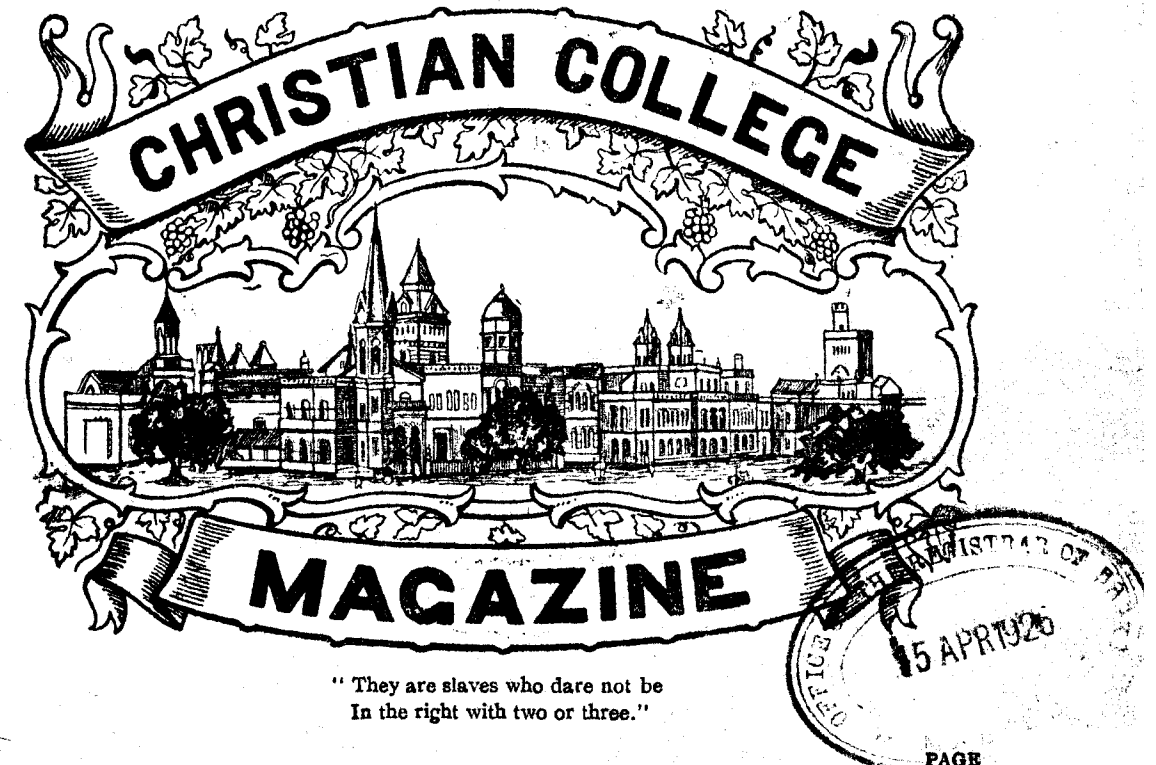


THE MADRAS



" They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three."

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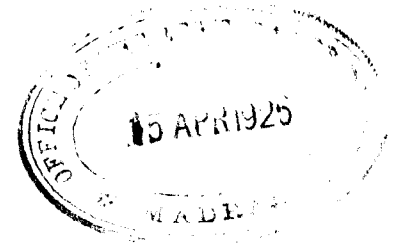
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No. I.

The Rock that was too high

By The Rev. W. MESTON, M.A., D.D.

Lead me to the rock that is higher than I.—Psalm 61 : 2.

Lead me to a rock that is too high for me. (R.V. margin).

Here is a man who across the gap of centuries is linked to us by the desperate pressure of a common, commanding, human need. His heart is overwhelmed, his soul faints. It matters not whether he is a banished king, a father pursued by a son's ingratitude, a leader left without a follower, an every day toiler who is bled white by the world's worries. It matters not. We know the man. We have but to look into our own heart and we know him. He has fought and his arm is limp. He has gone on a journey and he is alone in the jungle. Oh, if only he could get up to that rock which towers above him inaccessible. Then he would breathe no more the miasma of the swamp : heaven's fresh breezes would send the pure blood coursing through his veins. No longer would he wander hopelessly in a tangled maze of fettering undergrowth : he would sweep the horizon clear on every side, and descry both road and goal. No more would sense of baffled endeavour overwhelm him : he would walk on the rocky plateau, though dangers assailed, with steady step and calm assurance. Oh, to get up to that high rock ! That was what he prayed for. And how keenly, pleadingly, insistently, do we pray for it too, from hearts that work and circumstance and friendlessness and failure often overwhelm. Shall we see the top of that rock ? It seems inaccessible. Yet, as you gaze upon it, shafts of light shoot into the jungle and beat upon the sides of the cliff ; and as you follow them they are picking out paths for you, paths hard and dizzy, nevertheless paths, paths to the inaccessible. And if you trust yourself to them they will take you up, it may be with many a scar, it will be with many a struggle, they will take you up into a purer air, where your eyes will see clearly, your heart will know a strange peace, and your feet will be planted upon a rock.

What are these paths to which you must entrust yourself that you may scale the inaccessible? A standard that is too high for you; a work that is too great for you; and a master that is too strong for you. Commit yourself to these and you will mount up where the eagles build.

I

To reach the height where the view is clear and the air makes the pulse beat quick you must *commit yourself to a standard that is too high for you*. Many a time we are overwhelmed at the very moment when our heart should be stoutest, simply because we have accustomed ourselves to a standard which is not exacting. We choose the low road when we might choose the high road; is it any wonder that we miss the glory that is all around us? We take a minimum as our standard; the minimum becomes our maximum, and life is lost in shallows and in miseries. We take small pains, for instance, to drill ourselves in *intellectual honesty*, and at a moment when we should have a clear path before us and a stout heart to tread it, we find ourselves victims of a specious argument or pitiable objects of indecision. "We adopt opinions because we have heard others utter them, and we adhere to them because we have uttered them ourselves". You remember the quiet rebuke administered to Lord Beaconsfield by John Bright. He had made his telling speech in the House of Commons on the Crimean situation, and after the speech, to quote his own unadorned words, "I went into Bellamy's to have a chop, and Dizzy came and sat down beside me, and he said, 'Bright, I would give all that I ever had to have made that speech you made just now'. And I just said to him, 'Well, you might have made it if you had been honest'. 'If you had been honest', you hear that challenge still from the honestest of men. Always honest; is that your standard? That there are to be no dark, unswept corners in your mind? that truth in rags receives a welcome denied to make-believe in rich raiment? Then when you least expect it, you will find yourself already far up the hill. And if at times you have to confess that this standard is too high for you, you will never have to confess that it leaves you in lowland swamps. To commit yourself to it is to breathe the fresh air of the towering hills. Pass now from the realm of mind to that of *conduct*. There have been many critics of Kant's stern ethics; but when all has been said we know that the little philosopher of Königsberg has left us with at least two demands which we can evade only at our peril. One is "Treat duty as sacred"; the other "Treat personality as divine". To Duty we render lip-service, but our sincerest worship is paid too often at other shrines. If duty is the daughter of the voice of God, she is a stern daughter, we say, and we prefer "in smoother walks to stray". And as for personality we suffer it to be dragged at the chariot wheels of avarice, lust, hatred, jealousy; we do not burn with shame when we see it cowed, violated, enslaved. But treat Duty as really sacred, make its call the most binding law in your nature even though it seems a law beyond your powers to keep, and you will find yourself among the heights where righteousness walks as a familiar friend and character is as the munitions of rocks. And treat Personality as essentially divine, let yourself be guided by no standard that veils its heavenly lineage, and though you are

