of petty jealousies. Therefore, any enduring good will between the two countries must be rooted in the hearts and in the minds of all the people.

NEED OF PROPAGANDA.

By efficient propaganda, carried out by those trained in the arts of creating public opinion, will and of swaying public opinion towards a definite purpose, not only the natural and proper competition of interest between the two countries will be robbed of the poison of ignorant misunderstanding but also the malign influence of existing and potential propaganda antagonistic to British-American good will will be nullified.

The Press, universally, must be enrolled—is to make a beginning. Efficiently organized propaganda should mobilize the Press, the Church, the stage, and the cinema; press into active service the whole educational apparatus of both countries, and root the spirit of good will in the homes, the universities, public and high schools, and primary schools. It should also provide for stimulating the best men to write books and articles on special subjects, to be published in cheap editions or distributed free to classes interested. Authoritative opinion upon current controversial topics should be prepared both for the Press and for magazines; histories and text-books upon literature should be revised. New books should be added, particularly in the primary schools. Hundreds of exchange university scholarships should be provided. Local societies should be formed in every centre to foster British-American good will, in close cooperation with an administrative committee. Important articles should be broken up into mouthfuls for popular consumption, and booklets, cards, pamphlets, &c., distributed through organized channels to the public. Advertising space should be taken in the dailies and for magazines; a historian's care for steadily presenting terse, easily read and remembered mind-compelling phrases and easily grasped cartoons, that the public may subconsciously absorb the fundamentals of a complete mutual understanding.

EFFORT MUST BE UNITED.

This work cannot be efficiently done by individuals or by small independent societies. It must all be co-ordinated into one great, steady, efficient effort, and the execution of it be under the direction of men both connected who are qualified by capacity and experience to sound exactly the right note and to employ the right media to interest the section of the public to which any particular appeal is made.

The whole expense for carrying out this enterprise in both countries should immediately be budgeted for and the necessary funds secured, to be administered by one strong administrative committee of eminent men in the United States and one in the United Kingdom. These two committees should be co-ordinated in one international supervisory committee. Literary matter should be secured by subcommittees of British and American journalists and publishers who know the capacity of all of those writers competent to assist in the work of interpreting one country to the other, to establish the reasonability of British-American international interest, and to impress the entire public opinion of both countries with the advantage, nay, the necessity for a world-wide movement for British-American peace effort. Ambassadors of good will should be exchanged, to meet the public in our pulpits, on our lecture platforms, and to preside in the lecture rooms of our colleges.

In the words of a great American patriot, "Unless we hang together, we will hang separately." If there be one who still doubts this axiomatic truth, let him carefully consider the blood-red future of the world if the British Empire and the United States in active hostility, or even engaged in consuming their existing and potential material and spiritual resources in bitter Anglo-American controversy, quarrel, and intrigue.

LET US BE PRACTICAL.

There is an unlimited supply of good intention floating about, but it has little or no force to resist ruthless thrust or pressure. Let us be practical, constructive, and intelligent in dealing with this transcendently important matter. In power war is a greater thing than to conduct war. Self-preservation is the first law of nature. Let us follow the law. In preserving ourselves we are also preserving humanity. In any understanding back-bone is more important than wish-bone. The only way to begin is to start. Reduce this whole question to the narrow terms of British and American finance, and commerce, and industry, and social welfare, and there is no answer except thick-and-thin British American International cooperation.

It is up to us to ensure the League of Nations; to put vitality into a declaration of principles; Only English-speaking peoples can make the League a compelling force to preserve peace, and to re-establish world-wide social security.

BIG BUSINESS.

AMERICAN GENIUS FOR ORGANIZATION.

PROBLEMS OF COMPETITION.

(By J. OGDEN ARMOUR.)

Besides men and munitions, there is another essential factor in war. I do not belittle the feats of the fighters when I say that food won the war. And I am proud to claim that it was American genius, beginning on the farms and ranches of the boundless Western world and ending in the trenches of the European battlefields, that solved the food problem. When Great Britain declared war the American and British meat packers who in peace times supplied the United Kingdom with meat from South America voluntarily made this proposition to the British Government: "We will provide you with all the beef you want, where you want it and when you want it, and you shall fix the price that you pay for it." Needless to say, the Government accepted the proposal, and during the months that the British war machine was in the building selected beef of excellent quality was brought from South America and turned over to the Government without question or thought as to price. The American packers were as completely in the service of the Government as were their British contemporaries. Eventually the Government decided to make its purchases on a commercial contract basis, but the question of whether there was a profit involved in no way influenced the service as rendered by the packers.

