P R O C E E D I N G S

GENERAL SESSIONS

Fifty-Sixth Annual Conference

AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION

June 25 - 30, 1934

St. James United Church

Montreal, Canada

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June 25, 1934

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GENERAL SESSION

Monday Evening, June 25, 1934

The First General Session of the Fifty-sixth Annual Conference of the American Library Association, held in St. James United Church at Montreal, Quebec, Canada, was called to order at eight-fifty p. m. by the President, Miss Gratia A. Countryman, Public Library, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

PRESIDENT COUNTRYMAN: I declare the Fifty-sixth Annual Conference of the American Library Association now in session.

We are to be welcomed tonight on the part of our hosts and hostesses by Dr. Charles F. Martin, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine, McGill University, Montreal. (Applause)

DR. CHARLES F. MARTIN: Madam President, Ladies and Gentlemen: I esteem it a privilege on behalf of McGill University to welcome you to Montreal on this, your fifty-sixth annual meeting. Three times already have you convened in Canada, and this fourth is your second gathering in Montreal.

Some of you may recall that in 1900, when you last met under the auspices of McGill University, 452 members attended. On that occasion your President expressed the

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opinion that "No time or expense pays a librarian better than that given to the annual meeting of the American Library Association." Well do I believe it, for no library association exists which takes precedence in importance or usefulness to this organization. You yourselves have obviously given heed to the above advice, for 3000 members attended the convention last year in Chicago.

You have grown much in stature and in importance in these thirty-four years, and the benefit you have conferred upon the library situation in Montreal merits our appreciation.

On the occasion of your last visit here some of you may remember that Mr. Charles H. Gould was the librarian in this University and that he subsequently became President of your Association. The stimulus that he gave to it and to Canadian libraries is well known to most of you. It was due to his pioneer efforts alone that the system of traveling libraries was introduced into Canada. It was he, also, who inaugurated the first library school, a project which has developed apace and has conferred a great boon throughout the country in the development and appreciation of the library idea. We are proud that our own University library here took the lead and that throughout the years it has grown steadily in size, in influence and in prestige.

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But as yet in 1900 there was no public library in the city itself. Indeed, it was only after your conference at that time and as a direct result of your influence that a civic library was opened in 1902. Subsequent to that, in 1917 we built a new building to house this library. For this influence of yours we in Montreal owe you much. With respect to public library interest, we must not forget that the influence of Miss Saxe, of the Public Library in Westmount, one of our suburbs at that time, makes us indebted to her for cultivating and developing the public library interest in this larger community of Montreal. (Applause)

I would not have you think, however, that Montreal itself was entirely devoid of book collections. A really great French library has existed here since 1845, and through the untiring efforts of Dr. Fauteaux this was later augmented to 150,000 volumes. His later, more recent interest in the civic library is but another evidence of the great work that he has done in this connection. Unfortunate indeed it is that owing to economic conditions, this French library to which I referred, the Sulpician, was obliged in 1931 to close its doors. The civic collection, housed, as I said, in that new building in 1917, however remains, but unfortunately does not quite represent the public library in your sense of the term, for it

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serves only a restricted portion of the citizens of Montreal.

The Fraser Institute was opened in 1885, more of a reading room, perhaps, than a library, semi-public rather than public in character, for it is not available to any large extent for the community at large.

The McGill University Library when you last met in Montreal numbered 58,000 volumes. Today 455,000 volumes rest on its shelves. The names of Peter Redpath, of Molson, and of McLennan, all citizens of Montreal, will always remain associated with its origin and development.

The Medical Library at that time had 21,000 volumes; today there are over 60,000. Among the notable University accessions of recent years a few should be mentioned, more especially the Osler Library of the history of medicine and science, some 8,000 volumes, the Blackler Library of Zoology, of approximately 35,000 volumes, a goodly number for a specialized library, the Casey Wood collection of ornithological works, and the Gest Chinese Research Library of 135,000 volumes.

No need there is to remind you, however, that numerically the best collection of books does not necessarily mean the best educationally. A man may be deep-versed in books, yet shallow in himself. A community must be made library

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conscious. The stimulus is not always easy to create or to foster. Nevertheless here in Montreal, though much remains to be accomplished, we may, I think, be reasonably proud of the interest that has been fostered in the last fourteen years, during which period Dr. Lomer has assumed office at McGill University. Fortunate indeed we are that despite repeated invitations to abandon his University and country, he has remained with us. To Dr. Lomer's energy, experience and wide knowledge not only does this collection owe its present importance, but to his academic appreciation of the value of books and of reading the University as a whole owes the fact that it has learned that the library is, after all, the soul of the institution, its temple of peace for meditation, for independent thinking, and for research.

I would ask you, too, to learn something of the excellent exhibits that have been prepared from time to time under his guidance, demonstrations which have been a feature of our University. Among the more prominent exhibits is that extremely valuable collection illustrating the history of the book. From time to time as occasion arose, exhibits have been shown of various books, prints and other matters of interest to librarians and to students and to the public generally, and

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have attracted many who would not have had otherwise such an opportunity for education.

The collection of Shakespeariana at the time of the Tercentenary is one example. So too were the exhibits of Chinese prints and methods of printing, the Canadiana of all sorts, and similar historical and literary documents of interest to libraries and to those who attend them.

Emphasizing, too, the revolution which has taken place in the University libraries in general, I would make reference to the integration of the scattered libraries on our campus into one system. Special libraries, too, have been developed. The Library School has taken first place in our country. It is the only library school in Canada demanding graduation in Arts for matriculation and which at the end of the course confers a degree in Library Science.

Times have indeed changed. In my early student days, so many years ago I am ashamed to think of them, at McGill our excellent little library of some 25,000 volumes had only one librarian, a scholar, it is true, of age and experience. There was no catalog. A student requesting a book was asked why he wanted that particular volume, and if the librarian disapproved of his choice he forthwith refused it (laughter)

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and instead of this, one of his own particular brand was offered. There was no alternative except to merit his undying scorn. He made it a matter of privilege to enter even the alcoves, and hated above all things to release any volumes from the building. These books were to him as personal possessions, and his pride. He was the taster, guide, philosopher, and also the Scotch dominie to the student body in the matter of good reading.

Those, ladies and gentlemen, were the days before efficiency became the rule, and only those entered the library who loved the opportunity. This reminds me of a bookseller who many years ago lived in Montreal. He loved the books on his shelves and knew them well. His shop carried few, if any, commonplace works. He resented the intrusion of a customer, and glared at him with an almost intense hatred at being disturbed in his browsing. If, however, after a few moments of inquiry he found him worthy to discuss literature, the question of purchase gave way at once to an interesting and entertaining literary intercourse. This was a bookshop of which our community was proud in those early days. There was no efficiency, no elaborate system, there were no records.

The exigencies of the times undoubtedly demand some more or less elaborate system of conducting a library, no

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matter what the expense, but one cannot help contrasting the old-fashioned and very charming method of using a library with the present more or less departmental store technique.

A visit to many of your excellent university and public libraries in your great Republic makes it difficult for anyone in Montreal to escape the tinglings of envy. Your excellent appointments, your cubicles for the more industrious, for those who wish that haven of peace which alone is consistent with independent thinking, your crowded reading rooms, filled more especially with the younger generation, are evidence enough of the eagerness to read and probably to learn, the voracity for more information, or more fiction, as the case may be, during the reading hours. There is much to be said for the assertion that so long as one has good health and a good library, life can hardly be dull.

In this country, and I believe in yours, the type of reading which most attracts the attention of the public is the literature of the hour, the magazines and the daily newspapers. And the press, for all its great merits, is unwittingly one of the greatest enemies of real education and independent thought. We are furnished every day from many quarters with the best thoughts of trained and able minds on the subject of the day in the daily papers, but, as Balfour suggests, it

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is about as much as one able-bodied man can do to get through these able-bodied papers in the course of the day. Even if he feels inclined to think and to credit the excellent thoughts which are thus supplied to him at a small nominal figure by his own independent exercise of brain, he has not the time to do it, and so he is satisfied to become the walking reflex of the paper to which he happens to subscribe. Not merely this, but if the appetite be sufficiently omnivorous, he has the weekly press in profusion, with more literary thoughts of distinguished men, and if by any chance he has still a minute or two left, he can read all the monthly magazines and complete the cycle of this intellectual system.

May I, Madam President, in conclusion wish you and your members every success at your meeting, and express the hope that Montreal and McGill University will prove a suitable setting for your deliberations and your enjoyment. (Applause)

PRESIDENT COUNTRYMAN: It may be of interest to the members and I am sure it will be to our very kind hosts and hostesses that the registration up to seven-thirty this evening was 1560, a very large registration up to date.

We are now to have some announcements by Dr. Bovey, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Local Hospitality. (Applause)

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COLONEL WILFRID BOVEY: Madam President, Ladies and Gentlemen: In the old days in this province we had an official who was known as Le Crier. He walked around the village, and being able to read, or at least to present that he did, made announcements on behalf of some much wiser person who had put them together. I should like to confess that all the announcements which I am going to make are in the handwriting of Dr. Lomer, who is Chairman of our Local Committee and who is really responsible for the arrangements which have been made for your entertainment here.

... Announcements ...

PRESIDENT COUNTRYMAN: I have entitled my address for this evening, "Building for the Future".

... President Countryman read her address ... (Applause)

... Letters of greeting from the Canadian Authors' Association and from the New Zealand Library Association were read by the President ...

PRESIDENT COUNTRYMAN: Now I have the pleasure of presenting some guests of the American Library Association and of the Carnegie Corporation. I am going to introduce them to you just by name, not asking them to speak now.

Mr. H. I. Bell, Keeper of Manuscripts of the

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British Museum. (Applause)

Then we have with us Mr. R. J. Gordon, City Librarian of Leeds, and Mrs. Gordon. (Applause)

Mr. and Mrs. Edgar Osborne. Mr. Osborne is County Librarian, Derbyshire, England. (Applause)

Mr. James Ross, Librarian of the Central Public Library, Bristol. (Applause)

Mr. R. D. Hilton Smith, Central Library, Hendon. (Applause)

Mr. P. S. J. Welsford, Secretary of the Library Association, London. (Applause)

Mr. John Wilks, Librarian of University College, London. (Applause)

I am sure you are glad to have seen these guests of ours, and I hope that we shall meet them again at the reception following.

... The meeting adjourned at ten-fifteen o'clock ...

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GENERAL SESSION

Wednesday Morning, June 27, 1934

The Second General Session convened at ten-fifteen o'clock, Dr. Louis Round Wilson, Graduate Library School, University of Chicago, First Vice President of the American Library Association, presiding.

CHAIRMAN WILSON: The Second General Session of the Fifty-sixth Annual Conference of the American Library Association will now come to order.

The first item on the program of the morning is the presentation of the annual reports of the officers and committees of the Association, which will be presented by Mr. Milam.

SECRETARY CARL H. MILAM: Mr. Chairman, I present the annual reports, including administrative and committee reports as printed in the June 1934 Bulletin. Will someone move their adoption?

DR. H. H. B. MEYER (Washington, D. C.): I move they be adopted.

... The motion was seconded ...

CHAIRMAN WILSON: Is there discussion? If not, all who are in favor of the adoption of the reports will say "aye", opposed. It is a vote.

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I will ask Mr. Milam to present the recommendations of the Committee on Constitution and By-Laws.

SECRETARY MILAM: There are three amendments proposed by the Committee. The first two are presented for the first time. You have them, I believe, in your hand.

"RESOLVED, That section 10 of the Constitution be amended by inserting after the word 'president' the words 'the retiring president', so that it shall read when amended: 'Executive Board, which shall consist of the president, the retiring president, the first vice-president, the second vice-president,' etc."

CHAIRMAN WILSON: What is the pleasure of the Association with respect to this resolution? It is the understanding of the Chair that a resolution of this sort must be acted upon at this meeting and before it becomes effective it must be acted upon at another meeting a year hence. What is your pleasure?

DR. MEYER: I move that it be adopted as an integral part of the Constitution.

