

The soul of democracy, for Maritain, is "consciousness of the mission of our kind to bring about in its temporal life the law of brotherly love and the spiritual dignity of the human person." Its slogan is the liberty, equality, fraternity of the French revolution. As the frame of a lens can be held so close to the eye as to exclude nothing of the whole visual field, while at arm's length it encircles a single spinnery on the skyline, so it is with the slogans of liberty. The idea of equality, inhumanly narrow at arm's length, has been adjusted admirably in Maritain's recent work to take account of the intrinsic diversities of human existence.

Precisely from the critic's point of view "fraternity" interests as much for what it omits as for what it affirms. And it does omit what most of those who write of human brotherhood pass by without comment—all the vertical family relationships within society. The use of the word "paternalism" as a disparagement of various forms of state absolutism or of vested interest is indicative. Fraternity is an inheritance from the universality of Christian love—yes: and it is also the reflex emotional symbol of the reaction against whatever is established and rooted.

With regard to liberty, Bernard Wall wrote on the eve of the outbreak of war a book in which he contrasted the conceptions and the native expression of *liberté* among the French and *freiheit* among the German peoples: the highly stressed autonomous personalism native to France, and the sense of natural communion anterior and vestibular to the affirmation of the individual which conditions the German idea of freedom. He urged that the attempt to impose either *liberté* upon the Germans or *freiheit* on the French must involve blind cruelty and end in failure. In recalling democracy to its Christian origins Maritain has indicated the spirit in which such a warning is to be taken.

That the hope of civilization lies in the line of development of the democratic movement, not merely because democracy holds the floor but because democracy is the underground movement of the Judæo-Christian stimulation of society is the thesis of the book.

BERNARD KELLY.

THE FREE STATE. By D. W. Brogan. (Hamish Hamilton; 6s.).

This is a most refreshing book. Directing his attention mainly to the non-military causes of Germany's failure, Professor Brogan draws generously on his wide knowledge of history and keen observation of men to set forth the practical advantages of the free state and the ways of maintaining it. The approach is frankly empirical, with abundant concrete examples to delight the reader and make it easier for him to follow an argument presented with perfect confidence and without a trace of dogmatism. A free society is not one that corresponds to an ideal conceived by moody intellectuals, it is Britain, France, the U.S.A., as they have actually developed; there are great differences even in their free

institutions, but in Western society generally diversity is regarded as a necessity for the life of the state and there is a combination of faith in the general wisdom of mankind with doubt that its great limitations have been removed from any individual or group." Objections are boldly faced. What is the use of freedom, of the Press for instance, if only the wealthy can exercise it? Mr. Brogan at once probes to the roots of the question—"these criticisms are often covers for despair"—and contrasts Bismarck's "reptile press", which could still be attacked by the non-reptile journals and a variety of organs influencing public opinion, with Hitler's *gleichgeschaltet* newspapers. He admits that the democratic leader must flatter the mob, as courtiers flatter the tyrant; but there are always some sceptics among the crowd wanting to make themselves heard, the dictator dare not give expression to his doubts. But if we are concerned with concrete facts, was not negro slavery and is not the present racial discrimination a mockery of American democracy? Certainly it is ugly and it is only being eradicated with painful slowness, but in an unfree state it could not be eradicated at all; the Declaration of Independence, ineffective as it seemed, was always more than a mere form of words as long as independent observers could ask how it squared with slavery: "The words stuck in the throat till the great anomaly was extinguished in blood."

Mr. Brogan's capacity to see man whole, to draw on every aspect of history, saves him from many of the errors of smaller-minded empiricists, and he is justifiably opposed to doctrinaire politics; but his agnosticism carries him too far at times. When he writes of politicians:

Their pattern is not one laid up in heaven and the less they think of their own footsteps as resembling those of an audible divine purpose the better. Their duty is not to meet the specifications laid down by Plato or Hegel, but the endless, varied and unpredictable demands of situations created by varied human wills working with this recalcitrant material universe to produce improvement by tolerably honest and dignified methods,

we cannot but ask whether they are not expected to make at least a muddled attempt to approximate to a divine pattern of justice, feebly but adequately grasped by any human mind and more fully interpreted by the great thinkers of the ages. And have we grown so careless about truth that we can be content to recognise election promises as "merely formal hypocrisy", deceiving no one and puzzling only "the plain man"? EDWARD QUINN.

THE MYSTERY OF INIQUITY. By Paul Hanly Furfey. (Bruce Milwaukee; \$2.00).

This book by the Head of the Department of Sociology of the Catholic University of America is easily the most remarkable of its type this year. It is remarkable principally for its virility and can-