LARGE BUSINESSES NOT HURTFUL.

I wish I had time to recount, and you the patience to read, the story of the part the American meat packers played in supplying the armies and the civilians of the Allies with food. A study of the matter bears out what I say that without such widespread and efficient organizations as have been built up by the American meat packers the food problems incident to the war could not have been solved, and that means civilization was mighty close to death. But it is not my purpose to take up the *rôle* of historian here. I state the facts about the meat packers not simply to land them, but to bring up a subject that bears strongly on the closer relations which ought to exist between Great Britain and the United States.

Many people look askance at great business organizations such as are exemplified in the American meat packers. Great industrial organizations are no menace; they are in tune with the march of progress. The Yellow Press of America and such agitators and malcontents as can always be found where truth is unafraid of unrestrained speech, have conjured up for the whole world a picture of "money trusts," "steel trusts," "meat trusts," and all sorts of "trusts," that they have painted in black.

I believe that Britons will analyse these charges and learn they are unfounded. Britons are accustomed to doing things on grand scales. Your merchant marine is a monument to the propriety of huge organizations. You understand financial problems incident to greatness. I do not expect Britons to accept the sophistry that mere size is dangerous.

Business is done on a tremendous scale in America. The idea of doing a tremendously large volume of business on a narrow margin of profit, with consequent benefit both to buyer and seller, is the American idea of efficient business. Necessarily a tremendously large business involves huge capital, and even small profit margins mean large aggregates. Failure to analyse the true relation between investment, turnover and profit is responsible for unwarranted fears regarding the economic worth of great industries. Too often they are condemned, blindly, simply because they are large and because size implies power which, perchance, might be abused.

There is an unfortunate tendency to cry "monopoly" when a firm grows great—and there are plenty will throw the first stone. There is no such thing as an American meat trust, if the term implies combination, monopoly, or agreements which are for other than the best interests of all concerned. That a few companies have grown great is indicative, mainly of their superiority in the field of service. They are big because in the past they have proved able to deliver the goods, and people have learned to rely upon their business because efficiency has enabled them to attain the high points in the most highly competitive field of human effort—the food business. Business is done in a manner that American business institutions such as the meat packing companies are not to be shunned or anathematized. They are no menace to anything except inefficiency; but they are still competitors, and with the new era of foreign trade expansion which has dawned in the United States, you will find Americans competing with you for world commerce. The competition, however, will be honest and fair, and it is the reputation of the Britisher that he is not afraid of honest and fair competition.

ANGLO-AMERICAN COMPETITION.

It seems to me that most of the problems involving the relations between Great Britain and the United States for some years to come will grow out of our competition for foreign trade. The Mistress of the Seas has long enjoyed the bulk of the world's carrying trade, but the new American merchant marine bids fair to be a competitor worthy of your metal. The attitude of Britons toward this new and formidable competition will have a considerable bearing on the relations between the two countries.

Americans, in the course of time, have much to learn about foreign trade. Many of us have not yet realized that the old adage "when in Rome, do as Romans do," applies particularly to foreign trading. American business customs cannot be forced on a British trade any more than can British trade practices be forced on American. Our present tremendous trade balance is less a tribute to our business methods than to our ability to take credit and extend credit. As Europe is rehabilitated the trade balance will become more equitable, and Americans will have no undue advantage over competitors by reason of credit facilities.

Neither Americans nor Britishers can adopt questionable trade tactics in the foreign field, where they will be keen competitors, if the relations of the two countries are to be improved and developed. A great deal of national squabbling can be averted if both of us will realize that the competitor has equal rights with us wherever he chooses to go in the foreign field. There is no section of this earth which is properly the exclusive commercial domain of any other. It is as fitting that the British trader have the same rights in South America that the American wants, as it is for the American trader to have the same rights in Africa that the European salesman has. Failure to recognize the justice and desirability of such equality of rights will make it difficult to cement the bonds that should by right draw Britons and Americans together.

By recognition of each other's rights and peculiar abilities, American and British business men can compete in the world's markets with advantage to the buyers and without rancour on the part of the sellers, and with the consequent elimination of trade differences there will be no bar to the closer relations which are proper between the two great English-speaking nations