

Acknowledgment

Many people, consciously or unconsciously, have influenced the writing of this book. Acknowledgment of my debt to some is no denial of gratitude to others. And of those who must be mentioned, not all are now within reach of human appreciation.

To my father, Frank Morley, I owe my first realization of the true import of liberal thinking, and of the necessity of that scientific approach to political problems which I have endeavored to follow in this study.

Several great teachers aroused my initial interest in the spiritual and philosophical implications of government. If there is insight in this book, it can in part be traced to Rufus M. Jones, who taught me philosophy at Haverford College, and to Sir Ernest Barker, later my tutor at New College, Oxford. In different ways I have also learned political perspective from William E. Rappard, Rector of the University of Geneva, from Harold G. Moulton, president of the Brookings Institution, and from many friends who have participated actively in the conduct of many governments, perhaps especially Herbert Hoover, Harlan F. Stone, Robert A. Taft, Arthur Henderson and Heinrich Bruening.

But this book still would not have been written except for the prompting of students whose interest in political ideas I attempted to enliven at Haverford College, a generation after my own undergraduate days. To these ardent minds I owe the original suggestion of putting into permanent form some of those controversial theories and searching arguments which made our seminar joyous. Therefore it is my hope that this study may modestly

serve, as Henry Hallam said of his own truly distinguished work, "to stimulate the reflection, to guide the researches, to correct the prejudices, or to animate the liberal and virtuous sentiments of inquisitive youth."

My deep appreciation for invaluable criticism extends to all members of the study group on Liberty which met occasionally at Princeton from 1946 to 1948, and in lesser degree to members of the Mont Pelerin Conference in Switzerland, whose discussions I shared in April, 1947. None of these collaborators has any responsibility for, and some are indeed occasionally in sharp disagreement with, conclusions to which my own reasoning has impelled me. The same must be said for the advice of old friends, active in the Socialist movement at home and abroad, who have labored to keep my very different viewpoint from ever becoming dogmatic or narrowly unsympathetic.

The avoidance of some errors, without blame for those which may remain, is to be attributed to others who have read my manuscript critically, in whole or part. Among these I owe a particular debt to my brother, Frank V. Morley, and to Huntington Cairns, Bertrand de Jouvenel, Joseph Michael Lalley, Igor Sikorsky and David Shub.

In short, the help and encouragement of men of the most varied background and viewpoint has been an indispensable part of this writing. And two women have throughout been active collaborators. The sustained patience and confidence of my wife, Isabel Morley, form an integral part of this effort. My assistant, Evelyn Lewis Freer, went far beyond the efficient organization of material, and laborious assistance with the index, to give invaluable editorial criticism.

It may be noted that each of the chapters which follows is in the nature of an independent essay, although the whole is designed to co-ordinate the various aspects of American political theory. This method, which lends itself to greater readability, has also facilitated preliminary use of some of the material.

Thus, the substance of Chapters I, II and V was the theme of three lectures, delivered at Wabash College, in May, 1947, under the sponsorship of The Pierre F. Goodrich Seminars. Material

from other chapters has been utilized in my editorials on "The State of the Nation" in various issues of *The Nation's Business*. Some of the ideas herein were first expressed in print through the medium of *Human Events*, published by me in collaboration with Frank C. Hanighen. To President Frank Sparks of Wabash College; to Editor Lawrence F. Hurley of *The Nation's Business*, and to Garet Garrett in respect to a passage in Chapter VIII, my thanks are due for specific permission to rework material into its present form.

The chapter arrangement follows what seems to me the pattern best calculated to bring out the underlying unity of this essay on Liberty, progressively and as a thorough examination of "the power in the people."

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