... The motion was seconded, put to a vote and carried ...

SECRETARY MILAM: "Sec. 24. ENDOWMENT FUNDS. All receipts from life memberships and all gifts for endowment

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purposes shall, subject to conditions attached thereto, constitute endowment funds. Such funds shall, subject to conditions legally incident thereto, be in the custody of three trustees, one of whom shall be elected by the Executive Board annually to hold office for three years from the date of his election and until his successor shall be elected. The trustees shall have authority to hold, invest and reinvest endowment funds in accordance with such powers as may be granted them by the Executive Board of the Association. The income from endowment funds shall be expended under the direction of the Executive Board in accordance with any conditions made by the donors of such funds in consonance with the approved policy of the Association. No action shall be taken with reference to investment or other principal transaction with respect to securities held in the endowment fund except upon the resolution adopted by or written order signed by a majority of the trustees."

This is a proposed revision of Section 24 drafted by the Committee after consultation with the trustees of the endowment fund and officers of the Association.

CHAIRMAN WILSON: What will you do with the resolution?

MR. CHARLES H. BROWN (Ames, Iowa): I move that it be adopted.

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... The motion was seconded ...

CHAIRMAN WILSON: Is there discussion?

... The motion was put to a vote and carried ...

SECRETARY MILAM: The following proposal, having been favorably voted upon at the 1933 Conference, will be a part of the Constitution if approved today.

"Sec. 24. ENDOWMENT FUNDS. Amend the fourth sentence by striking out the words 'by ballot, at each regular meeting' and inserting 'by the Executive Board annually'."

The effect is to transfer to the Executive Board from the Association the authority to elect trustees of the endowment fund. You will remember that this proposal came before the Association last year on the recommendation of the Nominating Committee.

MR. BROWN: I move it be adopted.

... The motion was seconded ...

MR. SAMUEL H. RANCK (Grand Rapids, Mich.): Does that mean that all three of the trustees of the endowment fund fund are to be elected annually, or one each year as at present?

SECRETARY MILAM: One each year.

CHAIRMAN WILSON: Are there any further questions? Is there discussion?

... The motion was put to a vote and carried ...

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CHAIRMAN WILSON: We are very happy this morning to have greetings from the British Library Association.

... Dr. Wilson read the letter of greeting from the President of the British Library Association ...

CHAIRMAN WILSON: I wish to present Mr. A. Kaiming Chiu, Librarian of the Chinese-Japanese Library at Harvard University, who will present greetings from the Chinese Library Association.

... Mr. A. Kaiming Chiu read greetings from the Library Association of China, and then read a message from Mr. T. L. Yuan, Associate Director of the National Library of Peiping ...

CHAIRMAN WILSON: Members of the A. L. A. are aware that the program of this Conference has been concerned and will be concerned with what President Countryman indicated on Monday evening as charting the course of the library in the present order. The officers and Council of the Association have been concerned and will be concerned with plans in this order, and for that reason it is appropriate that this morning's general session be devoted to a consideration of significant trends in government, in social science, and in education.

It is desirable that as we think of plans for the

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future we understand what the significant trends in these fields are and that we have our attention directed to them by those who are competent to speak with authority with regard to them.

It is our very great privilege, therefore, to have as our first speaker dealing with this subject, Thomas H. Reed, Professor of Political Science, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Professor Reed is not a stranger to a great many members of the Association, in that we recognize in him the Chairman of the National Municipal League's Committee dealing with citizens' councils for constructive economy. We are all pretty familiar, I think, with the taxpayers' leagues of the day, with which we are confronted in our respective states. We are very happy to have in the person of Professor Reed, the Chairman of a Committee that is thinking in terms of constructive economy, not destructive economy.

It is a very great pleasure that I have in presenting as the first speaker, Professor Thomas H. Reed, who will speak on "Trends in Government." (Applause)

PROFESSOR THOMAS H. REED: Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen: The Ship of State is flying blind. I say "flying" advisedly because we can no longer do with that old simile of the poet Longfellow which compared the Ship of State

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to an old-fashioned square-rigger. "Humanity with all its fears, with all the hopes of future years," is now being propelled with extraordinary rapidity, borne up by giant wings and forced forward by tremendous engines at a rate of speed far beyond anything that a few years ago anyone would even have dared to contemplate. The Ship of State today is an airplane pursuing its course blind, into the clouds of the future which hang around it and prevent any pilot from seeing through to the goal which is being sought. We don't know where we are going; we only know that we are on the way, and on the way at a terrific pace.

Fortunately the clouds dissipate as we enter them, so that it is possible to see things in the immediate present and to chart a course from events that have gone by. That, of course, is where the scholar and the librarian enter the picture. We can look back over the rudder of the Ship of State and see the things from which we have come; we can even whisper in the ear of authority words of wisdom and warning; we can point out where we have come from; we can describe the present trends in government. That is our function. We have acquired, of course, in recent years some additional facility. Not merely do we have better collections of books and materials and better managed collections of books and materials, more

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people working in them to determine the course that we have been following, but we also have instrumentalities like the radio. Your Chairman neglected to mention one of the committees of which I am so unfortunate as to be chairman, the Committee on Civic Education by Radio, which puts on a so-called "You and Your Government" program on Tuesday evening. A lot of you have been distributing the literature and the announcements of that series, and handling the reprints of the addresses which are published weekly. I hope you are going to continue to do that.

After all, the radio is a vast means of reaching enormous numbers of people at once. We do not merely have to whisper into one ear; we can whisper into every ear of the great democracy of which we are a part, through that means. Incidentally, you will find on the table as you go out, some folders of the radio program which began last night for the summer series. I hope those of you who are interested will take them away.

That isn't the trend in government, of course; that is merely a new facility by which those who know can reach those who do not know and help to make democracy a possible and functioning system of government.

The present situation that exists in the United

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States with regard to economy in local government, which I suppose is the point at which government touches librarians most closely, is also not a trend in government; it is a passing phase. We are going through an era in which taxpayers have not been able to pay their taxes, and it has been necessary for us to economize, and a good deal of the economizing has been worked out by politicians who have economized at the expense of institutions like libraries, instead of economizing at the expense of the more political departments of government. That is, of course, something against which we all protest, but I think that the situation is steadily improving now. The proportion of the tax levy that is now being collected is this year better in almost every community than it was a year ago. The constant, steady decline in the percentage of taxes collected, which has been going on since 1929, has come to an end, and we can confidently face the future with the assurance that local government in the United States and in Canada is going to be supported and supported effectively in the interest of the social and educational services of government, as well as in the performance of the traditional political functions of government.

I am very glad that our citizens' councils have assisted in that. They are springing up all over the United

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States right now, vast numbers of them; they are coming into existence faster than ever before. The only unfortunate thing about it is that the Committee on Citizens' Councils for Constructive Economy has no money with which to proceed. I want to be perfectly frank with you - I am not going to take up a contribution this morning. No one would think of taking up a contribution from librarians. (Laughter) It would be just as fruitless a task as it would be to take up a contribution among college professors. (Laughter) What we contribute and what we very gladly contribute are our ideas.

There are often enlightened men of wealth and great foundations which would undertake the support of a movement like the Citizens' Councils movement, but unfortunately up to the present time we have not been able to secure that support, and if you find that our efforts are somewhat tenuous and not as vigorously directed as they ought to be, you can blame it on the lack of vision of those who sit in control of the sources of supply.

I wish I sat in control of some sources of supply! I'd like to use them!

What I can do for you this morning is to talk about trends in government and contribute some of my ideas free. I have a good many of them.

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Among the trends in government of the present day, the first and most important is the trend in the direction of a greater and greater socialization of our economic life. We are having more government in business, constantly more government in business; we are constantly moving away from the Jeffersonian ideal of little government; we no longer listen to apostles of little government like Jefferson, nor do we listen very much to the Jeremiahs, the wailing Jeremiahs of the United States Chamber of Commerce who would like to turn the clock back to the simple conditions that prevailed at the close of the eighteenth century.

Republicans, Democrats, Liberals, Conservatives, are not responsible for this tendency. It is a tendency which exists in all countries and which nowhere has been successfully counteracted. It did not begin in the United States with the Roosevelt administration. It began long years ago with the gradual complication of our economic order, the gradual necessity of having more government to regulate the conduct of men in business in order that there might be a reasonably fair opportunity for the ordinary man and woman to live their life.

Of course, in the last year or so we have been progressing rather rapidly, we have been moving forward, but we are only going on in the same direction in which we were

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going before, at a slightly accelerated pace.

Whether we like it or no, there is going to be more government in business rather than less as time goes on. We cannot reverse the tides of events, any more than we can play with the tides of the Bay of Fundy - they are too much for us. The result is that government is becoming every day a more complicated and intricate machine, interfering more and more with our every-day habits and practices. Oh well, of course we may adopt more liberal policies on the part of government with regard to some of the eccentricities of mankind like drunkenness and divorce and things of that sort, we have been moving in a direction of less government restraint on such matters, but as far as our economic life is concerned, unless we are to reverse the processes of civilization we can't get away from more and more government.

Now that trend has brought with it another trend, a trend in the organization of government itself. It has brought about the trend of bureaucracy. When I went to college, now so many years ago that I hesitate to say how long, I was taught by President A. Lawrence Lowell, then Professor Lowell, at Harvard that in the English speaking countries there was no bureaucracy, that there was bureaucratic government in the Continent of Europe, in those benighted nations beyond the seas, like the

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French and the German and the Russian, but in the United States, even in England, no bureaucracy. No one would teach any such doctrine today. We know perfectly well that when we say the country does this or the country does that, the government does this, the government does that, we do not mean the President or Congress or Premier or Parliament; we mean somebody down in one of the bureaus of the government, an obscure person whose name never figures in the headline, who makes the decision that affects our life. That is bureaucracy, government by bureau chiefs. Every part of the world, at least the civilized world, has it now, because government has become so complicated and intricate that the decisions which government has to make in the course of a day are infinitely numerous and there have to be human individuals to make those decisions, and there is only one President and nine members of his Cabinet and only one Congress which has about one-tenth the power of decision of one man. The result is the triumph of bureaucracy.

Along with the triumph of bureaucracy there is a coincident decline in the importance and significance of legislatures. While scientific improvement, invention, improvement in the arts, have had the effect of multiplying the activities and extending the scope of administration, no one has been able to improve the processes of legislatures except

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in very minor particulars. Of course, there may be some legislative reference librarians here this morning who would point out that the Roman Senate did not have a reference library, undoubtedly they might have done better if they had had a reference library. You can imagine Catiline poring over the pages of the records in such a library to find out how he could get the best of the majority in the Senate, just as Mr. LaFollette, perhaps, is poring over tomes of that sort today trying to see how he can get the best of the majority at Washington. Undoubtedly it would have been a great pleasure to have had Cicero as a client of a legislative reference library. Think of the conversations that you might have had with him in odd moments. (Laughter) And yet as a matter of essential legislative success, the Roman Senate undoubtedly did as good a job of legislating as any parliament or congress in the world today. In fact, with the multiplication of things for government to do of which I have already spoken, the ability of any group of three or four or five hundred men to do anything effective about it has actually been diminished.

All over the world there is dissatisfaction with legislation. It is partly associated with the multiplication of political parties. As long as we had two political parties and two political parties only, the ins and the outs, whether

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you called them Liberals and Conservaties or Republicans and Democrats, you could trust the outs to criticize the ins and hold them down and restrain them and arrive at some kind of a decision, and if you didn't like the way the ins behaved you could vote the outs in and have a reversal of policy. But today on the Continent of Europe there are so many parties that nobody can keep track of them, while in the United States, with its nominal great parties contesting elections, there are in fact in Congress not two parties, but numerous small groups of people whose attitude is determined by economic particularism of one kind and another, until we can't tell who is responsible for the conduct of Congress.

Congress is all split up. You turn the Republicans out and put the Democrats in and what do you get? Something that is practically the same as the Republicans you turned out, no better and no worse. The futility of electing legislatures to deal with the problems of today has been impressed upon the minds of people throughout the world.

