

Not only did the Queen show good sense and courage when she was close to great events, but she never let herself be carried away by the excitement that such events cause in less stable minds. She never thought of herself as riding the whirlwind and directing the storm. Though by nature quick-tempered and outspoken, she never in public affairs overplayed her part. President Wilson had the fault attributed to the Germans by Madame de Staël. Reflection, which calms other men, agitated him. A cynical critic, more intent on a *mot* than the truth, may some day say of the great Queen of happy memory, to use Rochester's description of Charles II, "She never did a foolish thing and seldom said a wise one." President Wilson, he will say, suffered from political hypermetropia, Anglice long-sightedness. He could see things clearly when far off, but at close quarters they were to him invisible or badly blurred.

Theoretically, if you could have combined the two characters you would have had a perfect personality for the tenure of high executive office. In practice, however, this perfect person would have been paralyzed in action by the popular distrust and contempt which always attaches itself to the Aristides model. It is the failings of human beings which stimulate affection, not the rigid virtues. The reason is not far to seek. We like those who are near to us. But the impeccable hero is a very long way off. The absolutely just man makes one shiver like a glacier cave.

J. ST LOE STRACHEY.

An Indictment of Dishonor

Among the marble temples, spires, shafts, and domes of Washington, — the memorials of great men, great causes, and great events, — there ought somewhere to be a small Expiatory Chapel, — a thing not advertised but hard to find and only large enough to hold a handful of people, — where a man might go and, falling on his face, ask God to have mercy and hold back His vengeance for the national sins of our people.

Mr. Moorfield Storey, now in his eighty-first year, has, with the aid of a young Filipino friend, raised a structure which, if not a chapel, is at least a lasting monu-

ment that may turn the hearts of many of his fellow-countrymen toward repentance. *THE CONQUEST OF THE PHILIPPINES BY THE UNITED STATES* by Moorfield Storey and M. P. Lichauco (Putnam's, \$2.00), is based upon truths which will survive when some of our pretentious magnificences, whether of phrase or architecture, will have crumbled towards oblivion. This book represents the consecutive thought of a lifetime embodied in the picture of a national episode and it will serve as a point of entry for future students of the Philippine problem.

It is the best historical essay that I have ever read. The story unfolds itself naturally and moves from point to point with the logic and the economy of a drama. The tale is well known in its outlines; but its proofs and its summary have never before been displayed as they are in this volume. It is in substance an indictment of the American people for a great historic crime, viz.: the dishonorable betrayal of Aguinaldo's confidence and the tricky capture of his person, followed by three years of unnecessary and atrocious war, including the torture of prisoners, concentration camps, the devastation of a land and the practice of extermination upon its people. There was, moreover, an element of hysteria in our conduct of the war. We did things that men generally do only when they are terrified or in extremity. And yet there was no emergency.

Mr. Storey would shield the American people at large from the worst features in the conduct of the war, because of inevitable popular ignorance in wartime, because of the censorship, and because of the hurried and unconstitutional procedure of the executive departments of our Government. But History will not shield our people at large. It was the spiritual leaders of America, her president and his chief counselors, her generals and captains and privates, all of them bone of her bone and each of them in his own sphere typical of the nation, who conceived and carried out the raid and who kept it up till the deed was done. We have never repudiated it; we have endorsed it.

Mr. Storey's book is short and fully documented. It is put together with such marvelous art that thoughtful persons will read it for a century, and it will serve as Burke's speech on the impeachment of

Warren Hastings served in the case of the British Empire, — to modify the spirit in which our national dependencies are to be governed in the future. Very different are Storey's tone and method from those of Burke; for there is no rolling eloquence, no outburst of indignation, no denunciation in Storey's volume, but only most careful statement and understatement. The question which remains is whether there be heart and mind in our people to receive what the British nation was able to receive from Burke, — a moral jar which they never forgot. Burke, to be sure, could not arrest the course of the British Empire, which moved onward to the toppling point. But he did much to uplift his own people by his great effort, and much to alleviate the fate of subject peoples under British rule. I believe that Mr. Storey will have done the like for America.

JOHN JAY CHAPMAN.

Business and Religion

Writing on the text, supplied by Anatole France, "the compassion of God is infinite: He will save even the rich," R. H. Tawney, Reader in Economic History of the University of London and sometime Fellow of Balliol College, shows in *RELIGION AND THE RISE OF CAPITALISM* (Harcourt, Brace, \$3.50) how Religion first sought to make Capital its monopoly and how, latterly, Capital made Religion its handmaiden.

The Middle Ages, Mr. Tawney indicates, regarded traders as peculiarly wicked, holding that profiteers and especially usurers infringed upon a monopoly proper to the Church. The same type of technical gymnastic casuistry which the Schoolmen employed to justify their religious dogmas was employed to show why none but the Church should make use of capital.

Later this was softened slightly by growth of the idea that, although the usurer was a moral pariah, he was a necessary one. Church and state soon engaged in a sort of competition in the collection of fines imposed for usury and profiteering, "the lucrative business of punishing."

Calvin is shown by Mr. Tawney to have been a pioneer in condoning interest and trade. But he had strong opponents and

the activities of the preachers of Geneva in seeking to control economic affairs present a droll picture. They attempted price fixing, objecting not to the presence but to the price of wine. But the business men of the Swiss centre of learning early began a ferment against spiritual domination of trade and out of what little trade Calvin allowed them to carry on, they made all that they possibly could make.

The rise of Puritanism is declared by this scholar to have had a profound effect upon ideas of business and religion. The Puritans took the position (and nailed it with Scripture) that labor was blessed and its rewards no less so and that the industrious Puritan who grew rich in trade by minding his business was a holier man than the mendicant friar who lived on the patrimony of the rich and exactions from the poor.

While most of the work pertains to England the trend on the Continent is traced and Holland especially noted as a land where "trade and tolerance flourished together".

The author makes it perfectly clear that time has evolved a situation in which the various secular activities have been segregated largely as a result of ancient controversies.

Mr. Tawney fails to report, however, how capitalism received probably its first impetus from religion through the actions of Crusaders in parting with lands and civil gear to fit out their fervent expeditions to the Holy Land. Those who curbed their frenzy and stayed at home established good estates.

This is a scholarly and readable book revealing deep and wide research. It is sprinkled with such trenchant and quotable statements as that "competition was designed by Providence to provide an automatic substitute for honesty", in the opinion of some of the elders. And on the broad general ground of the experiences of Church and State with capitalism, Mr. Tawney finds that "it is possible that the bankruptcies of Government have, on the whole, done less harm to mankind than their ability to raise loans, and the mobilization of economic power on a scale unknown before, armed the fierce nationalism of the age with a weapon more deadly than gunpowder and cannon."

HOMER JOSEPH DODGE.