

University woman's part. Remember you are now full-fledged sons and daughters of Stanford. We look with confidence to you to show that to you has come some part of that great spiritual background dear to the Founders of this University and to us all. We ask in leaving us that you will, no matter where you go or what you do, save some small part of your energy to help us to make this, our University, a greater force for the up-building of man and of nation.

Dr. Stillman's address follows:

Four hundred years ago, Sir Thomas More gave a new word to our vocabulary—"Utopia." In this celebrated book, first published in 1516, this eminent scholar and statesman, one-time Speaker of the House of Commons and Chancellor of England under Henry the Eighth, pictured his dream of a better social and political state than was to be found in the world he knew. For in the time in which he lived, as for centuries before, England has been the scene of almost uninterrupted savage wars, of unscrupulous diplomatic intrigue, of bitter religious intolerance, of oppression of the poor by the rich, of the weak by the strong.

Yet Thomas More was an idealist and with far-seeing prophetic vision he dared to look forward to a future when equity, justice, and friendly sentiment should sometime dominate the greed for wealth and the lust for power. And this vision he pictures in this fancied principality in the island of Utopia or "Nowhere." "In Utopia the aim of legislation is to secure the welfare, social, industrial, intellectual, religious of the community at large."

In an age of the most intense religious intolerance, More pictures in Utopia a condition well exemplified in a decree—"that it should be lawful for every man to favor and follow what religion he would, and that he might do the best he could to bring others to his opinion so that he did it peaceably, gently, quietly and soberly, without hasty and contentious rebuking and inveighing against others."

In Utopia every man and every woman must learn a craft or trade, and must work at it, though none shall be required to work more than nine hours per day, that all may have leisure for self-improvement and for recreation, and that they shall not be wearied by continual work like toiling beasts, "which nevertheless," says More, "is almost everywhere the life of workmen and artificers, save in Utopia." Even the divine right of kings, so strongly entrenched at that time was challenged by the provision in Utopia that the royal ruler was "removeable on suspicion of design to enslave the people." Such a consummation was possible in Utopia, because all citizens were trained to arms, but no standing army of mercenaries was maintained.

Four hundred years ago, while Thomas More was thinking his Utopia in England, there lived and wrought in the Republic of Florence a man whose writings have also left a permanent impression on the minds of men. His writings also have been published like More's Utopia in countless editions in all languages. This was Nicolo Machiavelli. Machiavelli was a trusted diplomat and secretary to the Florentine Republic, serving on many foreign embassies and intrusted with many responsibilities.

And he also had a vision, the vision of a powerful and united Italy. Yet the Italy he knew and described was in his time the very vortex of the most devastating storms of domestic war and of foreign invasions.

The philosophy of Machiavelli is displayed in his principal works, "The Prince," "The Discourses" and the "History of Florence." He says:

"Nations, as a rule, when making a change in their systems of government pass from order to disorder, and afterwards from disorder to order, because Nature permits no stability in human affairs. When nations reach their final perfection and can mount no higher they commence to descend; and equally when they have descended and reached a depth when they can fall no lower, necessity compels them to rise again. Thus States will always be falling from prosperity to adversity, and from adversity they will ascend again to prosperity. Because valor brings peace, peace idleness, idleness disorder, and disorder ruin; once more from ruin rises good order, from order valor, and from valor success and glory."

These two contemporary literary monuments, More's Utopia and Machiavelli's Prince, have for four centuries almost equally shared in the profound interest they have excited in the minds of men. I have chosen them because they represent typical points of view, which are represented in all ages and all nations. Yes, in every little community we may find their prototypes.

There are always those who must find relief and inspirations in looking away from the imperfect condition of society and in fixing their vision upon a future condition which shall more nearly satisfy our ideals of the perfect state. Prophets or poets, enthusiasts or visionaries, sometimes indeed unpractical, it is yet their high mission to keep alive among men the hope of a better future for humanity upon this earth,—to bring nearer to their mental vision a golden age to come.

But many also are those who are disciples of the philosophy of Machiavelli. With them human nature never changes, selfishness is and ever will be the dominant and militant trait of human nature. Nations rise and fall as inevitably as the ocean tides, and must ever so rise and fall. No attempt at radical reform is worth while,—it is but a word written in the sand.

Nations have always striven to gain wealth and power at the expense of their neighbors, and because they always have they will forever so strive. War is a normal condition of the peoples, like spring medicine, necessary for their political health. Dreams of Utopias may serve to amuse children, they have no place in the philosophy of red-blooded men.