often foiled you will never be content so long as a child of man has not the crown of God upon his brow, and something of the impossible will come within your grasp. You will rise up nearer God; you will raise others with you. O, brace yourself to hold by standards that are too high for you. Be satisfied with nothing less. And though the contrast between aim and achievement will many a time sadden you, it will far more often "stiffen the sinews, summon up the blood". You will know less and less of being overwhelmed; you will know more and more of walking erect on the windswept uplands where the pulse beats strong and there is health in every step.

II

But you must do more than commit yourself to standards that are too high for you if you would scale what seems inaccessible. You must *throw yourself into a work that is too great for you*. You will know little of the sinking feeling of an overwhelmed heart if you are engaged on a work which claims all your time, fills all your thoughts, tasks all your capacities. It is through such work as this that heroes are fashioned, and saints are born, and the world's benefactors arise. A conversation once took place between a great English statesman and Cavour. The Englishman said, "Why do you aim at anything so great as the unity of Italy? You can never reach it. Why not concentrate on something practicable, such as the reform of the kingdom of Naples?" Cavour answered, "I cannot get the reform of Naples because no one is ready to die for it; I can get the unity of Italy, because thousands of Italians are ready to die for it". Men are not overwhelmed by a work that seems impossible; it is work of that kind which puts them on their mettle. Edison told two friends who once visited him that he never attempted possible things; impossibilities are the only things worth trying. The world sweeps onward and upward because there are hundreds of thousands on its surface who believe that impossibilities are the only things worth trying. The discontent, the misery, and the degradation of the world are in great part due to men who shirk work and responsibility. Every worker who betrays his trust, be it in Government, business, or study, is a two-fold danger to society—he impoverishes the community to which he belongs, and at the same time he lays the foundation for a life which nourishes and spreads discontent. It cannot be otherwise. He was made to work; limbs and brain show that. But instead of doing that for which he was intended, he deliberately seeks to frustrate it. And the nemesis is as certain as it is terrible. Man made for work loses his manhood as he deserts work. Work refuses him its stimulus; ease for which he has striven denies him its solace; if he does not degenerate into a Giant Despair, he walks the world as a Mr. Faint Heart. For him life is a fever-stricken swamp, and not only is his own vitality sapped, but he carries infection wherever he goes. But in reality life is a land of far-stretching prospects; it is a glorious arena of self-sacrifice; it is a magnificent field for a service as wide as humanity. It is this for the man who works, for the man who throws himself deliberately into a work that is too great for him. Too great for him; it is that which redeems work from slavery and makes the worker not a fly-wheel. To amass a fortune may be a hard and all-engrossing work, but it can never be too great a work for a man, though it may

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readily be too little. It can never be too great for when he has gathered his fortune he can still think of himself as adding to it; it may be too small, for it may so narrow his outlook as to turn his personality into stone. To conquer a world is not too great a work for a man, for after the conquests of the battle field there remain the harder conquests of peace; and it may be too small a thing for a man for it may degrade him to the brute. To descry new worlds, to increase the store of knowledge, to seek out many inventions--all these demand hard, lacerating, self-denying work; but they are not too great a work for man, for the true discoverer, scientist, and inventor is ever ready for further pursuit, and they may be too small for a man may use his knowledge and discoveries for the most despicable ends, and may make them the instruments of agony and anarchy. Is there then any work that is too great for man? Yes, every work may be, provided it is done *sub specie eternitatis*, provided it is placed as a gift in the altar of God. To bring all work into that presence, to offer our ordinary daily toil as a daily sacrifice to God, to lay our highest flight of intellect or our most delicate investigation as oblations at the feet of Him who sits upon the throne, that is to know work which is utterly beyond us, to throw ourselves into a work that is too great for us. Too great, but not overpowering. Too great, but not overwhelming. It is the man with low aims and small work who gives up in the race of life, or if he runs at all cuts but a miserable figure. It is the man with work too great for him that thinks it no shame to fall back upon Him who has given him his life's task and to whom he desires to present the result of his endeavour.

That low man seeks a little thing to do,
Sees it and does it :
This high man, with a great thing to pursue,
Dies ere he knows it.
That low man goes on adding one to one,
His hundred's soon hit :
This high man, aiming at a million,
Misses an unit.
That, has the world here—should he need the next,
Let the world mind him !
This, throws himself on God, and unperplexed,
Seeking shall find Him.

Ay, that is what happens when you really embark on work that is too great for you : you find yourself sooner or later face to face with God. You thought to bring your work to God. Your work brings God to you. As you do it you walk and work in His fellowship : the air becomes clear, obstacles disappear : the valleys are exalted, the crooked is made straight, the rough places plain. You walk upon a rock, for God is with you.

III

But you can get higher up the rock still, and breathe a more restoring air and rejoice in a more extended view. You can get this if you will do what is perhaps