As a result, another trend has appeared, the trend toward dictatorship, the trend toward entrusting the power of ultimate decision not to a legislative body, but to a single man.

There was a doggerelist wrote an alleged poem in the

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Saturday Evening Post a few years ago about the European situation. I want to read you just a line or two of it:

"I'd hate to be a voter in a European state,
I know just what I'd do a little later:
I'd bounce a shiny axe off each addled
statesman's pate
And announce my nomination as dictator."

After all, that is just what has happened. Certain persons have announced their nominations as dictator, and it makes no difference whether it is a Stalin in Russia or a Mussolini in Italy or a Hitler in Germany, the strong man rides to power on the basis of the promises that he makes and the hope that the people have that out of the disorder and conflict of ordinary politics he will bring some kind of action. The reeling world is shrieking today for action and they look to one man to give it to them, a natural tendency under the circumstances.

I think I hardly need to say that in my opinion the tendency toward dictatorship is a dangerous tendency. We have a slight approximation of dictatorship in the United States. The power that is possessed by the President of the United States at this particular moment is almost as great as the power possessed by Hitler or Mussolini, but there is one great difference. When in 1936 the question arises as to the succession to power in the United States, we will settle the question of whether we will reelect Mr. Roosevelt or whether

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we will elect someone else in his place by the orderly process of dropping ballots in a box. The people of Russia, Germany, Italy, have repudiated the idea of election; they have said frankly, "Democracy is a failure, the only valid source of power is power itself. Dropping pieces of ballot paper in a box or counting noses is a futile process that has no relation to reality."

So when it comes to the time for Hitler to join his fathers or Mussolini to be laid away at the foot of the Capitoline Hill alongside of Italy's Unknown Soldier, how are they going to get the next one? Where is he coming from?

You will notice that dictators never build up a second in command to step into their shoes. They don't dare build up a possible rival. The only way that a dictator can make himself master of any situation is by his own force and power, and unless there happens to be someone who has the force and power to assume the leadership there is going to be a period of disorder. I would rather take my chances with poor, stumbling democracy, in spite of the blatherings of Congress, in spite of the ineptitude of state legislatures, in spite of the stupidity of city councils, I would rather take my chances with democracy as a system of order and stability than with the best dictatorship man has ever tried. (Applause)

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Democracy makes for stability, for order, for permanence. It is the only system except hereditary monarchy which does that, and we are not going back to hereditary monarchy, in all probability.

The trend toward dictatorship has brought with it a trend toward international relations that is of a piece with dictatorship. Dictatorship in Europe is the result of impatience on the part of the people with the futilities, or so-called futilities, of democracy. The present attitude of every nation toward international affairs is a result of impatience with the process of conference and agreement, impatience with the weakness of the League of Nations, and in a spirit of desperation dictators are promising their people results - and after all they have got to deliver results or they can't remain dictators; Mussolini couldn't last five minutes in Italy if Italian people really didn't want Mussolini as their dictator; Hitler won his way to his position of dictatorship in Germany by promising honor and safety and prosperity to the German people, and unless he can deliver those goods he will be politically bankrupt and no longer dictator. In their desire to deliver the goods they have turned to international isolation again. Every nation, even the United States, is adopting a policy of national self-sufficiency. We are trying to

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control tariffs and currency on the basis of making our nation capable of surviving irrespective of what the other nations of the world do. Every nation is playing that game. Intellectually it is a return to the mercantilist theory of the eighteenth century, which I was taught in college had been completely exploded by Adam Smith. It is going to mean trouble, if we may judge by the signs of the past, because international isolation or rather attempts at international isolation in a world where international isolation is no longer possible are bound to produce international conflict.

Germany proposes to repudiate, for the time being at least, the payment of her obligations. Great Britain immediately applies a plan which would take German money in England and apply it to the payment of those obligations. Germany proposes to retaliate upon that, and retaliation following upon retaliation will ultimately lead to discord of the most serious kind.

It is all part and parcel of the impatience with the processes of deliberative bodies. I would rather take my chances with the League of Nations, feeble as the League of Nations is, (Applause) I would rather take my chances with disarmament conferences, awkward and futile as their proceedings often are, I would rather frankly recognize that the

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world is bound together by bonds which cannot be severed, than to try to turn back the clock to the eighteenth century internationally. You can't do it internationally any more than you can do it in domestic affairs.

Of course we can't tell where we are going. The Ship of State is flying blind into the vast banks of clouds that veil the future. What will be in 1940, 1980, 2000, we don't know, except this: we do know that in the year 2000 people will be wandering into the reference departments of public libraries to inquire for information about what the world was doing in 1934, and the librarian will thumb over some cards or perhaps turn some kind of a crank, some new reference gadget which will by that time have been invented to take the place, perhaps, of active intelligence on the part of librarians, and will produce the information. Perhaps she will tell them that the 205th "You and Your Government" series is going to refer to exactly the point that they have in mind; perhaps she will be able to lay her hands upon the reprint of an address by my grandson who isn't born yet that will give the answer.

I used to know a lady who after the third cocktail was inclined to belittle the United States, and she would declare very emphatically that she would rather be an

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advertising kiosk in Paris than a public library in New York. But I want to tell you that I would very much prefer to be a librarian at any crossroads in the United States or Canada or China or anywhere else than to be a statesman in London or Paris or Washington or Berlin or Rome or Ottawa or anywhere else. It is going to be very much simpler for us to collect the information about what has taken place and to coordinate and to arrange it and to put it on shelves than it is to steer the Ship of State through the cloudy atmosphere, the down currents, the looming mountains, that lie in wait to wreck it, and we have got to be patient. Personally I would like to slow down the speed a little, and I think that the institution of democracy has the best facility for making haste not hastily of any of the systems of government.

These are the trends. Let's keep our eyes watchful and see where we have gone as we go. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN WILSON: We are all tremendously interested today in seeing how far science is speeding us to new adjustments in our daily living. We are aware of the fact that in the economic field it has outgrown us, that we have not been able to plan economically in such way that discord will be properly taken care of. We are shifting somewhat from the scientist to the sociologist, and we are looking to leaders

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in the latter field to show us what is essential if the social order is to go on even keel.

We are happy this morning to have as our second speaker a person whose training and background has been that of sociology and who is practically transferring theories of adjustment into one of the rural areas of America. We have pleasure in hearing as our next speaker, Dr. Helen Gordon Stewart, Director of the Library Demonstration in the Fraser Valley in British Columbia. (Applause)

DR. HELEN GORDON STEWART: Mr. Chairman, Fellow-Speakers, Ladies and Gentlemen: We have been hearing a good deal about trends and planning in the last few days. To me there is something just a little sinister in the way in which good words turn into clichés over night. Just yesterday trends and planning led a very quiet and unostentatious life, minding their own business; today there is just a little tendency on the part of some of us to shrink from the incipient blatancy of these same erstwhile modest words, with horrible memories of efficiency, and carrying on, and probing. I suppose it is the mob element in the general use of both words and ideas that causes us uneasiness, for most of us know, and know only too well, the very great danger in which a good custom stands of corrupting the world if it is insisted upon too rigorously

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and too ruthlessly.

So at the very beginning, while I am rather afraid that one cannot call it at the present time a social trend to be aware of that mob element in our thinking and in our ideas, I sincerely hope that at least it is a social trend to begin to realize that danger.

With regard to social thinking in itself these days, of course it is an absolute truism that the very reason we are seeking for trends is because the situation is so complicated by this and by that, that like some of the modern detective stories you find clues all over the place without ever realizing that they are clues. It does seem, however, somewhat significant as a first trend in modern social thinking that we at last after all these years have come around to realize not only that there has been a very stupendous change in our social surroundings, but what is even more important, that that change in our material surroundings has a very deep and a very fundamental effect on our own personalities and on the community of which we form a part.

Very few belonging to our generation are worried very greatly by the idea of change in and of itself. We have been brought up on it; we ourselves in our own experience have run the gamut of so many first things, all the way from incubators

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and carpet sweepers to airplanes and television and all the rest of it, that almost anything in the way of just an ordinary and every-day invention fails to faze us at the present time. I still remember with a painful clarity some of the embarrassments as a small country child of a first bath in a well-equipped city bath tub, but no social milestone marks the first ride for me in an automobile, and I feel quite sure that if the future dictates that we shall go about from place to place being projected into space, we will face our first human pea-shooter with the equanimity of a Jules Verne hero.

We can also manage with a fair degree of success to accustom ourselves to certain changes in our social world or in our social organization. It is hard to realize at the present time that movies and radios and things of the kind, automobile cabs, if you like, have not always been with us. We can think about group insurance and minimum wages and even regional libraries nowadays without any very great fear of our own individual liberties being limited by these actions. With a little more grumbling we have even accustomed ourselves to a certain extent to passports and intelligence tests and even to vaccination. But when it comes down to some of the deeper significances of these outward changes, I am afraid that we cannot congratulate ourselves on our adaptability with

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quite as much enthusiasm.

It is in these adaptations that the main difficulty of our present life seems to come. Habits change. External habits we can put on and off as we manage to take on the sausage-pan of today instead of the pudding bowl of yesterday. But instincts do not change as readily, whatever your definition of instincts in this day of definitions, and some of the fundamental habits, particularly those exemplifying in organized institutions, have stood firm when all the rest of the material world has moved on and moved forward.

Now it does not seem to us particularly significant that that was the case in the past, but perhaps the most important second trend of social thinking which I would suggest is a coming recognition - coming I say because it has not yet reached its point - that what we have been calling progress in the last number of years needs a different focus. We have considered ourselves a progressive civilization because we have been able to gather around us the tools of living, the facilities of living, the furniture of life, and on the strength of that we have called ourselves progressive people. It is only beginning to dawn upon us now that it is not the accumulation of tools that matters, but it is the ability to use those tools in gaining human satisfactions, and in that

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point we are still far behind.

The world of the past was a unified world. To be sure, society was more or less of a hierarchy and a solid one at that, and the individual had his place in his own caste or in his own class and kept it, but at least he was part of a united society, he knew himself to be not isolated and alone, but to be one of his own community. Our own fathers and grandfathers had a greater amount of individual freedom, but I rather think that the rugged individuality of that particular period has been a bit overdone too, because in that day, as well as in the previous, the whole social organization was a unit, there was no East and no West, there was no city and no country in the sense of a complete and a dissociating effect on the people, there was no isolation. Each man knew the social institutions which bound his country together and bound his whole civilization together, and because of that unity was able to carry on his own individuality, to act as an autonomous unit within the small bounds given to him, the bounds of individual freedom. Outside of that small space in which he could exercise his individual freedom, his free will had about as much reality as that of his contemporaneous Calvinistic brother.

In our own day, one of the troubles is that we have

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lost that feeling of unity, we are at discord among ourselves, both in our own personalities and in our community, and out of that discord has come the vagueness and the restlessness of today.

Let me say right here that one of our great troubles has been that we have always been regarding the difficulties of today very largely from an individual standpoint. I think another great trend in thought today is the beginning of the realization that it is not to individuals one must look for the secret of the difficulties of today, but rather to the institutions of all kinds, the associations, the machinery, if you like, which serves or should serve human interests. Not very much attention has been paid to that phase of affairs, but we are beginning to realize now that unless individual human beings have the social tools with which to work, unless the life which flows from the whole body has clear channels to flow through, there is not very much chance of our individuals rising to the fullest height of their own possibilities.

It is because of the disintegration, the falling down, the breaking down, of institutions and established customs that we are in the trouble we are today. It is true that a good many of us have still clung to the old shell which once

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held life. We still associate ourselves with institutions and forms which have ceased to represent ideas. Others, again, have set themselves to work to potter and change and revamp a little the institutions in which they have found shelter. Not for them the stately mansions for their souls while the swift seasons roll - these are much too large.

There are some of us, a good many, I hope, who out of the bits of the past and the separate movements of the present have been able to reconstruct for ourselves a new philosophy of life on a personal if not on a very large basis, but a philosophy of life which has some spaciousness, some flexibility, some stability, and some ends which are not unworthy of our best efforts.