Verily this is indeed the Philosophy of Despair. However greatly this Machiavellian opportunism has appealed to the ambitions of rulers, their ministers and lieutenants, it is certain that it has become increasingly repugnant to the great heart of humanity. Looking backward over the centuries that separate us from the days of More and Machiavelli, it seems clear that the dream of Utopia has become in many respects more nearly realized and less visionary, while the graphic analysis of the

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IDEALISM IS MESSAGE OF COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS

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great Florentine has become in spite of exceptions less and less a true picture of modern civilization. Indeed many students and thinkers had begun to feel that our civilization was developing beyond the stage of barbarous wars between the great nations of the world.

If so they have been rudely disillusioned by the stupendous conflict now in progress. By the sudden irruption of this catastrophe upon their peaceful horizon the American people were dazed and bewildered. They have been slow to understand and grasp its profound significance.

At one rude touch, the whole elaborate structure of modern civilization seemed crumbling into dust. What is the meaning? Are we to despair of all permanent progress in national and international relations? Is, after all, our boasted advance in civilization but an increased capacity for furthering selfish ambitions and lust of dominion? Are the visions of Utopia to be forever idle dreams? Is Machiavelli after all the true prophet of the future as well as an accurate recorder of the past? We cannot believe it,—we dare not accept it.

Solemnly and with mature deliberation this great and peace-loving people has entered this conflict, in the profound conviction that the great issue at stake is whether the ideals of democracy and the hopes of humanity shall survive, or whether the age-long supremacy of absolutism and force shall for centuries to come continue to hold sway.

To the successful outcome of this issue, in the full consciousness of the magnitude of the undertaking and of the sacrifices involved, we have pledged our wealth, our lives and the hazard of our national prosperity. How long the contest may endure we cannot predict:—what its far-reaching consequences may be upon the political and social conditions of the world, it is impossible to foresee. But however long the struggle may endure, sooner or later the end will come, and if it comes as we trust it

will, without utter prostration of the battling powers and resulting anarchy and despair, there are certain strong hopes we are justified in entertaining as the result of the lessons of this war.

Dean Vance of the University of Minnesota has impressively voiced this hope in a recent address to the Bar Association of that state. He says:—"War now stands revealed to us in all its hideous barbarism, destructive of all that is best worth preserving in civilization whether of body or spirit. War is bad, unreservedly bad, so bad that there is only one thing worse, national dishonor in cowardly submission to wrong. War is the scourge of mankind, and this war now devastating Europe is unquestionably the greatest disaster that has ever befallen the human race, and all the world now knows it. No one can know when the war will end or how, but sooner or later it will be ended, and civilization will awaken to see ruined cities, devastated fields, trade and industry paralyzed, and many lands filled with widows and orphans, wrecked homes, and broken lives. And then it is probable that war will be detested as never before in the history of the race. Then will come the favorable hour to take the next great step forward in the development of law and order in human relations."

This great step which Dean Vance looks for is the establishment of a world court which shall unite the nations in an agreement that shall make forever impossible such a catastrophe as we now experience.

And this is our brightest hope for the near future. But we should not forget that the world has had many opportunities to realize the devastations of war, in the Thirty Years' War, the Hundred Years War, the Napoleonic Wars, and the long succession of desolating invasions reaching back to the farthest limits of recorded history. Nor should we forget that history teaches that the horrors of war are soon forgotten by succeeding generations, while the glory of victory and rancor of defeat appeal all too powerfully to the imaginations of men. While then we hope and strive for the best, it is the path of wisdom to be prepared for disappointments and delays. Until therefore some effective machinery has been established which shall guarantee the world's peace, adequate preparedness for self-protection is the duty of every nation.

In these world-problems, we of the United States have a special responsibility. To us have looked and are looking the liberty-loving people of the world to maintain and justify the hopes of humanity in democratic government. Our nation was founded for democratic liberty, and its traditions are in harmony with its foundation.

Our wars have been waged for our own freedom or for the freedom of the oppressed, and it is in that great name that we are enlisted in this greatest of wars.

In the bitter days of struggle or in the trying times after the war, it is our duty to maintain our high ideals. Reverses or humiliation must not shake our purpose. Discouragement must not lead to despair. Success must not tempt us to grasp for imperial prizes. Always we must strive to bring nearer those Utopias for which the soul of humanity ever yearns, and always should we cherish those dreamers of great dreams whose visions foreshadow the better times to come.

Purging our hearts of selfishness, ambition and hatred, determined in war, but just and generous in peace, it must be our aim to deserve the respect of nations. Recognizing the limitations of present-day civilization, knowing that the day is yet far off when greed and lust of power shall no longer sway the destinies of nations, it is also our duty when necessary to be able to compel respect.

But let our mottoes be: "To live and let live," "With malice toward none, with charity for all"; never "Amerika über alles," but always "E pluribus unum."

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