the hardest thing of all, if you *entrust yourself to a master who is too strong for you*. It is hard, for nowadays the cry is for an easy master; those who work seek for an employer who does not exact too much, those who study for examiners who do not demand too much. And those who seek for such masters seem to think that when they find them they will find life's fruition. They have only to turn to the industrial conditions of the present day, or to University Commission reports, to see that there is no hope for the nation, the community, or the individual that follows an easy master. We need a strong master, one so strong that with all our trying we can never get the better of him, one so marvellously strong that, notwithstanding all our weaknesses, he never tries to get the better of us. We need a master so strong that there is not a single portion of our life—ambition, wayward impulse, disappointment, success—but feels the pressure of his claim; so strong that, as we surrender to him, we are lifted up by his strength on to the rock that was too high for us, on to the rock where life's crooked road becomes an highway where we walk with God. Such a master there is in Jesus, only in Jesus. To begin with, you come into contact with him through the life of a friend, the pages of a gospel, the ministry of the church. He places before you a manner of life which appeals to you : it is clean and fresh and high. You seek to fit him somehow into your own life, and then difficulties arise. There is a certain outlook which you have that does not seem to be the outlook of Jesus; it is not that you are the slave of selfishness, but that self in some way limits your horizon, restricts your work, lowers your scale of values. And though you see nothing shameful in all this you never feel at ease when you come with it into the presence of Jesus. There is an intellectual sloth which closes inconvenient questions and all seems well, but when you remember Jesus the old questions clamour for solution. There is a dullness of spirit which makes compromise easy and seem right, but when you look upon Jesus your compromise looms dark as a deformity. There is a call to noble enthusiasm and sacrifice which prudence silences, and when all appears settled your eye is caught by a cross. You cannot get away from Jesus, try as you may; and yet the strange thing is that when you do not try to evade him you truly live. Yet it is not strange. For wherein lies the strength of this Master who is too strong for you? It lies in his fathomless, self-denying, redeeming love for you. For you he deemed equality with God no prize, and Calvary no shame. He is stronger than the strong because he loved you and gave himself up for you, loves you and lives to make continual intercession for you. Before such love, limitless, divine, what is there but acceptance, unconditional surrender? Commit your life unto Jesus, this Master who is too strong for you, commit yourself in responsive love and daily dedication. Then you will walk on a rock that apart from him you could never have climbed. You will find strength to meet strong temptation, you will know peace within when storms rage without, if you cannot see your road far ahead you will have enough light for one step, and if even that is denied you, you will have the patience to wait in his company till the mists dispel. You will have courage to work when work discloses no reward, you will let the tumult and the shouting die that God's voice may come to you as the dew descending, and when men ask

you to take the easier way you will take the road that winds uphill all the way, yes to the very end.

Measure yourself daily by a standard that is too high for you, throw yourself daily into a work that is too great for you, commit yourself daily to Jesus the Master who is too strong for you. So will you walk daily on a rock that was once too high for you. You will see far, for you will see through the eyes of Jesus; you will breathe freely for you will live in the bracing atmosphere of Jesus; you will walk steadily for your unfailing companion will be Jesus. You will go from strength to strength; the valley of weeping will be a place of springs; the ravine of depression will be covered with verdure. You will be to others as an hiding place from the wind and a covert from the tempest. When life's battles, and temptations, and detractions are at their height, those that seek for you will find you in the secret place of the Most High.

Dr. Johnson

I.—Dates, etc.

Samuel Johnson was born in Lichfield, on September 18th. (N. S.), 1709. His father, Michael Johnson, a bookseller chiefly to the clergy, was a stout Tory and Churchman, and highly respected in the neighbourhood. The "bookselling" trade was not yet confined to the selling of books: it included also printing, binding, and publishing; and thus Samuel Johnson's life began, as it proceeded and ended, in an atmosphere thoroughly bookish.

Of course a great many stories were afterwards told about his childhood: I shall select a few, for different reasons. When he was three years old, he characteristically trod upon a duckling, the eleventh of its family, and killed it; and thereupon he dictated to his mother an epitaph:

Here lies good Master Duck,
Whom Samuel Johnson trod on;
If it had lived, it had been *good luck*,
For then we'd had an *odd one*.

So the story is told, by two of Johnson's many biographers, as a sign of great precocity; and a Miss Seward, a notable blue-stocking of Lichfield, observed upon it: "These infant numbers contain the seeds . . . of that poetical talent which afterwards bore such rich and plentiful fruits." But Miss Seward's more than human perspicacity was exerted in vain this time; for Johnson himself admitted to Boswell that the verse had been written by his father; and was attributed to the son only by paternal vanity.

The next story is more valuable. At the same age he was going home from school alone one day, for the maid who usually convoyed him had not turned up; and after starting out he noticed that the schoolmistress was following him at a distance, to see that no accident happened; for he was very short-sighted. The child was furious to find himself *coddled*, and turned back and thrashed the mistress as well as he could. Here at least people much less clever than Miss Seward can detect in the child the father of the man. In the same year again, which seems to have been one of the most eventful in his whole life, he insisted on being taken to the Cathedral to hear a sermon by Sacheverall, the famous Tory and High-Churchman. And of course no one who tells of the life of Johnson can leave out the story of his being carried to Queen Anne (still at the age of three!) to be "touched" by her; for he was almost the last victim of the old superstition that the touch of the Sovereign could cure scrofula, the "King's Evil."

For the diseases which plagued and spoilt Johnson's life were with him almost from the first. His face was disfigured by scars; and from boyhood he suffered from fits of acute melancholia, inherited, it seems, from his father. "While he was at

Lichfield, in the college vacation of 1729," says Boswell, "he felt himself overwhelmed by an horrible hypochondria, with perpetual irritation, fretfulness, and impatience; and with a dejection, gloom, and despair, which made existence misery." This nervous irritability, added to the ravages of scrofula, even affected his eyesight. The accounts of those that knew him vary curiously on this, as on some other points; and it would seem that it varied constantly, according to his nervous condition. When he was well and cheerful, he saw as well as most people; on their Scotch tour, for instance, his observation was sometimes quicker and more accurate than Boswell's; but when he was fretful or depressed, he could not distinguish, as Miss Reynolds records, even a friend's face at half a yard. One eye was sometimes totally blind.

He was taught first by a Dame Oliver, the same who had been too careful of him; and when he was going to Oxford she brought him a present of gingerbread, saying he was the best scholar she had ever had. His next teacher was called Tom Brown, and laid posterity under a certain debt (apart from doing something towards producing Johnson), by publishing a spelling-book and dedicating it "TO THE UNIVERSE". Then he went to the grammar-school in Lichfield, and lastly to that in Stourbridge. His shortsightedness and his nervous awkward habits kept him rather solitary as a boy; he read enormously, and remembered everything he read.

When he was sixteen he left school, and for two years hung about his father's bookshop. Some of the time he spent learning the business, and citizens of Lichfield a century afterwards were treasuring books which he had bound; but that did not keep him so busy as to prevent his reading, in his own words, "like a Turk". And he read, "not works of mere amusement, voyages and travels; but all literature, Sir, all ancient writers, all manly". When he was entering upon old age he said that most of the knowledge he had, had been gained by this time.

Though his father was a poor man, Johnson succeeded in getting to Oxford, and was entered at Pembroke when he was nineteen. A rich neighbour called Andrew Corbet promised to pay his fees, or some of them, if he acted as a sort of tutor to Corbet junior; but soon after Johnson got to Oxford he and Corbet quarrelled, probably because Johnson felt that his independence was not respected enough. He was miserably poor, at any rate, and sometimes could not go to lectures because his toes appeared through his shoes. He was not ashamed of this poverty afterwards, though he preferred not to talk about it; but to his fierce independence it was a great trial at the time. A fellow-collegian, taking pity on his bare toes, left a pair of new shoes at his door; but when Johnson saw them "he threw them away with indignation".

After three years of this, and before he had a degree, he was suddenly summoned home. Old Michael, his father, had been speculating in parchment, and was very near bankruptcy; he broke up under his troubles very quickly, and died within a few months of his son's return. Samuel's patrimony was £20.