But alas, there are quite a number of us who have managed to do nothing but drift, endless and aimless, blasting under a sort of cynical philosophy of life or the negation of philosophy, what feelings they may have. These, I have no doubt, have a sinister influence in the community, but perhaps when we know a little bit more about sociological as well as other laws, we will find that these people are more sinned against than sinning.

I may say, just before going on to the second part, that in using the word "institution" I am using it this morning

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in a somewhat sociological sense. An institution is really an instituted custom, I suppose; it is not necessarily in itself a building, or anything of that kind, but it is a centralized, a focused, a crystallized custom, or it is a recognized form which people use because they have found by experience that this particular social form can serve their interests.

In speaking of institutions, the last point that I shall make about social trends, perhaps the most significant trend of all that we have mentioned, is that whereas in the immediate past we have got into the habit of considering institutions in themselves as somewhat sacred and sacrosanct, we are now again beginning to place the said institutions in their proper relation and to realize that they are and must be the servants of man, and unless they do serve the real interests they cease to function.

That brings us to the function of sociology or the science of social relations. There are a good many people who still laugh at the idea of a science of social relations, and frankly I am free to admit that at the present time there isn't any such thing, but there are scientists of repute in the world of natural science who are willing to say that although at the present time at least human relations have not yet had a science to govern them, in their opinion in the scientific

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world sociology will take the leadership among sciences in tomorrow which biology has today and which physics had yesterday. It may be two or three hundred years before we really are down to a science, but still there are hopes.

The reason we turn, perhaps, to the idea of a social science is because while we have failed very badly with our old methods of social relations, we can see next door to us the great successes which have followed the efforts of the thinkers and researchers in the field of natural science, so perhaps it is rather obvious that when we are hunting around for a method of attack we should try at least to see what can be done according to the same processes and the same regimes which are used in the scientific field.

Very roughly, there are certain very definite rules and regulations governing scientific research. In the first place, if you are going to attack social problems, or any other kind of problems, from the scientific method, you must be first of all conscious of the fact that there is something wrong, that there is something that ought to be done, and one usually becomes conscious of that through a succession of rather startling facts that begin to impinge, finally, on one's consciousness. The second part in the scientific process is to try to spread out all of these things which have made us sit

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up and take notice, to try to look at them first of all separately, and then to try to find in all of them one common thread that will bind them together. Having found that, having found our clue, if you like, the next step in the scientific process is to begin to measure and weigh and count in order to get a more direct and a more accurate and a more detailed knowledge of the field of our operations.

Then comes the stage of charting and drafting, and then finally out of this whole mess and mass of figures and facts, suddenly emerges, behold, a new idea, an idea that looks so clear and looks so plain even to the man in the street that everybody wonders why in the name of patience it was never thought of before, and so is born a new law.

We in the sociological world have got to the stage quite definitely now of realizing that something is wrong and of wondering just what is going to be done about it. We have also got to the stage of trying to space out all of these different impressions and to realize that there are at least two fundamental points or unity, or lines or threads that bind all of these reasons together. The first one is the sense of change, the amount of change, and the rate of change, and the second is the interdependence of social and material things.

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We have begun to feel that our old laissez faire philosophy was a very good philosophy and if it is thrown over entirely we cannot avoid mob action, of which I spoke a moment ago. But laissez faire was all right for that autonomous action of which I spoke in a very limited space, but it does not apply with any degree of satisfaction over a larger area. In laissez faire the whole point was that the world is better off if each individual does to the best of his ability the best that he knows how. That is not quite enough at the present time. We have got to get back of the individual to the point at which his feet rest.

In spite of our scientific methods, as I say we do know that something is wrong; we realize that one of the difficulties is the fact that with this larger life, this wider life that has been made possible through the contributions of science, and so on, while we recognize that it is there, we have not recognized the necessity for clearing out the channels through which it might flow, and that focuses our attention on the necessity for getting down to institutions. As I said a moment ago, it is only when you discuss social forms that you can discuss them according to any scientific method, because apart from its organized forms, society is simply a mass of individuals.

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We are willing to recognize all that at the present time, and we have busy librarians and busy social welfare workers and busy economists and busy a great many other kinds of people running around right now gathering up enormous masses of data in order to find out just how we are going to get our way clear out of all this mess to a measure. But it is one thing to know you have got a measure; it is quite a different story to know what to measure. Borrowing an illustration from Mr. Haldane, the English scientist, he spoke about the physicists in a past day who found it necessary to study the action of cyclones on the one hand and of fevers on the other. "What," he said, "who could ever have predicted at the beginning that the thing that had to be measured in order to find the secret of cyclones on the one hand and of fevers on the other was the height of mercury in a glass tube?" Things just as impossible are bound to happen in the sociological field. In the biological field at the present time, where they have a head start of us by many years, they are still working away frantically measuring the length of the feelers of beetles, counting the spots on banana flies, looking after millions and millions of small changes here and there which seem of no account whatsoever. Even Mr. Pavlov looking after his dogs seemed to have very little to offer toward human

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problems, and in the field of psychology those who spend their days and many of their nights watching little rats and mice run up and down a maze are simply laughed at for their pains, and those of us who scorn science in human relations wonder why they waste their time. But I would like to say to librarians as well as to other social workers that it is all very well to try to plaster adult education on other people, it feels very nice, but it is somewhat a different story to take a little dose of it ourselves. I may say right here that we librarians have nothing very much to congratulate ourselves upon either as to the speed or the thoroughness with which we have taken advantage of some of the scientific investigations in other fields, nor can we look with a very great degree of equanimity on the amount of vision we have shown in our attitude toward the first fumbling attempts at some kind of organized study in our own field. Nobody ever thinks that it is vitally important to know how long beetles' feelers are, nobody ever dreams that the spots on banana flies are going to change the order of the universe, but unless one has a method out of which one can discover important relations in these matters, we will probably go on to a dictatorship or to some other such thing.

In the field of sociology, while there is no science at the present time, society has even now some few laws which

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will guide not only in method, but which will guide partially in any event toward the ends, which will give us a direction, let us say, toward the ends which we seek.

The thing that we are studying by the scientific method in sociological relations, the only thing that we can study, is social forms, but what we want to find out from these social forms is what forms, how many, how they are to be arranged, how they are to be operated to bring the greatest amount of individual development and to bring to its highest perfection the personality of man. Man cannot live to himself; his only way of developing is through his social relations. What sociology has to offer is this: While we do not know very much about either man or his relations from any accurate point of view, we do know that it is those societies in which man as an individual participates most, where he has the broadest relationships, where he has the most associations, where he himself can have more facets, where he has more life and has it more abundantly, where there is autonomy instead of autocracy, where instead of coercion we have an ordered discipline which makes it possible for us willingly, voluntarily, to subordinate lesser liberty for greater, it is those societies and their institutions which make for a respect of life, a respect of all the things that pertain to life, rather

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ignore life and the weak members of society. We do know a certain number of things about the forms of a society which leads toward true progress, and the very name of progress contains within it both ends and direction.

So in this matter of social trends, one of the most significant trends in action is not only a looking to scientific methods for some way out, but looking to scientific methods or to sociological methods, if you like, for some surer way of generalizing the ends and goals which we seek.

If we are to retain this democracy of which we think so much, it seems to me that in the future it must be done through institutions, through our associations rather than by the mob on one hand or by individual individualists on the other. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN WILSON: It is with great interest that we have been listening to statements concerning the rapidity of change in government and the shifting of our ideas with respect to institutions. I think we all, however, look at the educational scene and sometimes feel that change in that realm isn't as speedy as that in the two fields which we have had under consideration.

It is a delight this morning to have as a speaker to discuss trends in education, a person who in recent years

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has assumed very definite leadership with respect to change in the field of education. President Wriston of Lawrence College, recently President of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, is one whose courage I personally wish to salute, in that during his presidency of that organization he brought it to the consideration of change, adaptation, in order that the American college may more properly function in the training of youth in America. For the past two or three years under his direction in that Association, what the American college is to do has been subjected to the kind of scientific investigation of which Dr. Stewart has spoken, with the expectation that the college may be more nicely adjusted to the social order which it is supposed to serve.

For twelve years in my experience I was editor of an alumni publication of an American university, and President Wriston, I want to salute you for another element of courage, and that is, sir, that you have undertaken to educate that part of the adult population which we in universities and colleges speak of as the alumni. I have had some experience in that undertaking, and just as in the case of librarians through Dr. Stewart's reference a moment ago, it is quite difficult for us as alumni to be willing to subject ourselves

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to this thing which we call adult education.

It is with very great pleasure that I present President Wriston, who will speak on "Trends in Education".

(Applause)

PRESIDENT HENRY M. WRISTON: Ladies and gentlemen, I want you to understand before I begin that this is a very well disciplined body of speakers. If you think we choose our own subjects and how we shall deal with them you are entirely wrong. At the close of about two pages of instructions to me, Mr. Milam said, "Aside from this you can say what you like." Therefore, if you don't like what I say that is what Mr. Milam told me to say; if you do, that's my own idea.

... President Wriston read his address ...

(Applause)

CHAIRMAN WILSON: May I express the appreciation of the Association for these inspiring and illuminating addresses on the part of the speakers.

... The meeting adjourned at twelve-thirty o'clock ...

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GENERAL SESSION

Friday Morning, June 29, 1934

The Third General Session convened at ten-five o'clock, the President, Gratia A. Countryman, presiding.

PRESIDENT COUNTRYMAN: The third general session is called to order.

The Program Committee of this Conference in forming the program of the sessions had in mind to form a unity of thought, or rather a progressively developed idea. Your President tried on Monday night to paint a background. At the last session we had three splendid presentations of social changes, the trends in government, and the educational developments in this time of change.

We are all acutely aware of change. How do we fit into the picture? What are our responsibilities in this new developing epoch? Are we prepared in developing a new library program with the proper book tools? Are we prepared with a high grade of personnel to carry out the plans and the programs which we have had the courage to formulate? These are questions which the speakers of today will present to you: What are our library responsibilities in a great developing new epoch?

That question will be presented to you by someone

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who is in an unusual position to think about our responsibilities. We on the American side have heard a great deal about the Tennessee Valley development, a perfectly marvelous experiment in social and industrial development.

Miss Rothrock, of Knoxville, has been caught right in the center of this great social development, and I am sure that Miss Rothrock has had an unusual opportunity to think about her responsibilities in that region, which is an experiment which perhaps many of us will have to make sooner or later.

I am going to call on Miss Mary Rothrock, Librarian of the Knoxville Public Library, to speak on the new library responsibilities in the light of the trends which have been discussed here. (Applause)

MISS MARY U. ROTHROCK: This is the first time I have ever occupied the pulpit in a perfectly conventional, I trust, church. I shall do the best I can to live up to the opportunity that is offered to me here. I have the greatest sympathy for the audience, because after all we are most of us audience most of the time. I have attended general sessions this year more attentively and more conscientiously than in some years past, and I know just how hard some of those benches are. I understand that there are pockets, also, where it is difficult to hear, so if you will be kind enough to let me know

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if you are not hearing me I will do the best I can to raise my voice. You may come to feel, however, that not hearing has certain advantages over hearing, so if you can feel that way about it I suggest that you move over to a blind pocket when things get a little strenuous for you.

It was suggested, or rather it was tactfully stated, to me that I should attempt to summarize the significant trends as they were to be presented and as they were presented on Wednesday morning. Now down in my part of the country we have a saying, "It is good for a dog to have fleas because it helps him forget he's a dog." (Laughter) If any of you want to forget your troubles in greater troubles, I commend to you the task of attempting to write a paper summarizing three other papers which have not yet been delivered.

There are two courses of action which seem to be possible under such circumstances: (1) to write the three papers as you think they should be written and then write a fourth paper summarizing them; (2) to wait until after those papers have been given and then do the best you can to summarize them and present them. Neither of those courses of action is satisfactory - I have tried them both. The second, however, is somewhat easier on the audience because it is at least briefer. I am going to start, then, with that second

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procedure and if you don't like it we can then revert to the other.

