eled the circle, that their novelty is destroyed. With all her apparent gaiety, she is probably more wretched than the miscreant, who begs the morsel that sustains his being. If she be ever placed at the head of a family, she disgusts her husband, neglects her children, and order, peace and industry are strangers in her house. Her company is ever uninteresting or disagreeable, her name is synonymous with folly, and her memory is lost with her life.

Mrs. Careless—What a picture, my dear Mrs. Friendly, have you drawn! I turn from it with horror, I assure you my chief care shall be to form my children to reflection, self-government, and industry; and they and I shall have reason to rejoice in the change you have made in my sentiments.

Mrs. Friendly—I rejoice to hear you express yourself in such a manner. Believe me, when I say, the best fortune which can be bestowed on a child is a good education. It secures her honor and happiness through life, whatever be her station; and it leads her to the exercise of those noble and virtuous dispositions which are an indispensable preparation for the enjoyments of the future state.

PROBLEMS OF LIBERTY

An excerpt from the Report of the President of Columbia University for 1937.

The development of civil, economic and political liberty and of the institutions built upon it, is raising new questions of grave importance throughout the world. Superficially, there would appear to be conflict of ambition and of policy, controversy and even threatened military war between a number of nations. Behind and underneath these appearances, however, lies something much deeper and of gravest importance. The institutions of liberty, operating at a time and in a world where man's growing control over the forces of nature has created a wholly new industrial and economic environment, are brought face to face with new problems of far-reaching importance, which moreover are abundant in danger to liberty itself.

The industrial era, now about a century old, has made men increasingly familiar with a kind and amount of efficiency which they had never before known. The habit has grown of measuring the success or the failure, the satisfaction or the disappointment, of government in terms of this efficiency. Since democracy, even at its best, must lack something of the efficiency which industry claims as its own, it is not difficult to turn the minds of men toward such changes in their institutional life as shall attempt to bring about in the field of government the type of efficiency which men find in industry. This leads straight to increasing regimentation of human conduct, whether individual or group, and to the increasing delegation of executive authority to a single administrative officer of government. This is the explanation of the rise in the twentieth century of a type of despotism which surpasses in severity and in cruelty the well-established despots of ages long gone by.

The argument from industry has also brought with it a new and violent attack upon the principles of liberty and the whole democratic system through its insistence upon there being, of necessity, a class war in the social and economic order. There is and can be no such war in a true democracy because there are and can be no such classes, save from a very superficial viewpoint, unless the principles of liberty and the ideals of democracy are to be abandoned forever. In a social, economic and political organization where classes are assumed to be at war, every essential fact of human life and human aspiration is contradicted. Instead of an individual being looked upon as a moral and intellectual unit and stimulated to exert himself to the utmost in order to reveal his natural powers and to serve his fellow men through his control and direc-
tion of those powers, the individual is to be looked upon simply as a cog in a great machine. Throughout life he stays where he begins. He does only that which is done by other men in like situation. His inequalities are not permitted to manifest themselves. He must go through life not as a human being, but as a mechanical automaton. He must not work longer than his neighbor nor must he do more or better work than his fellow in a given limited time. He must conform to fixed standards and regulations, no matter how these prevent him from expressing himself and rising in usefulness and in excellence.

Today throughout the world the most persistent attacks on liberty and on democracy are coming from these two sources—the demand for increased efficiency and the insistence that individuals find themselves permanently in a given economic class and are thereby automatically at war with their fellows who are supposed to be in other and conflicting classes.

Under such conditions can the institutions of liberty protect and defend themselves successfully? At the moment the answer would have to be in the negative so far as concerns some of the oldest and greatest peoples in the world, and it would have to be doubtful as concerns not a few others. Those peoples which have been without the long discipline of liberty-seeking through the centuries, have been the first to succumb to the rule of the despot. Those which, like the English-speaking peoples, the French, the Dutch and the Scandinavian, have been showing themselves for many generations competent to understand and to achieve liberty, are in no wise fearful of being overcome by despotism directly, but they might easily find their foundations undermined and broken down by the persistent propaganda for a class war.

It used to be said that in the United States it was only three generations from shirt-sleeves to shirt-sleeves. This meant that the son of the man who had been a manual laborer often rose to a position of high authority in the economic and political organization of the nation, and that his son, in turn, might find himself again in the situation of his father's father. Today, many of the greatest business enterprises in America, including the railways and literally hundreds of industrial and commercial undertakings of every type, are under the management and direction of those, still in middle life, who but a few years ago began their careers at the very bottom of what may be described as the industrial ladder. The whole theory of a class war is immoral and offensive in high degree. It runs directly counter to every interest of the great mass of the population, and it endeavors to check demonstrations of that ability and capacity which enable a man better to express his own personality and more abundantly to serve his fellow men.

In the face of such a world situation as this, it is surely imperative that the universities in those nations where democracy still rules shall be unting and emphatic in making plain to general public opinion what contemporary conditions really are and what they may involve. Where despotism has taken control not only of public administration but of private life, the universities are in a state of coma. Some of these institutions were, not long ago, the world's leaders in almost every field of philosophy, of letters, of science and of the arts, but now their mouths are closed save to echo empty and futile formulas which, for the ruthless despot, have taken the place of the multiplication table and the Ten Commandments. As the number of real universities in the world diminishes, the burden of responsibility resting upon those that remain is steadily multiplied. Their task with the generation that is to come will be simply stupendous, but they must and will accomplish it.

Nicholas Murray Butler