Johnson now had to support himself. For a while he was usher, or under-master, in a school at Market-Bosworth; but in this degraded and dependent

position, as it was then thought to be, he suffered such "complicated misery" that he soon gave it up, came to Birmingham, and hung about the bookshops doing hackwork. Thus passed more than two years, during which the only notable thing that he did was to translate a French book of Travels in Abyssinia. This was in 1735, when he was 26 years old. Before he had finished this task, his melancholia and what he called his "constitutional indolence",—in other words his natural laziness,—got the better of him, and he found that he could not proceed. Luckily a friend called Hector determined that the work should be finished; so he came to Johnson's bedroom, and Johnson lay in bed, with the book in his hand, dictating the translation as fast as Hector could take it down. It is characteristic of Johnson that he was persuaded to make even this effort, only by the argument that the printer, who had already set up a good part of the book, would lose heavily if it was not finished.

In the same year he married. This also was accomplished with the help of Hector, who introduced him to a widow-lady, Mrs Porter, and her grown-up daughter. It seems that he fell in love with the daughter at first; but he afterwards changed his mind, and wooed and won the mother instead. Unhappily Boswell was a boy of 12 when she died, and so we do not know much about her, except that she was twenty years older than he,—forty-six years to his twenty-six; that she was short, fat, and provincial; painted heavily; and thought that Samuel Johnson was the most sensible man on earth. Also (though Boswell does not say so), she had a little money. Most of Johnson's later biographers are rather sarcastic about her: Macaulay in particular pours floods of venom on her name, quite unnecessarily. But after all a man should be allowed to choose his own wife, even if he is dead; and though our dim picture of Mrs. Johnson may not be very attractive, still Johnson adored her through the seventeen years of their married life, and remembered her with chivalrous, tender, and touching devotion till he died himself, thirty-two years after her.

The romantic pair, with Mrs. Johnson's little capital to help them, opened a school at Edial. Only three pupils came (one of whom was David Garrick); and Johnson does not seem to have been much better at pedagogy than Milton was. The three little rogues learned to laugh at their master's "tumultuous and awkward fondness" for *Tetty*, as he called his wife; but not very much besides. After eighteen months of it he closed the school, and went off to London with three acts of the tragedy of *Irene* and twopence-halfpenny in his pocket. He returned to his wife and to Lichfield in the same year (1737), finished his tragedy, and set out again to make his fortune.

For rather more than ten years, we know very little about him indeed; and of his wife we know nothing, until in 1748 we find her living, in lodgings much more expensive than her husband can as yet easily afford, at Hampstead, because her weak nerves make the country air necessary. But he was certainly very poor. Later, when he was a famous old man, and pretty well-off, he said he had lived on fourpence-halfpenny a day, and admitted that he had been arrested more than once for debt. Often he could not pay for a bed, and walked the streets all night)

There are three kinds of poverty, he said once,—“want of luxuries, want of comforts, and want of necessities”; and in those dark years he knew them all. Yet he never complained; and though the struggle destroyed many of the more artificial fine feelings in him,—or never let them grow,—still he kept his warmth of heart and generosity unspoilt. And on the other hand, he never waxed sentimental in his memories of misfortune past, as so many men do; even when he had plenty of money for his few needs, he refused to allow that poverty is a blessing, disguised or not. “When I was running about town a very poor fellow,” he said, “I was a great arguer for the advantages of poverty; but I was, at the same time, very sorry to be poor.” “Sir,” he added, “all the arguments which are brought to represent poverty as no evil, shew it evidently to be a great evil. You never find people labouring to convince you that you may live very happily upon a plentiful fortune.” It is characteristic both of Johnson’s courage and of his common-sense,—and also of his obstinacy,—that he defended want when he was in want, and comfort when he was comfortable.

Johnson, of course, was not alone in his poverty. The first half of the eighteenth century seems to have been a miserable time for authors; Grub Street was thronged. The booksellers’ doors were crowded by lounging shabby fellows, often hungry-looking, often visibly the worse for last night’s dissipation; usually with a university degree; and always ready to translate from the Greek, or write a scurrilous political pamphlet, or turn a pretty ode on the Queen’s birthday. Johnson had an “extensive and peculiar knowledge” of this submerged estate, and to the end of his life spent much of his time bailing penniless geniuses out of the spunging house,—as Samuel Richardson had once had to do for him.

He tried other things besides literature; but unsuccessfully. He thought of turning schoolmaster again, but his lack of a degree stood in the way this time; and he thought of taking up the law, but had not the necessary capital. So finally he stuck to literature; and finally it rewarded him. Gleams from a brighter future began to shine through. His poem of *London*, an imitation of Juvenal’s Third Satire, attracted the particular notice of the great Mr. Pope. He wrote trifles for the *Gentleman’s Magazine*, and for three years (1740—1748) an important department of it was in his sole charge. This was the reporting of the debates of Parliament. The proceedings of the House were still supposed to be secret, so they could be described only under a disguised form, with the speakers’ names partly concealed, as the proceedings of “The Senate of Lilliput”. Shorthand reporting was not yet a science; Johnson sometimes got brief notes or outlines of the speeches from people sent to the gallery, but often he was told no more than the names of the orators, and the side which they had taken in the debate. Then he had to make up the speeches, using his imagination freely;—and he took care that “the Whig dogs should not get the best of it”. Afterwards two of these fictions of Johnson’s were included in Lord Chesterfield’s *Works*, and Johnson was greatly entertained to find some servile reviewer declaring that one of them was worthy of Demosthenes, and the other of Cicero. At the end of the three years, however, he was shocked to learn that some people took these speeches for genuine, and he threw up the work at once, though he could ill afford to. He

would not help to spread lies; or, as he put it himself, “Sir, I refused to be accessory to the propagation of falsehood”. And when he lay on his death-bed, he told his friends that these Parliamentary Debates were the only things he regretted having written.

He came to London, as I said before, in 1737; but his position was not really made till 1755, eighteen years later, when he published his Dictionary. He was well-known before that, and well thought of by a few people, for his poems of *London* and *The Vanity of Human Wishes*; for his short *Life of Savage*; for *Irene*, a verse-tragedy very correct but rather dull; and especially for *The Rambler*, a series of essays published twice a week for nearly two years, and in which, says Boswell, “he came forth in the character for which he was eminently qualified, a majestick teacher of moral and religious wisdom”. When these appeared first, they were not extraordinarily popular; but after they had been thoroughly revised and collected into volumes, ten editions (12,500 copies) were sold in London alone during the author’s life. I admit that I find it easier to understand their earlier neglect than their later popularity. But it was not till his Dictionary was published, that he became the foremost among English men of letters; after that, however, others,—Goldsmith, for instance,—were read and liked, but no one shared the reverence which was paid to Samuel Johnson.