I take it that my task really is an attempt at the humanizing of knowledge, that is the expression in easy English of those ideas which were so interestingly and effectively presented on Wednesday morning. But you know, growth is partly by suffering, so I don't want to make it too easy for you, and if any of you think I am going to explain or to tell you what the second law of thermodynamics is, you are just mistaken. I know what the second law of thermodynamics is but I just won't tell. (Laughter)

No doubt we all would agree that the most impressive trend which was presented to us on Wednesday was that stated by Dr. Reed as being the increased participation of government in our economic and our social life, a trend, as he said, which has been visible for many years, but which has been much more prominent and much more greatly accelerated within recent years, a trend which involves growth in the size of our governmental organization, which involves a tendency toward bureaucracy, a tendency toward the regimentation of thought and action, the possible danger of autocracy in our government as well as in our action. It means many more services performed by government, much greater expenditure of tax money,

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and consequently a much greater competition for the tax dollar. It is a part of this trend that our national government and our state governments are giving their attention to with a view to social planning, with a view to what the President of the United States has called "the principle of a better balanced national life through carefully planned flood control, power development, and land use policies in the Tennessee Valley and other great watersheds."

The emphasis which I would like to place without commenting on it is on that last phrase, which seems to me to have definite implications for us as librarians, "and other great watersheds."

In a society such as that which Dr. Stewart described, a society of increasing complexity, a society of increased specialization, of much more leisure, of unemployment, of certain moral lesions, of expanding obligations of citizenship, it is encouraging to contemplate the trend in education which was described by Dr. Wriston as being in his opinion the most important single trend, namely, that new definition of education, and that definition was included both in one's awareness of life and its values, increasing sensitiveness to beauty in every form, continuous and vigorous though harmonious adaptation to changing environments, and in short the hammering

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out on the anvil of life of a philosophy of life.

Education, Dr. Wriston went on to say, is becoming more and more an individual matter, certainly a fortunate trend in the face of that other governmental trend which we have spoken of, which heads toward mob thinking and the regimentation of our mental as well as our physical life. Education, he said, looks to emotional development as well as to intellectual growth.

Here in these three trends we have a concept of education which we librarians would readily and heartily accept, one which we would admit embraces libraries in its program, one which in its techniques includes those devices of informal education and of adult education which we have sometimes been tempted to take unto ourselves as our own discoveries and our own peculiar prerogatives.

If the education of the new, the coming, social order is to be that which is outlined in these trends, it seems to me we as librarians have nothing to fear and much to look upon with enthusiasm.

Somewhere among those three speakers I gathered another trend, one which it seems to me might be described as a trend toward coordination and toward consolidations. This involves the obliterating of the lines of governmental duties,

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of the lines of limitations of towns and townships and counties, and to follow it to its logical conclusion it would seem to me to be a trend toward the obliteration also of state lines. This inevitably brings a tendency to uniform standards, a leveling process. It seems only fair to state that whether it be for better or for worse, that leveling process is something to which we may look, and whether we regard it as being for better or for worse probably depends upon whether our individual leveling shall be up or down. I for one have little fear of a leveling process in which I believe the tendency in my part of the country will be up.

Perhaps this is as good a place as any for me to express a personal view that federal aid in a substantial form is a necessary preliminary to any widespread and adequate public library system in the United States at least. Someone said that in 1915 federal aid to the states amounted to $11,000,000, in 1930 federal aid to the states was in the amount of $147,000,000. In that span of fifteen years we librarians have seen the vast extension of agricultural education, of vocational education, and of those activities which have to a great degree changed the complexion of rural life at least on its economic side. But those same fifteen years have

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shown negligible expansion of our public library facilities in the rural parts of the United States. So it seems to me that we must look to a more substantial form of support than we have yet tapped before we may attain that library fabric which we all desire.

Now we come to the question of what these trends mean specifically for libraries. It seems to me that in the large developmental services to which we are looking forward, libraries must be an organic part. Second, it seems to me that we should look forward to a system of public libraries as universal and as universally accepted as our public school system. Third, it seems to me we should expect and work toward the coordination of existing research libraries and their vast extension to meet the requirements of scholars who are planning for that increasingly complex and difficulty society. Fourth, there must be a great expansion of our conceptions of the functions and of the facilities of libraries.

I think in that connection, and occupying the pulpit as I do, we might remember the old text about the pouring of new wine into old bottles. Unless we old bottles can get more imagination and more flexibility into our thoughts about the future than I sometimes think we have in our thoughts about the present, we are headed for a certain failure to achieve the

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possibilities which the new order contains, I believe, for librarians.

Finally, it seems to me that these trends specifically mean for libraries that the sources of their support must be as wide as the needs for their services, certainly wider than the taxable wealth of the local units of government.

In this emergent society in which the goal of government is the well being of the many, in which the goal of social organization is harmonious human relationships, and in which the goal of education is the fullest realization of the individual potentialities, we librarians may have to change some of our own attitudes. For example, I think we may have to develop more vigorously than we have up to the present time a spirit of cooperation. It seems to me that having determined our long time objectives, we should then look about and form alliances with every institution and every individual, with everything and everybody traveling in our direction - the schools, for example. We need not deceive ourselves into thinking that such alliances will always be smooth and easy, any more than domestic matrimonial alliances are always smooth and easy, but difficult or easy, it seems to me inevitable that we should go in that direction, even though we may share the skepticism of our janitor back home who remarked to me the

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other day, "I tell you, I don't believe in these compassionate marriages." (Laughter)

At this juncture I want to refer to something that John Stuart Mill said, and I have a double purpose in doing so, first to give you the impression as gracefully as I may that that is the kind of reading I do in my odd moments, (laughter) and, second, because I believe that it has a genuine meaning for us at the present juncture. He said: "History shows that great economic and social forces flow like a tide over communities only half conscious of that which is befalling them. Wise statesmen foresee what time is thus bringing and try to shape institutions and mould men's thoughts and purposes in accordance with the change that is silently coming on. The unwise," he continues, "are those who bring nothing constructive to the process and who greatly imperil the future of mankind by leaving great questions to be fought out between ignorant change on the one hand and ignorant opposition to change on the other."

So it would seem that this is preeminently a time for taking stock, for taking a long view ahead, not for making a plan in such great detail that we fear its accuracy or, shall I say, that we fear even the plan itself, but rather a general pattern into which we may from time to time fit the pieces, cut

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to meet special needs and conditions. It should not frighten us that these plans are frankly experimental, for, after all, says Justice Holmes, "All of life is an experiment, even the Constitution of the United States." (Applause)

PRESIDENT COUNTRYMAN: I would not want to swamp Miss Rothrock with visitors, but I do want to say that the experiment going on in the Tennessee Valley involving, as it does, federal control, or practically so, under a federal board of a territory involving something like seven states, or parts at least of seven states, is really the most thrilling experiment that one can visit. I wish that all librarians as far as you can do so would drop in upon Miss Rothrock and give her a chance to tell you what a perfectly thrilling experiment is going on, something that, of course, is so much larger in its extent than any of us have tried before that I am sure you would get an enormous thrill from it and probably a very large boost in your thinking. There are possibilities of regional libraries and a large extension movement. Miss Rothrock, do you mind if I invite them all down to see you?

MISS ROTHROCK: No, I should like to extend an invitation.

PRESIDENT COUNTRYMAN: The invitation is extended.

As we move out toward new frontiers, as we believe,

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there is one function of our libraries which seems to engage a great deal of our attention, and that is adult education, of which you have heard so much not only here but during the last few years.

Perhaps our work in that direction has developed most largely in the form of readers' advisers, and one of the most successful ventures in that direction has been made in the New York Public Library by a librarian who is very well known to you. She has had unusual experience to know how well or how poorly we are equipped with book tools to meet our problems of adult education. Miss Jennie Flexner, Readers' Adviser of the New York Public Library, will present that subject. (Applause)

... Miss Jennie Flexner read her address, "Books in Relation to Significant Trends" ... (Applause)

PRESIDENT COUNTRYMAN: The next speaker is known to Montreal. He pointed out to me the other day the desk at McGill University at which he officiated. Now California claims him, and I will say the whole A. L. A. claims him as a member of the Executive Board.

If we are to produce the personnel which we will need in the coming years to perform the difficult task of selecting books, of reaching our readers, we will have to have

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a personnel which is capable of doing so, and no one is more responsible for training the right personnel and recruiting the right personnel these days than the directors of library schools.

The gentleman whom we are to hear next is the Director of the School of Libarianship at the University of California. We will hold him and his like responsible for our future personnel. Mr. Sydney B. Mitchell. (Applause)

MR. SYDNEY B. MITCHELL: Madam President, Fellow-Members of the A. L. A.: Those of you who know me best know that it is my one desire in life to conform to conventions. Now one of the conventions I have noticed on the part of the speakers is to express their emotions at finding themselves in this particular position. Yet I think probably I am the only one who has real emotions, although I have never been in this position. When I was a high school youngster in Montreal I wandered into a revival meeting in this church, and under the influence of "Throw Out the Life Line" and the impassioned appeals of the evangelist, I found my way up to the mourners' bench, and for a few days I gave up trying to live like the heroes of the G. A. Henty books, Oliver Optic, and so on, and I became like Little Rollo or like the hero of Eric in the sad English story of the late Bean Farrer.

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... Mr. Mitchell read his address, "Personnel in Relation to Significant Trends." ... (Applause)

PRESIDENT COUNTRYMAN: I feel almost as if I had to go home and resign. (Laughter)

MR. CHALMERS HADLEY (Cincinnati, Ohio): During this Conference many of us have recalled with deep pleasure the splendid conference we had some half dozen years ago in Toronto and our gracious host on that occasion, Dr. Locke. You may know that Dr. Locke is prevented from being here through a long and serious illness. I would like to suggest on behalf of all of us that the Secretary be asked to send our greetings and our very best wishes to Dr. Locke for his speedy recovery. (Applause)

PRESIDENT COUNTRYMAN: If it is the sense of that applause the Secretary is so directed.

Another announcement of much importance regarding the life of one who touched this Association very closely will be made by Miss Jennie Flexner, the Chairman of the Bogle Memorial Committee.

MISS FLEXNER: I am acting in the place of Mr. Munn, who is in New Zealand and not able to be here.

Miss Bogle died in January, 1932, and many of us who had known her well and long felt that there must be some

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adequate expression from this Association by which we could memorialize her service. The meeting in New Orleans followed shortly after her death, and President Rathbone called together fifteen or eighteen people to propose a plan. It was decided then that in view of her varied interests, her widespread interests, some effort should be made to endow a fellowship in her memory which would enable the foreign librarian or student interested in American affairs to come to us, or someone from this country interested in similar activities in Europe or Asia to go there for study, that there should be something devised in memory of Miss Bogle which should break down the bounds of nationalism within libraries and which should make a more far-flung, friendly, understandable group of librarians. Those of us who were gathered together felt that times were very hard and that no very definite appeal could be made. We knew the children's librarians, educators, every phase of the profession, had been touched by her influence, but we had to make our announcement through the printed word, and as a consequence of the announcements which you have seen, a very small sum has been collected, I think something like $350 at Headquarters now.

The Committee met this week with guests representing many phases of library work, and it was decided that even the

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personality and the gifts of Sarah Bogle were not enough to keep this idea alive unless we do something now, that it is not necessary to give a large sum, but that practically everyone in this Association would want to contribute to this memorial.

Miss Bogle not only influenced the lives of those with whom she came in touch, but many of you here who are too young to have known her personally will always be influenced by her vision and her idealism, and many who are not yet librarians will profit from her wisdom. As a consequence, I am telling you today that you are going to hear as individuals from this Committee in the early autumn, and I am going to ask you to remember that no gift is too small, that groups may send gifts, that anything that any group choose to send will be accepted very gratefully. We feel that we must ask librarians to do something before we go to Miss Bogle's friends in other callings and other groups and say, "Here is what we have done. Would you not like to join us in extending this memorial?"