Yet he remained a poor man, till the Government gave him a pension of £300, in 1762. In 1756 he had to borrow six guineas from Richardson, to save himself from arrest; three years later, when his mother died, he had not enough money to pay her funeral expenses and debts, and had to write a book in a week to make it.

The Dictionary had occupied most of his time and thought, for six years, though he had expected to complete it in three. The materials were compiled, with the help of six copyists (five of whom, as Boswell points out, were Scotch), in the garret of his house in Gough Square, the house which now belongs to the nation, and has been made into a very interesting museum. And it was practically an original work: for though there were English dictionaries already, there was none on anything like the scale of Johnson’s. It fixed the language for half-a-century, and is well worth consulting even yet.

He was perfectly candid in recognising and owning the faults in his work. Many years afterwards a lady thought she had caught him, and asked him why he had defined “pastern” as the knee of a horse. She expected pedantic evasions; but he got the better of her, for he answered breezily, “Ignorance, Madam, pure ignorance”. Yet he was frankly proud of his achievement; he was proud even of the conception. When he talked of completing it in three years, someone reminded him, I suppose as a warning, that the making of a Dictionary had occupied the forty members of the French Academy for forty years. Well, said Johnson, unabashed; 40 times 40 is 1600: “As 8 is to 1600, such is the proportion of an Englishman to a Frenchman”. “But after all,” he added, “what can you expect of men who eat frogs?” And “For anything I see,” he once said, “foreigners are fools”.

But a more important event, to Johnson himself, than even the publication of the Dictionary, was the death of his wife, a day or two after the last *Rambler* appeared. The bereavement drove him almost mad with grief at first; a grief that he never wholly forgot. Long afterwards, Steevens found that he did most of his work in a small, uncomfortable garret, because it was the only room in the house where Mrs. Johnson had never been, and which therefore did not distract him with memories of his loss. He had many good friends after this, but he never lost his feeling of desolation. Indeed, it was that feeling, together with constitutional melancholy, and a haunting spiritual perplexity, that drove him to seek company so much as he did.

After the publication of the Dictionary, Johnson lived for nearly thirty years; but the external events were few. For a man so learned, who wrote so easily, he published remarkably little. Another collection of periodical essays, called *The Idler*; a sort of philosophical romance, of the same kind as *Candide* (though in that kind very different), called *Rasselas*; an edition of Shakespeare's plays, which cost him no extraordinary pains; a short account of a journey to the more savage parts of Scotland; a collection of short lives of the English Poets; some fugitive papers and political pamphlets; and a multitude of the dedications which he was constantly writing for other people's books: that is the sum of his literary achievements, and they could have been accomplished in two years of steady labour. The rest of the time was spent in talk.

The important dates of those thirty years are three: 1769, when the Government honoured itself by giving him his pension; 1778, when he went on his Scotch tour with Boswell; and 1784, when he died. To these may be added 1763, when he first met Boswell; and 1764, when he founded the most famous of his many clubs; and 1765, when (probably) he met the Thrales.

II.—Johnson without Boswell.

Boswell was introduced to Johnson, in the back-parlour of Mr. Davies's book-shop, No. 8, Russel-street, Covent-square, on the evening of Monday, May 16, 1768. Johnson was then 53 years old; he had been granted a pension, with unusual expressions of respect, the year before; his Dictionary, which had been published eight years, was recognised everywhere as the supreme authority; his *Rambler* lay on almost every drawing-room table throughout England. It is not easy for us to go behind Boswell, and discover how other men looked upon Johnson; we can hardly see him except through Boswell's eyes, for Boswell's own boast that he had "Johnsonised the land" is almost a plain statement of fact: yet it is worth trying.

We can be sure, at least, that Johnson was a famous man in his own right, without any assistance from his biographer. Indeed he was extraordinarily popular, not only in literary circles, I believe that in 1760 the population of London was about 700,000; and I should think that most of these people knew Dr. Johnson by sight; that he was pointed out to country-cousins as he walked along Fleet Street, as much of a London institution as St. Paul's, or the Bank.

There were many things that went together to make Johnson well-known and well-liked. First of all, his physical appearance must have been very striking. He came of a family which had produced prize-fighters, and was as big as any of his relatives. The town-life of his younger days, with its lack of proper food and exercise, had given him no chance to keep fit, and he grew bloated and fat; or as Boswell prefers to put it, he was "made unwieldy by corpulency". A prize-fighter run to seed. He always gave the impression of great strength; when he was very poor, some one advised him to become a porter; it was said that he looked like a sturdy drayman. He was attacked by four ruffians in a dark street once, and kept them all four at bay, single-handed, until the watch came up.

His shoulders were very round, and as his neck was short also, he was generally looking downwards. His face is, I suppose, the best-known of all English faces: most people have seen a reproduction, if not the original, of the portrait by Reynolds which attracts more attention than any other in the National Portrait Gallery. There you see, painted by genius, the expression Johnson wore when he was with Reynolds, who was probably his best friend,—the expression of a man thoroughly interested in his company, and discussing a serious matter with great earnestness. It is a striking face. The forehead is broad and low; the brows are wide and very strongly-marked, with a deep line between them,—the trace of prolonged concentration of purpose, or of great suffering borne manfully. The eyes under these brows are half-shut, again showing concentration for the moment, and the peering effort of a man very short-sighted. The nose is prominent, and shaped with no great delicacy: like the forehead—and the jowl also, for that matter—it is very broad. The jaw is heavy, and the lips large and fleshy: they are the sort of lips one can easily imagine curling into a sneer; but Johnson had far too much energy to sneer, and when he disapproved of anything he spoke from the heart. In the portrait the mouth is half-open: Johnson is on the point of saying something, and you are quite sure that it will be said very firmly and dogmatically; he will put into it the whole strength of an exceptionally strong character. Altogether, the face expresses some despondency, a sort of chastened seriousness, and a great momentary massing of attention. It is the face of a man too earnest to be conceited, too long-suffering to be shallow or unsympathetic, too hearty to be merely bitter or depressed.

Now of course a painter can paint only one expression at a time. A man who knew no more of Johnson than this portrait, would find it hard to imagine that brow smoothing out, those lips broadening into a good-humoured smile, and those eyes twinkling with gaiety. Yet a lively young lady, Miss Fanny Burney, said of him when he was seventy years old: "He has more fun and comical humour and love of nonsense about him than almost anybody I ever saw"; and in her journal she constantly speaks of his gaiety. I wish Reynolds had painted him also when he was speaking to Fanny Burney.

But in addition to his striking figure and face, Johnson had many habits and peculiarities which must have been still more striking. He shook his head, *sawed* with his hands, and rolled his vast body about, so much that Fanny

Burney was always afraid he was going to fall off his chair. Wherever he went, crowds would gather to stare at him. A man called Kearsley reports: "When he walked the streets, what with the constant roll of his head, and the concomitant motion of his body, he appeared to make his way by that motion, independent of his feet." Another friend, Bennet Langton, saw him swaying along in this droll way one day; and as he was passing a porter who had a load on his back, he gave an unusually violent lurch, and knocked the load down; then, not noticing what he had done, went straight on. "The porter was very angry, but stood still, and eyed the huge figure with much earnestness, till he was satisfied that his wisest course was to be quiet, and take up his burthen again."