We wish this fellowship to be irregularly given, flexibly administered. Someone may get it for one year and then there may be no other award for another five years if the vision of the Committee is carried out, but the stipend will be adequate so that the person who comes or goes may not be limited to the library school to which he may be permanently during his

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residence or temporarily attached; it is to be something which we will try to conceive in the spirit that Miss Bogle conceived librarianship.

I am merely asking you to remember when we send you our request, that anything you do will be very gratefully received. I am asking you to carry back a word, for a spoken word is always more effective in such a case, to your groups that we want the profession to join us in this memorial.

PRESIDENT COUNTRYMAN: Does Miss Prouty wish to add something on the annuities and pensions?

MISS LOUISE PROUTY (Cleveland, Ohio): Madam President, Mr. Mitchell has painted so vividly both the dangers and the pleasures of a librarian's career that it seems an appropriate moment to add a further word of the means which we can take to avoid the dangers and to assure the pleasures for ourselves through the A. L. A. insurance plan of annuities and pensions. The A. L. A. has been in line with the modern trend in investments toward insurance as being one of the stable investments in a world which has rocked and crashed. We have the assurance of our connection with one of the old established and successful companies, of a contract which assures you of excellent rates over a term of years if you come in within that period. It will also enable you to release your imagination

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and to free your energies for keeping up with the tendencies of modern life if you are not worrying about the future, or anxious because you are not making any provision in your youth for your later years. The plan is of interest to an entire library staff that may wish to come in, to a group of any library staff, or to any individual librarian.

There is a booth in operation here at the convention where there will be someone ready to answer questions with regard to any individual situation. We hope that you will take advantage of that, for there is in any investment, in any provision for the future, especially insurance, no time like the present in which to act.

PRESIDENT COUNTRYMAN: We have all had, I think, a splendid stimulus to take home with us, but it is not yet over. Any of you who have heard Mr. Lyman Bryson will want to stay over for the fourth session.

... The meeting adjourned at twelve-fifteen o'clock ...

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GENERAL SESSION

Saturday Afternoon, June 30, 1934

The Fourth General Session was called to order at two forty-five o'clock in Windsor Hall, Hotel Windsor, by the President, Gratia A. Countryman.

PRESIDENT COUNTRYMAN: The fourth general session of the Conference will please come to order.

As our first item of business we will have the report of the Resolutions Committee, Miss Dorothy Annable, Chairman.

... Miss Annable read the report of the Resolutions Committee ...

PRESIDENT COUNTRYMAN: You have heard the report of the Resolutions Committee. I assume you will adopt it and these resolutions will be transmitted to the proper people.

DR. H. H. B. MEYER (Washington, D. C.): I move the adoption of the resolutions.

... The motion was regularly seconded, put to a vote and unanimously carried ...

PRESIDENT COUNTRYMAN: The next item of business is the report of the Elections Committee, Miss Julia Baker, Chairman.

... Miss Baker read the report of the Elections Committee ...

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PRESIDENT COUNTRYMAN: We will now present these officers to the Association, and as their names are called will they please come forward.

As members of the Executive Board, Mr. Carl L. Cannon and Miss Louise Prouty. Will you please take your places on the platform? (Applause)

Also, Miss Ida F. Wright. (Applause)

Treasurer, the perennial Treasurer, Mr. Matthew S. Dudgeon. (Applause)

Second Vice President, Mr. James T. Gerould. (Applause)

First Vice President, Miss Mildred H. Pope. (Not present)

President, Mr. Charles H. Compton.

... The audience arose and applauded ...

PRESIDENT COUNTRYMAN: Mr. Compton, I congratulate you upon your election by so fine an organization as the American Library Association. I hope that you will enjoy this year in its service as much as I have enjoyed mine. All through this Conference there have been many voluntary committees meeting late in the evening and who have rendered fine service to this Association. If the members of this Association work as

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faithfully next year as they have this year, I am sure that they will make your term of office one of the most pleasant things that you have ever had.

At the end of this service I will convey to you this symbol of office. (Applause)

MR. CHARLES H. COMPTON: Madam President, Members of the American Library Association: I appreciate the honor you have conferred upon me making me your President for the coming year. I accept the responsibility that you have placed upon me and to the best of my ability I shall try to meet it.

We have had a very enjoyable conference. The Canadians have shown themselves perfect hosts again.

The theme of this Conference has been charting our course. It is not easy for an individual, much less for an organization like the American Library Association, to chart its course. In these perilous, trying times, no one knows with certainty where we are going, but we feel that there is a fighting chance that we are looking forward to a better day. We believe following the action of the Council of the American Library Association there is a better day for libraries.

On behalf of the officers I ask your assistance, your advice, and your criticism. You have always given these freely.

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Without them there can be no progress. (Applause)

PRESIDENT COUNTRYMAN: The man who is to speak to you today in our closing session is a man who the library profession feel is very close to their work. Mr. Bryson has been engaged in adult education in California, he has been carrying on a most interesting experiment in Des Moines, Iowa, conducting public forums and discussions, and he is to be connected next year with Teachers' College, Columbia, in the Department of Adult Education.

What I might say as to Mr. Bryson's activities would convey very little idea of Mr. Bryson's activities. I think when you hear him speak you will realize the activity of the man. He seems to me to be a perfect dynamo stored with power and capable of charging the rest of us.

It is with great pleasure that I introduce Mr. Lyman L. Bryson, who will speak on the subject, "The Treason of the Liberals." (Applause)

MR. LYMAN L. BRYSON: Madam Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I understand something about your program making, alas! I have heard a good deal of discussion as to whether or not anybody would be here this afternoon. I am flattered and surprised at the number of people who are here, the indomitable faithfuls. But I understand now the reason I was

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put last on the program. Since everybody, all day long, has been telling me not to be alarmed if nobody showed up, I know from what Mr. Milam has told me that for years you have tried to have something so good at the end of your general sessions that everybody would have to stay and nobody ever stayed over no matter how good the program was, so this year you just didn't care who spoke the last time.

I am going to talk to you about the treason of the liberals, a title which you good librarians ought to know I have stolen from a Frenchman, and which I am giving a slightly different meaning to. I should like to say at the beginning very sincerely that I think this is a very bad time for eloquence, it is a very bad time for those surges of emotion that people put into speeches that sweep us off our feet and make us feel and not think.

We are peculiarly in the position at the present time where we have to think, and my accusation against the liberals of this country or of these two countries that are represented here is that they have stopped thinking enough. When I say the treason of liberals, I mean that those people in whose hands should have rested the responsibility for getting us clearly through a crisis like the present one have failed not because they have been cowards, as the young

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revolutionaries are fond of calling them, but because they have stopped thinking clearly. You know it doesn't matter whether a young revolutionary or an old one, for that matter, thinks clearly or not; he works much better if he doesn't think too clearly; what he wants is a warm glow of faith. But the trouble with liberalism and the trouble with democracy and the trouble with all the things that we used to think were so precious that we never under any circumstances would give them up, is that unless they are intelligent they are nothing, and at the present time we have the intelligentsia of the English speaking world accusing the liberals of being cowards, and saying that those who are skeptical of cure-alls are so because they are afraid to try any change, that those who believe that something can be done by the old methods are just afraid of any new method, and that is not because of a moral failure on the part of the liberals, it is because of an intellectual failure, it is because they have failed to keep clearly in their own minds and in the minds of the English speaking peoples and of the other peoples who are committed to democracy, clear ideas of just what the purposes of government and social organization are.

That is what I want to talk to you about, not because I have anything new to say on the subject, I distinctly do not

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have, but because I want, as I think it is one's duty nowadays, to repeat some of the things which used to have a meaning, and to insist that I think for reasons that I will try to give that they still have a meaning.

As I say, the people who are insistent now upon revolutionary change, who say that we must choose between various types of new absolutistic and rigid philosophies, accuse the liberals of cowardice. That is a curious accusation, because liberalism has always been supposed to mean courage to fight for justice.

I think it comes very largely from the fact that those who believe in revolutionary doctrines at the present time have slipped into a rigidity of thought, have let themselves believe in mysticism, the sort of thing which the liberal has always fought, and have forgotten that mysticism has been thrown out of practical affairs and that we have more or less committed ourselves to a scientific attitude in practical affairs.

I believe in democracy. By that I don't mean any transmogrified new substitute for democracy. I believe in a democracy that I think Thomas Jefferson and people of that sort believed in, and I believe in it because I think it is the only scientific approach to social and economic and other questions. It is a very curious irony that in every other

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form of thought at the present time, we are committed to what we call a scientific approach. Now what has scientific approach taught us in every other branch of our activity outside of our economic and political action? That the old, fixed rigidities are gone. What do physicists talk about now? Things that shake around in a basket like hard objects? No, they talk about processes, they talk about flow, they talk about conformation in time and space, everything is fluid, everything is a consistent system of change. What do the philosophers talk about? About events, not about things, because time enters into every concept that they use. What do the engineers, who perhaps are the most typical human beings that we have at the present time, talk about when they get together? They talk about processes, not things. They see everything as relationships between forces in time, processes. That means that in all the phases of thought except politics and economics, these social affairs which are most important, we have accepted a position of fluidity and constant change and an attitude of trial and error. Yet we are now, in spite of the fact that we have made for so short a time an effort to get that established into political affairs, dropping it and going back to the old-fashioned cure-all formulae which have always failed and in my opinion always will fail. In other words, we have stopped

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being scientific in the place where science really is most important, which is in our practical political affairs.

Now some of you may be thinking, when I talk like that, that it is the unrevolutionary who is the one who believes on flow. Of course he believes in change, he says he does, I think he believes he does, but he believes in one great change which shall make change forever unnecessary thereafter. He believes that there is an answer to the world's needs. There is no answer to the world's needs, no one answer, no answer that will last forever. We surely know enough about human experience by this time, we surely know enough about the continuity of change in history to know that every time men have committed themselves to some one definite doctrine which has not been fluid in its nature, they have sooner or later had to abandon it. When I say I believe in democracy, it is because democracy is the one form of doctrine which is essentially fluid in its nature, and the other things which are now competing so eloquently and so vigorously for our attention are essentially rigid in their nature.

Those are abstractions, and I know that it is difficult to deal with abstractions on a hot afternoon. It is difficult to deal with them at any time. But it is necessary for us to face this fact, that underneath all of our practical

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difficulties there is a set of abstractions into which it is our duty as responsible citizens to put concrete meaning, it is our duty to put meaning there.

I know perfectly well, as everybody else knows who can think at all, that when we act we must act upon some kind of a jerry-built answer to our problem, that we never can know everything about a question before we act on it. But I also know that the people who started us in our present development believed that you should think as long as you could before you started to act.

It is said by every sociologist who has studied the movement of history, in fact it has become a commonplace, that in times of crisis people turn to their governments and surrender whatever liberty they have, asking the government to save them from the misuse of the freedom which has frightened them. Now it is very difficult for anybody to see himself as a historical example, and we Americans and Canadians probably find it very difficult to see ourselves as having gone through that commonplace sociological movement, but if we look at Italy or Russia or Germany or any one of the other European governments which have gone through such transformations, in them we ought to see the historical example. What have they done? I am perfectly aware of the fact that I cannot and do

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not intend in a few minutes to describe three very strange and different revolutions, but I should like to call your attention to something that is common to the great revolutions of the European nations at the present time.

In every one of them the people gave up what liberty they had, little enough in most cases, and put their responsibility which should have rested upon themselves, upon a mystic entity that they called the state, and upon the state they lean now, not only for guidance but for the solution of their problems, and in spite of the fact that the state is still embodied in individual men and moves only by the decisions and thought and desires and motives of those individual men, they still see in it a mystic entity which is going to solve their problems for them.

The difference between that attitude and the attitude of the democrat is that the democrat believes always that upon himself ultimately rests responsibility for what happens to him, and that nobody else can possibly take that responsibility from him unless the person who takes that responsibility also takes his personal freedom.