Johnson had strange preoccupations of mind, too, in which he would apparently determine to cover a certain distance in a certain number of steps; and if he did not do it the first time, he would go back and cover the distance again, then "walk briskly on, and join his companion". He would touch every post of a fence as he went along, and turn back if he missed one.—I confess, however, that though these oddities are described at great length and with much pains by Boswell and others,—the most interesting accounts that I know outside the *Life* being Miss Reynolds's and Fanny Burney's,—still I have never been able to form for myself a distinct picture of them. I only know that they were amazing, even to people who thought they knew what to expect.

Some of Johnson's friends go so far as to call them convulsions, and to say that he suffered from St. Vitus's Dance. This was not his own opinion: he said they were "bad habits"; and according to Sir Joshua Reynolds he could sit perfectly still "if he was told to", or if he was really interested in talk. In the long periods of abstraction of his lonely first years in London, he probably fell sometimes into a condition approaching trance, and his mind occupied itself insensibly in these ways. He was always excitable, especially of course in youth,—more so than a first reading of Boswell's *Life* would suggest; when he was a child the speech of the Ghost in *Hamlet* terrified him in solitude: and if you are easily elevated you are easily depressed also, and the mind, left to itself, seeks relief in strange ways.

At any rate, you may imagine how familiar a figure such as this would become in the London streets. And the regard which was aroused by Johnson's singularities passed quickly into respect for his virtues. Among the lettered classes he was supreme, without a rival; there may have been secret disaffection, but he was undisputed Dictator. Smollet sportively called him "the Great CHAM of Literature", and the name stuck. His circle of friends included most of the greatest men living: yet Boswell tells how some of them had been discussing him when he suddenly came into the room himself, and at once they were all as silent as schoolboys on the appearance of a stern schoolmaster. Then there is the story of the Round Robin. After Goldsmith's death Johnson wrote his epitaph for Westminster Abbey: it was in Latin, and some of Goldsmith's friends thought that it ought to have been in English rather. At a dinner-party at Reynold's they decided that some one must ask Johnson to re-write it; but though the company included at least three men destined to immortality—Burke, Gibbon, and Reynolds

himself—as well as many authors and statesmen famous in their day, there was not a man among them who dared to go to Johnson and suggest the alteration. At last Burke drew up the request, in terms extraordinarily humble, and the rest signed their names in a circle round it, so that no one might seem to have been the ringleader. Again, Langton tells what happened when he came into Johnson's drawing-room full of people distinguished by rank and learning. He took a seat, and began to talk: and immediately the rest of the company, ladies and all, gathered round to listen, so that they were four or five deep; those behind standing on tip-toe to catch all they could of what was passing.

The deference with which he was surrounded was due partly, no doubt, to his loud voice and hectoring ways: "his eyes," says Miss Reynolds, "were light-grey, and wild and fierce in expression"; and if Boswell annoyed him (as he did now and then), he was so roared at that he always felt "considerably stunned". But it was due partly also to a genuine respect that was paid for two distinct reasons. First, Johnson was the last and extremest devotee of a literary fashion which passed away completely within a few years of his death; and a dynasty is always flattered most outrageously just as it is going to be deposed. Secondly, he was sensible, humorous, honest, and affectionate; and to the credit of human nature it may be said that such a man is always respected.

But more remarkable, I think, than his high position among cultured people, was the wider popularity which he won also. I believe that no other man of letters, before or after, gained so large a place in the affections of all Englishmen, during his own life; not Dickens, or even Scott. After his death, little copper medals stamped with his head passed current as half-pence in Birmingham; he noticed himself that hardly a day passed when there was not something about him in the newspapers.¹ Once when Boswell was as far from London as Edensor-inn, near Chatsworth, the innkeeper boasted that "the celebrated Dr. Johnson" had been in his house. Boswell, curious to draw him out, asked who this was. "Johnson, the great writer," the man answered: "*Oddity*, as they call him. He's the greatest writer in England; he writes for the ministry; he has a correspondence abroad, and let's them know what's going on." And at Ellon, a small town north of Aberdeen, a local innkeeper told Boswell that Johnson was "the greatest man in England except Lord Mansfield" (Lord Mansfield being Scotch).

This general popularity was certainly due to other things besides literature. If a man is really eminent, his character is pretty sure to become known, for the most part in ways which cannot be traced; and Johnson was recognised to be no remote, inhuman philosopher, settling the problems of suffering mankind in seclusion and comfort. There was no pedantry or affectation about him; he was a man ready to understand and quick to forgive. He never concealed his strong, animal

¹ During Johnson's Scotch tour, a Glasgow newspaper announced (falsely, as it happened) that he was detained by bad weather in the Isle of Skye, then went on: "Such a philosopher, detained on an almost barren island, resembles a whale left upon the strand. The latter will be welcome to everybody, on account of his oil, his bone, etc., and the former will charm his companions and the rude inhabitants, with his superior knowledge and wisdom, calm resignation, and unbounded benevolence." Boswell's *Journal*, October 22.

liking for food, and comfort, and prosperity; he never pretended to be superior to ordinary men, or thought that virtue was to be found only in the habits of the well-to-do. He was sincerely religious. In his closing *Rambler* he had said: "I shall never envy the honours which wit and learning obtain in any other cause, if I can be numbered among the writers who have given ardour to virtue, and confidence to truth,"—a sentence for which all sensible men respect him: and the whole of his life and writings showed that he meant it. Men probably knew, too, of his warm-hearted and open-handed generosity.

He had many faults, too, which perhaps added, some of them, to his popularity. He had violent prejudices; he hated the whigs, he liked to make game of the Scotch (especially in Scotch company); and he had a very hot temper. When some one inadvisedly took his chair at the Lichfield theatre, because he had left it for a moment, Johnson first asked him civilly to give it up; but when the man, not knowing whom he had to do with, refused, Johnson lifted up man and chair together and tossed them both into the pit. Another time, in his earlier days, he was doing some hack-work for a bookseller named Osborne. His desultory habits made him an unsatisfactory hack-worker, and Osborne, who was an uneducated sort of person, lost his temper and abused him out of measure,—and ungrammatically, too, actually saying that the work ought to have been done "by this *here* time." So Johnson lost his temper also, seized a large book that lay by him, knocked Osborne flat on the floor, and held him there with a foot on his chest, till the wretched man's cries brought people running up: then Johnson roared out "triumphantly,"—"Lie there, thou son of dulness, ignorance, and obscurity!"—The identical book became famous in consequence, and was offered for sale as a special prize in 1812: it was a Greek Bible.¹ The great Dr. Johnson undoubtedly gave ardour to virtue; but he was thoroughly human none the less.

But he was respected for his literature also. Englishmen always admire a preacher, if he is honest; and Johnson was the greatest lay-preacher of the age. He never wrote a line that was consciously untrue, or unkind, or trivial. And he was respected enormously for his Dictionary. The labour of editing Shakespeare might not be generally understood; Lives of the English Poets are not always read: but everyone can appreciate the value and the difficulty of compiling a Dictionary. If a man could do this, and with the same hand toss a man on a chair into the pit, who could help loving him?

And I do not think it too fanciful to say that that popular affection has continued without a break to the present day. On the troubled, chopping surface the critics disport themselves, Macaulay mouthing his condemnations and Raleigh protesting that the *Life of Milton* is not so very unjust after all; but beneath it there has always been a steady and strong current of national homage to "the Oddity." Apart from the class that have time to read Boswell's half-million words, and socially, I suppose, beneath it, generation has handed down to generation its love of Dr. Johnson. Mr. Bailey tells how "a Johnsonian" was passing a cabmen's shelter

¹ Biblia Graeca Septuaginta, fol. 1595. Frankfort. Boswell leaves out all the picturesque details; they come from Kearsley, in Croker's *Johnsoniana*. Though they are entertaining, they are probably untrue.

about the dinner-hour, and heard one cabman say to another, as they got out their sandwiches: "Well, after all, as Dr. Johnson says, a man may go a long way and see nothing better than his dinner." The observation has not been found among Johnson's works,—though it is just the sort of thing that he said often; but can you imagine the cabman fathering it upon Shakespeare, or Milton, or even Dickens?

And even in the literary circles he has a peculiar position. If you hear of a critic that he is a "Shakesperean," or "Wordsworthian," you imagine an intelligent and scholarly person, perhaps; but the title conveys no very distinct impression. On the other hand, if a man is called a "Johnsonian," as Birkbeck Hill and Raleigh were, for instance, you are attracted to him at once; he will be scholarly and intelligent like the others, you fancy: but he will also be sincere, good-humoured, and above all sensible. The Johnsonians are the friendliest circle that have gathered round the memory of any English author, except Lamb. The race of small critics who descend like vultures on certain authors, and squabble about dates, keep clear of Johnson instinctively; those who gather in his name are all touched by his spirit of common-sense. Indeed, I don't think that anyone can learn much about Johnson, without developing that special kind of humour, and knowledge of the real values of life, which is necessary to keep students from quarrelling with each other. In the Preface to his edition of Shakespeare he says: "It is not easy to discover from what cause the acrimony of a scholiast can proceed. The subjects to be discussed by him are of very small importance; they involve neither property nor liberty. . . . Perhaps the lightness of the matter may conduce to the vehemence of the agency; when the truth to be investigated is so near to inexistence, as to escape attention, its bulk is to be enlarged by rage and exclamation." "Notes," he says again, "are often necessary, but they are a necessary evil"; and he proceeds to advise people who are reading Shakespeare for the first time to "read every play from the first scene to the last with utter negligence of all his commentators." In the Preface to his Dictionary, after making some suggestions about spelling, he adds: "This recommendation. . . does not proceed from an opinion, that particular combinations of letters have much influence from human happiness." Pedants naturally, and wisely, flee from a man such as that.

This is not to say that Johnson was a greater and more liberal man than Shakespeare, for instance, who is the peculiar prey of the pedants. But Johnson is much more comprehensible; he is nearer to us ordinary men; for, as Raleigh points out, he is just an ordinary man greatly enlarged. He did nothing which we cannot imagine ourselves doing, though we may not actually do it so well. There was no nonsense about him; he is never out of our reach. We do not need to know very much about him, to find him assuming a very definite character in our imagination,—a character that influences us: the character of a sensible man.

A Historical Sketch of Telugu Literature

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CHAPTER IV.

The Age of Srinatha.

A big Sanskrit work like the Mahabharata became available to the Andhras, through the untiring energy and zeal of Tikkana, and its translation revolutionized the religious thought of the country. Great as a poet, and in truth, the greatest of the Telugu poets, Tikkana breathed a new life and spirit into the nation, and opened up a new era of Telugu Literature. A mixed language had now been perfected and successfully used, and Tikkana as an artist so wielded his stile (the iron stile known as *ghantam*) as to shape the future literature of the country in this mixed form. His disciples were some of the great Telugu authors after his day. Works in un-mixed Telugu soon became out of fashion, and were superseded by a Sanskritized language, full of culture,—a language never spoken in any area. This language became the standard for high class literature.

The translation of the Mahabharata was followed by the translation of the Ramayana. Rama was a popular deity of the Aryans in the Andhra desa, and we have seen how Ranganadha had already given a condensed version of the Ramayana in the popular *dwipada* meter of the nation. But a Sanskritized prosody was now the fashion of the day, and even the form helped the process of Aryanization, that was so successfully begun. *Bhaskara Ramayanam* was the result of this new age, and it had like the Mahabharata a number of authors for its different portions. Tradition has it that Mantri Bhaskara, the grandfather of Tikkana was its author, and that in time its parts being lost, except the *Aranya Kandam*, other poets completed its missing portions. I am inclined to think that it is so, and for more reasons than one. (1) Tikkana's first work now known to Telugu is a Ramayanam, called the *Nirvachanottara Ramayanam*, which takes up the story of the Uttara Kandam, not found in the other Ramayanams. It has thus the function of supplementing the story of Rama, but there is no meaning in writing in Telugu the closing scenes of the life of Rama, when the chief events of his life were not known. (2) The last stanza at the end of each canto in Tikkana has various declensional forms in it instead of the usual vocative, an innovation, which we find in the *Aranya Kandam* of Bhaskara. (3) The colophon to this *Aranya Kandam* does not expressly mention the name Hulakki Bhaskara to whom some critics now attribute the authorship; it simply says Bhaskara. (4) Tikkana himself praises his grandfather as a great author, largely appreciated by the public. (5) It is true