Don't read into what I am saying a covert attack upon the present administration of the United States, don't read into it either a covert defense of that administration. What I

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am trying to do because I believe that librarians of Canada and the United States have special intellectual responsibilities, in spite of the danger of boring you with a subject like this, is to make you see that there are tests of government success that are more important than saving us from starvation, that there are tests of government success which are more important than solving immediate problems, and I am only asking that these tests be accepted - you can use them to please yourselves.

It is a mistake to suppose that the attack upon democratic institutions of the United States is a result of the depression. I assure you that is not so. It began before the depression began; it was well under way in the heyday of our so-called prosperity, and it came, I suppose, mostly from two things: (1) the fascinating examples of what was going on in European countries; (2) the increasing difficulties of making democracy work at home.

Let me say a word about those fascinating examples. The commonly made remark that countries in Europe have turned from democracy to dictatorships is not true; it simply is not the truth. There is no country in Europe which ever had a working democracy which ever gave it up; there isn't a country in the world which ever had a working democracy which has given it up. Russia, of course, is a very fascinating example of

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something, and we should with complete objectivity study it, and if they can teach us anything, all the better. But the idea that because Russia went from a dictatorship of a royal family to a dictatorship of the proletariat proves something about democratic institutions is nonsense. There is no democracy involved in either phase of that.

People say that Italy turned its back upon democratic institutions. Well, I think Italy was just beginning in the two generations in which it had had some experience with self-rule, to get the first glimpse of the first lessons, but to say that Italy tried democracy and turned its back upon it is a travesty upon history, because the average Italian citizen had no experience with democracy and wasn't consulted anyhow in the revolution of October, 1922.

What did Germany do? Germany, with a divided heart and an obstinate intellectual resistance, as has been pointed out by every good observer of the situation, with no intention at all in the minds of the ruling classes ever to make a democracy work, went through the motions and gave it up. Germany had no democracy, Germany has never had anything but local self-government, which is quite a different thing. Let me repeat that there is no such thing as an example that we can turn to, of a nation which has shown a trend from democracy to

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dictatorship. The trend may exist, I am not saying it doesn't, there are no overt examples of its successful accomplishment.

Let me say another thing about what has happened outside the United States and Canada and outside Great Britain and France and outside a few other of the British Dominions, because the Anglo-Saxon communities of the world, and France, are those which have really borne the brunt of experimentation in this field. Outside of them one can say this about the various dictatorships. Does one know that they are successful as governments, as social organizations, or that they are unsuccessful? I should say that you don't know anything about it, I should say that nobody knows whether Fascism is successful in Italy or Communism successful in Russia or the Nazi successful in Germany, and you won't know for a long, long time.

Surely we have had enough experience in this country with public opinion and you librarians as custodians of the public mind know by this time that you know nothing about any social situation in which the opposition is not heard. It doesn't matter whether the opposition is responsible or not, it doesn't matter whether there is one side or two sides or twenty sides to a question, if you suppress one single human voice in any social situation, you are in that degree denying

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the world the truth about that social situation. It isn't just a question of whether the opposition is right or wrong; it is a question of scientific knowledge. You don't know what is going on unless all parties are allowed to speak, and only one party can speak in Italy, only one party can speak in Russia, only one party can speak in Germany, and I am not saying that may not be a better system, I am saying that you don't know whether it is a better system or not because you don't know what is going on, you can't possibly know. The leaders of the government in that country don't know; they can't.

If I am in a situation with a person and he has not complete freedom to say to me what he doesn't like about it, whether he is a fool or a knave or an honest man, the truth is not there unless he has the right to say what he wants to say. So the foreign examples, even if they were successful, which we don't know about, could do us very little good, simply because they do not spring from the same beginnings that movement does in this country.

May I, at the risk of telling you things you ought to know much better than I do, remind you something about this democratic experiment? Let me remind you that in the United States and Canada, in America as I suppose we ought to say,

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there were peculiar circumstances a hundred and fifty years ago which made the first great modern experiments in democracy possible, and that the changes in those circumstances are very largely responsible for some of our present intellectual confusions. Uniquely favorable to the development of democracy were the circumstances one hundred and fifty years ago. What were they? Well, briefly these three: an inheritance of parliamentary government from Great Britain. Now I don't mean that Great Britain had a democracy one hundred and fifty years ago, because it didn't have, but it had a tradition of parliamentary government which was struggling to make a democracy, and of course has succeeded in doing it since; an inheritance of a philosophic position from French philosophers, perhaps mostly from John Locke - the Colonials of America who used to argue about democracy knew why they believed in it, and they could quote philosophers like John Locke to prove it; and, third, a cultural homogeneity, a cultural sameness, a domestic likeness among the people. The racial likeness is not so important; it is the likeness in the texture of the lives of the people that makes the difference. One hundred and fifty years ago when we started to do this most difficult of all things in the world, rule ourselves and take the consequences, we had in this whole

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continent north of the Rio Grande, a group of people who, whatever their racial differences (and there were some even then), had a certain likeness through the texture of their lives. It is not so difficult for a farmer and a country merchant to understand each other; they are enough alike in their affairs so that each one can have some confidence in the other's political competence and some understanding of the other's political opinions. That no longer exists. We have lost that homogeneity, not because of racial mixtures, the racial mixtures have contributed, but I insist they are not the most important; we have lost that homogeneity because the development of industrial life has given people technical differences in the way they think.

Did you ever stop to wonder why it is that librarians gather in great discomfort on an afternoon like this, coming from hundreds and hundreds of miles away, just to sit down with each other and listen to a dull speech? Do you know why you do it? Because you get so tired of not having enough other librarians to talk library to - I don't mean about libraries, but library talk, your own particular little set of catch-words, which really don't mean anything but which you think mean something and into which you pass a certain meaning. You do that and in some other place the hardware men are doing

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it, and some other place the morticians are doing it, and some other place the tonsorialists are doing it, and some other place all the other people who have become specialized in their thought, in their speech, are getting together just so they can hear something that really means something said.

A friend of mine once wrote a short story which appeared in an obscure magazine which I think is a political fable of first-rate importance. It was the real inside story of the Tower of Babel. Two men who had gone through that experience at the Tower of Babel were reminiscing years afterward, and one of them said, "Do you remember how when we got started everything was all hunky-dory and everybody worked with everybody else on the old Tower, and we thought we were going to get it right up and get to heaven in a hurry."

The other one said, "Yes, I remember."

The first one said, "Yes, and do you remember, then, how a lot of those carpenter fellows got so expert that they couldn't talk to each other except in carpenter talk, and how the brick layers got so they talked brick layer talk all the time, and the draftsmen talked draftsmen talk all the time, and pretty soon none of us could understand anybody else and we had to quit?"

"Yes," the other one said, "I remember, that is just

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why we quit on the Tower of Babel and didn't get to heaven."

My friends, that is what industrialism has done to the people of America. We have become a country of specialists and it is very difficult for an oil well driller to understand and trust the political competence of, say, a teacher, or for a teacher to understand and trust the political competence of an engineer, and so on. We do not any longer have the homogeneity in the texture of our lives that makes the thing easy. Does that make it impossible?

As I said a while ago, we had uniquely favorable circumstances in the beginning for this great and difficult experiment. We still have the traditions with more experience in them, we have the institutions, but we have lost that one particular quality. Does that make it impossible? I should say not. I should say that that simply makes it more difficult and it was difficult enough in the beginning.

But that isn't all. Nobody has ever sufficiently studied the contrast between two ideals which dominated America during the Nineteenth Century and which have worked more and more at cross purposes as time went on. One was an ideal of liberal political institutions in which men should accept the responsibility for themselves, and the other was the ideal of mechanical efficiency which comes out of industrial

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and engineering ability.

Mr. Lewis Mumford in his recent book, "Techniques in Civilization," I think obscures that problem a little bit, but he touches upon it and sees what has happened, to some extent, but nobody has ever studied it enough.

When we began industrialism in Canada and in the United States, we had a conception of government which placed its aim squarely upon the greatest possible growth for the individual citizen. It should still be there, that is what government is for. Right along with the development of our political institutions and our social organization for the purpose of achieving that tremendously difficult end, we were building up the greatest industrial machine that the world has had up to now, and in all of our industrial and engineering activities we were taking on an ideal of mechanical efficiency.

When my friends argue with those who want Fascism or Communism or what-not in place of good old-fashioned democracy, as to whether or not democracy is efficient, I think they are wasting their time. If your ideal is mechanical efficiency, don't bother to rule yourself, let somebody else do it for you, he will do a better job. I mean that quite seriously. If your ideal of government is smooth working mechanical perfection, the quicker you put in a dictatorship

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and forget about it the better, the less you have to do with it yourself the better, because somebody else can govern you better than you can govern yourself if efficient government is your aim, and it is a waste of time to argue with those who say that trains run on time in Italy now because Mussolini is there and therefore Fascism is better than democracy. But, my friends, mechanical efficiency is not the aim of society nor political activity. Of course democracy is inefficient, of course democracy is corrupt. Plato said that over two thousand years ago, and it is true and it always will be true, in my opinion.

I am not saying that democracy is necessarily very inefficient or must be inefficient or can't be made more efficient than it is now; I am saying that that is not the test of government, and if you put it upon that basis you are lost, but you are lost because you haven't properly conceived the purpose of government.

Let me illustrate what I mean by taking other human relationships. There are human organizations in which mechanical efficiency and objectives external to the person are the the aims; things of that sort are the aims of the organization and therefore discipline and mechanical smoothness are the things to be had.

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Take an army. Why do men sometimes feel relief when they get into an army? Because they have for the moment sloughed off the intolerable burden of being personalities. You don't have to be a personality in the army, you'd better not be a personality in the army. What you are supposed to do is to be a person who cannot be budged from his position in the line. That is a mechanical idea and it is proper for an army; it is proper for a football team with slight changes. Winning a football game is not easy; it is very difficult, but in spite of being very difficult, it is very simple. There is just one thing to do, and there is no argument about what you are going to do, there can't even be any argument about how you are going to do it after you once start doing it. I know of only one case in the history of athletics in which there was any argument as to which goal the ball was going over, and that was not a particularly pleasant occasion and it has never been forgotten. Everybody knows where the ball is going and everybody knows what is necessary to do to put it there, because the ideal of a football game as in all sports of that kind, is external to the human being involved.

Let's take a classroom. Is a classroom a good classroom, is it good teaching, if the ideal of the teacher is external to the children and to have mechanical efficiency?

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Have you ever gone into a classroom where a group of children sit with fear in their hearts, perhaps not very great fear, perhaps defiance, but who sit there watching the teacher to see what the teacher wants them to do? That is a mechanically efficient classroom, that is a terribly bad classroom.

Have you ever been in an efficient family where some one person, anyone from a grandmother to a two-month old baby, runs the family? Families ought not to be efficient; families are human relationships, too delicate and subtle, trying to reach ideals too difficult for efficiency to be the test. And government is exactly in that category. The test of government is not efficiency in terms of what gets done in the way of public business (and I mean this just as I am saying it), but the effect of the social and economic and political processes upon the people involved.

Walter Badgett said long ago - and people have forgotten what he meant by it - that parliamentary government (and by that he meant what we mean by democratic government) was best because it broke up the crust of custom. Does breaking up the crust of custom make for efficiency? No, it doesn't, it makes for something quite different. Does it make for a comfortable feeling that the government is going to do everything and you don't need to worry? No, it makes for the dis-

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comfort of responsibility.

Sometimes I think there isn't enough talk in this country about government, which is a very dangerous thing to say because heaven knows there is a lot of talk about government. Sometimes I think people completely misconceive what congresses and parliaments are for. People say, "Well, Congress talks too much." Congress doesn't talk too much, it just doesn't talk sense, and that's quite a different thing. (Laughter) It is the business of Congress to talk; it is not the business of Congress to execute in any democratic governmental system. It is the business of Congress to air the problems of government until we, the people, know what we want to have done about them and express that to our executive officer, which of the United States is the President.

I am not going into political philosophy, even if I could. I am simply trying to make this one point as clearly as I can, because I think the liberals, getting back to them, have failed to keep that particular aspect of governmental philosophy in our minds, and that is the reason we have turned to these rigidities, we have turned to these mistaken formulae, we have turned to these cure-alls. Why? Because, as I say, we have forgotten what governments are really for.

As I said, I don't believe that it is possible to

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have a government which is entirely efficient and a government which at the same time accomplishes its purposes. I don't believe it is possible for a government to do government or public business in the best way that it can be done and still accomplish what is necessary, which is to keep the citizens of the country thinking about government as much as possible. You know that was tried.

Did you ever consider carefully what happened to Japan for two centuries? I don't know of anything more striking in the history of political systems than that. Back in the Seventeenth Century (I suppose most of you know this) a series of three great Japanese statesmen and warriors devised what I suppose was the greatest system of government and social organization that there was in the world up to that time. It was much better than anything in Europe, it was much better than anything in classical times that we know anything about, it was as near a perfect social and political system as you could get. Then in order to keep it that way and keep it efficient and see that nothing happened to get people worrying about it, Japan drew a wall around itself and kept people from going out to find out anything and wouldn't let anybody in for fear some people inside would find out something, and for two hundred and fifty-odd years Japan managed a perfect

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social and economic and political system in seclusion, nothing got disturbed, it was beautiful. Then when the Western world, which had been going on in its footling, democratic, clumsy way, finally broke in upon Japan, what did Japan discover? That it was two hundred years behind the times, and all the genius of the Japanese people since has been given to what? Trying to create another new perfect government? No, to get a government that would be as good and flexible as these other governments which in spite of their clumsiness get somewhere in the personalities of their people and get somewhere at the same time in actual achievement.

There is an example that means something, much more important than Russia, much more important than Italy, and certainly much more important than Germany.

Yet people say a man who is starving to death has no liberty. Why talk about these abstractions when people are suffering?

That is a difficult point to put to any theoretician, it is a difficult point to put to any statesman, and it is a point that has to be faced. But let me say that we do not deal with such abstract situations as a man choosing between freedom and starvation. Mr. Mumford in the book I referred to says that we have now reached a point where industrialism has

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forced us to be collective in our economic activities. That may be so, I am not sure. Let me call your attention to the fact that neither Italy nor Russia was industrialized and that their collective activities are not in any sense due to industrialization. It may be true, but Mr. Mumford says that in order to preserve the things that are valuable we must be collective in our industrial activities, but not collective in anything else. I am not sure we can be collective in our industrial activities and not in anything else. But I am sure of this for myself, and I am speaking only as an individual, I am not commiting any liberals to this attitude: that if industrial development has committed us to a collectivism which means that men shall cease to be personalities and that the purpose of government shall cease to be to develop the personalities of the individual people, if we must have a system in which some mystic entity called the state shall mean that all men are to be dissolved, and in order to accomplish the greatest use of our industrial system we have to accept that, then I would repudiate the industrial system.

I do not look forward to a millennium in which men shall have full bellies and empty heads or merely be the arms or feet in a system in which no thinking is done before the curtain is called and behind the curtain is done like in a

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fairy tale. Those seem hard words in face of the misery and suffering in the United States today. I don't mean them so, because I believe we can get a much greater margin of security than we ever had before, that we can get a much greater measure of social legislation than before, that we can get the good, step by step, trial and error, careful method that we have always used, and I believe we will not get it by any other method.

The Nazis of Germany have surrendered their freedom hoping to get security. They now have neither freedom nor security. It is amply demonstrated, my friends, that you may think you are buying your economic safety by giving up your freedom, and you find in every case that you know anything about that in the end you have neither, you do not gain riches by becoming a slave.

There is another objection which is made, developing out of this change in the complication of government, that at one time when things were simple any man could run our governmental problems and the natural disgust of the expert, which seems to be inherent in the democratic idea, did not interfere with the statesman in trying to solve our public problems. It does interfere now. There is a tradition in this country, you know, that if a man has spent his life in

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the disinterested study of a subject he should never under any circumstances be trusted with a practical problem in that subject. As one great American statesman said once, no damned college professor could tell him anything about economics, and they didn't succeed in telling him anything about economics, and you know the result. It is an irony that the experts who never were consulted are now blamed for the things that happened in spite of all their unasked for advice. The economists of the United States and Canada, and Europe too for that matter, wasted a good deal of their breath trying to tell us, about 1922, where we were headed. Of course, they were an extraordinarily contentious and variegated group of scholars, but they were generally agreed that we were headed for disaster, and nobody paid any attention to them. When we got into the disaster, everybody said, "What's the matter with these economists? They don't know how to run our affairs for us."

Now that President Roosevelt occasionally consults one of them, he is endangering the fabric of the democratic civilization. We don't like experts because we started out without the experts. That is natural to the American people.

May I point out that that is something that we now apply to the political field and not to any other? Isn't it

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perfectly evident that in all the phases of our lives we trust experts all the time and think nothing about it. Isn't it obvious that we couldn't run our lives as they are now except that we trust experts at every turn? Those of you who leave this place this afternoon, regretting slightly that you didn't leave it before, are going to get on trains, most of you, and you aren't going to go up to the engineer and smell his breath and ask him where he learned to drive an engine; you are just going to get on the train and probably go to sleep and take it for granted that you will wake up at the other end of your one-night journey. If you drive away from here in an automobile, which is the most destructive weapon ever invented by the genius of man, you are going to go right ahead not thinking that every time another automobile approaches the person in it won't know how to keep out of your way. As you sit in this room you don't look up at the chandeliers wondering whether or not they are securely fastened. When you go into an elevator you don't wonder whether or not the cables have been recently tested, and if you are ill in a strange town you call a doctor, and if he is called "Doctor" it is all right, you don't even ask whether he is a Ph. D., because he is a doctor you turn yourself over to him; you put your children in the hands of

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people who know nothing about them and about whom you know nothing. In every phase of your life you trust the moral character and the sense of workmanship of the average, ordinary person.

When people tell me that modern life is not on a high moral plane, I wonder what they mean by morals. There never was a time when society would collapse so quickly if it were not for the sound morality of the average man and woman. There never was a society which teetered so on the edge of disaster all the time except for the fact that the ordinary person does his job. And what do you know about his job? Nothing. You have got to let him decide. Do you put your soul in his hands when you tell him to do the job? Of course not. As Walter Lippman pointed out long ago, you keep a moral control over him, you trust his workmanship, and that way things get done, otherwise we could have no industry, no education, no social system, nothing. But in government we are afraid to do it. In government we are afraid that if he does something which is too technical for us to understand he won't do the thing that we want him to do. That is an illusion of which we have got to cure ourselves, but it is not a permanent obstacle to democratic success. The only permanent obstacle to democratic success lies in the fact that it is

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the most difficult and the most uncomfortable of all kinds of government, that it is easy to get other kinds of government which are superficially and mechanically more efficient, and that occasionally we stop thinking, and when we stop thinking we illustrate again for the millionth time what I said in the beginning was a sociological commonplace, we get tired of doing our own business and we ask a fairy tale government to do it for us, and that never workes, we always come back.

I don't know what the secular trend of history is. I saw just a few weeks ago an audience, I hope as intelligent as this, it was a group of school teachers, listen to Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, who I think is one of the greatest emotional orators I ever heard. He cut right through their complacency. He scared them to death. He said, "The time is past for believing that reason could rule the affairs of man, that is an illusion, let's give it up and let's content ourselves with just those small deeds of kindness which make the world not too intolerable." Well, it was a great speech. It would, of course, be presumptuous of me to inquire whether Dr. Niebuhr is so much of a devil-worshiper that he would have that kind of attitude in other times instead of times as troubless as these, I don't know, but Dr. Niebuhr is intelligent, and what he did say was that with despair he rejected the fairy tales

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by which we could pull ourselves out of our difficulty by anything but our own effort. Now if there were true liberals left in the world they would reject those fairy tales, but not with despair; they would reject them not very hopefully, but they would reject them nevertheless, not with despair but with some hope.

Do you know why liberalism had only a very brief career in general acceptance in politics? I should say, in a way summing up what I have said on the subject, it is because it is an ideal almost beyond the reach of human beings. There are young people who are impatient. Impatience can be forgiven in young people, but there is an age limit beyond which it is indecent to be impatient. People who have lived a little and read a little surely know that there are two points between which men oscillate, and both extremes are wrong. One is a sort of enthusiasm in which you put all your intellectual eggs in one basket and you say, "Now this particular thing is going to save the world, and why can't people see that it is going to save the world?" That is wrong. Then there is another sort of thing which Dr. Niebuhr illustrated, that the slow, painful, inch-by-inch progress of the world seems so slow that people say nothing can be done at all, why try? Now liberalism and democracy, these vague things that

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I have been talking about, have a moral responsibility to fall into neither one of those extreme positions. That takes courage, that takes actual courage, energy, and intellectual clarity, because the confusions are so simple that sometimes I think it is almost too difficult. But the treason of the intellectual liberal is that he has not kept the issue clear.

You librarians represent a profession which has, in my opinion, a peculiar responsibility, you are custodians of the public mind to a certain extent, so I dare say that because of your professional training and your professional experience you also are supposed to be intelligent. You also are in charge of institutions which are the outcome of democracy and would never have existed under any other circumstances. Only democratic governments need public libraries, only democratic governments can tolerate public libraries. I should say self-preservation ought to make good democrats out of most of you, because the free public library means something more than free access to books, it means free access to ideas, it means free access to all books, or it means nothing, absolutely nothing.

The greatest spiritual aim that society can direct itself to is to give every man and woman the greatest possible chance of self-education and self-development. The library

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has a primary function to perform there, and you, if I may be permitted as an outsider to say so, have a public duty which is not to decide what the world is going to do, which is not to choose, except for yourselves, among various theories which are offered, but to see that the one fundamental democratic principle still rules in your world, that free public library or library at all means the access of everybody to everything that he wants to get access to. You see, I really believe in free speech when I talk about demoracy, I believe that every man's opinion, no matter how conservative, ought to be heard, I believe that if a man wants to go in and study a doctrine which I think is pernicious and dangerous, at his own risk he ought to be allowed to study it. And let me remind you again of this thing which is so old and so often forgotten, that democracy is essentially that kind of an attitude and that nothing else has that attitude. That is what I mean when I say scientific; it is a form of society, a form of government which permits every idea, every person, every influence, to fight it out, if it is doing its job, in free competition and the best rules.

May I say that I do not believe that librarians are being much swept into rigidities, into absolutistic formulae, into cure-alls, but I believe you have a greater responsibility

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than the average citizen, and I think you have got a fight on your hands. If you think that democracy is safe in America or in Canada or anywhere else you are wrong, it isn't, it isn't safe because men wouldn't believe in it if they understood it, it isn't safe because men have forgotten what it means, and I should say that your chief public duty, fighting for growth and freedom, is to see that people have a chance constantly, continuously, freely, to be told what it means. (Applause)

PRESIDENT COUNTRYMAN: Now as we bring this meeting to a close I want to say just a few last words. It is a great honor to be President of this Association. I have found out several things which I knew before in a way, but which have been emphasized. One is that at our Headquarters there is a marvelous organization of people who are doing a wonderful piece of work in keeping in touch with every unit of this great association and with every phase of its work. I pay my respects to the Headquarters Staff. (Applause)

I have also found that throughout this Association there is an increasingly large number of members who are doing a very large piece of volunteer committee work and are contributing an enormous amount of good to this Association, and I pay my respects to the large number of people who have

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worked this year so splendidly on committees. (Applause)

I want to say that I have come to a new appreciation of this great Association of librarians who, it seems to me, have a great urge toward fine ideals and who are attempting as I had not realized before to fulfil a great function in a new and coming civilization.

And now, after the playing of God Save the King, everybody standing, I will declare the Fifty-sixth Annual Conference adjourned.

... Playing of God Save the King ...

... The meeting adjourned at four-fifty o'clock ...

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