that *Aranya Kandam* is dedicated to a cavalry commander Mara (Sahini Mara), but who that Mara was, among so many such names is not definite enough to assign the date to him of the Sahini Mara of the fourteenth century. (6) There seems to be no doubt that *Aranya Kandam* was an earlier attempt. Its Bala, Kishkindha, and Sundara Kandams were, as their colophons show, written almost contemporaneously by Bhaskara's son Mallikarjuna Bhatta. *Ayodhya Kandam* was written by Kumara Rudradeva, son of a Mara. The greater part of *Yuddha Kandam* was written by one Hulakki Bhaskara, and its concluding portions by the poet Ayyalarya, who calls himself a friend of Bhaskara—(not Hulakki Bhaskara which name he would have mentioned in a prose colophon, when in a metrical stanza he said that he completed the book from where Hulakki Bhaskara had left it. (7) The tradition that Bhaskara had took up the work and distributed portions of it to others, while, its superstitiously dreaded part—the inauspicious *Aranya Kandam*—was taken up by himself appears to be true, and the fact that his *Aranya Kandam* excels the other portions of the Ramayana, and is quite unlike the *Yuddha Kandam*, part of which was written by Hulakki Bhaskara is a clear proof of the author of *Aranya* being different from Hulakki. As a classical work, *Bhaskara Ramayanam* has a high place in literature, and is quoted as an authority in literary matters. Of the Ramayanams in the Telugu language—viz., the *Ranganadha Ramayanam* of Ranganadha, the *Vasishtha Ramayanam* of Madiki Singanna, the *Ramayanam* of Errapragada of the Mahabharata fame; the *Molla Ramayanam* of Molla, supposed to be a potter woman, the *Ramayanam* of Chitrakavi Ramakavi, the *Acha Telugu Ramayanam* of Kuchimanchi Timmakavi, the *Vichitra Ramayanam* of Velpuri Venkateswarakavi, the *Ramayanam*, of Gopinatham Venkatakavi the *Vepakshi Ramayanam*, *Ramabhyudayam* and other high class literary productions, *Bhaskara Ramayanam* is the best and has the unique privilege of being regularly read and expounded to the masses in every village and city during the seven centuries since its production. The authors of this classic of Bhaskara imitated the modes of translation adopted by Nannaya. The great work of Valmiki which covered 24,000 slokas was condensed to 15,000 stanzas in Bhaskara. Additions were made into it from other Sanskrit works. The seventh sarga of Magha was for instance incorporated into the *Yuddha Kandam* by its author.

Marana a disciple of Tikkana was our next great author. He translated the *Markandeya Puranam* and dedicated it to Nagaya Gannaya, a vassal of the famous Kakatiya King, Pratapa Rudra. Marana thus belongs to A. D. 1325. His *Markandeya Purana* has furnished themes to many of the later Telugu works, for instance the famous *Manucharitram* of Allasani Peddana and the *Harischandropakhyanam* of Sankara and others, who followed even the wording of Marana in some of their most beautiful portions. *Vemulavada Bhimakavi* comes next in time. His great works the *Vasishtha Ramayanam* and *Raghava Pandaveyam* are now lost to us, and all that remains of the poet is a small book on prosody, and a mass of detached pieces of poetry—some of them of doubtful origin.

Madiki Singanna translated the *Padma Puranam*, and the tenth skandha of *Srimat Bhagavata*. He also wrote a Ramayanam, now known as the *Vasishtha*

Ramayana. He was the son of a granddaughter of Tikkana. He dedicated his Padma Puranam to Kandana Mantri completing his translation of it, as he himself says in Saka 1342, on Wednesday, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Margasira of the cyclic year Sarvari (A. D. 1420). *Dasama Skandham* was also dedicated to the same Kandana Mantri, while his *Ramayana* was dedicated to the god, Ahobala. A book *Sakalaniti Sammatam*, on the theory of the State and conduct of a king—written on the same lines as Chanakya's *Artha Sastra*—has been recently discovered. *Sakalaniti Sammatam* is a mine of information on ancient Telugu works on this subject from some of which extensive quotations have been given by Singana.

Sakalaniti Sammatam is more a compilation than an original work. "As one drop of butter milk curdles a whole pail milk, so a stanza here and there I will write amid quotations from other authors." One wonders at the number of books on *Rajaniti* in Telugu produced before his time, as one sees his quotations from writers of extraordinary poetic merit. Thus we read of a *Salihōtram*, written by Manumanchibhatta, on the art of training horses, *Mudrāmāyā*, a historical story written by Lakka Bhatta better known by his title Kāshēmdra, *Nitisāram*, by Pratapa Rudra I of the Kakatiya dynasty, *Pancha Tantri* the name of whose author is not known, *Niti Bhūshanam* by the poet known as Andhra Bhoja, *Purushārtha Sāram* by Sivadeva, a minister of the Ganapati King of Worrungal, *Kāmandakam* by an author whose name is lost, *Chāru Charya*, recently published by the Rajah of Muktyala and many other works. All of them wielded their pens powerfully, but the authors of *Nitisara* and *Purusharthasara* stand high above the others.

Among the poets of Telugu, Potana takes a high place. He is, and not without reason, regarded by some scholars as the greatest of the Telugu poets. The chief work, on which his fame rests is a translation of the *Bhāgavatam*. *Mahabharata*, *Ramayana*, and *Bhagavata* are the three most important works in the Telugu language, which together, give the life and work of Rama, and Krishna, and *Bhagavatam*, the outstanding work yet to be translated was taken up and completed by Potana. One cannot read Potana, without being carried away by the emotion of *bhakti* (devotion), and every line and letter of some of his stanzas are so full of life and feeling that the reader is transformed into a devotee. Potana was a devotee of the truest type. He lived and moved and had his being in his God, and his expressions in poetry were the real ebullition of the natural feelings of a sacred sage enjoying divine bliss. He arrests your attention and makes you dance in joy with him before the All-Holy.

"I was lost in devotion", he says, "on one lunar eclipse night, when, bathing in the sacred waters, I sat in one of the sand beds of the river. Then came to me, a great king, of glorious shape, one that shone like a cloud near the lightning. I attempted to speak to him, and he said, I am Rama. If in my name, you translate *Bhagavata*, you will be relieved of the cycle of births and deaths. Thus blessed by the holy presence, I recovered myself, and reaching in a few days *Ekasilanagaram*, my place of residence, and obtaining the consent of my teachers, elders, relations, and pandits began this work." Must the book be dedicated to a prince, who would bestow a fortune on him or should he shun mankind and dedicate the book

to the feet of God? The Muse of Poesy, Sarasvati, appears before the poet, with tears coloured by the colorium of her eyes flowing down and the poet says "Thou, spouse of Vishnu's son, O my mother! Why dost thou cry. I will not sell you (dedicate you) to the Keechakas of Karnata, for a morsel of food that would appease my hunger." Thus was *Bhagavata* begun, and tradition has it, that as he wrote his great work, the scenes that he described were by divine grace actually played before him. Such was his temperament. He always felt that he was with his God, and this emotion was at its height as he wrote his *Bhagavata*.

"For attaining salvation", these are the first words of his famous work, worldly riches, pleasures and pomp do not allure him. He lived in the never-failing presence of his God, and enjoying supreme bliss. Great kings came to him begging the favour of a dedication of his *Bhagavata*; but he refused them the boon. A poor cultivator himself, he regarded his poem as his child, and looked with contempt on the idea of selling it for a morsel of bread. He had a purpose in writing the book. The apparition on the lunar eclipse night promised him relief from the cycle of births, if he dedicated his *Bhagavatam* to Rama. "It seems," he says, "that this which I am speaking is *Bhagavatam*, and he who makes me speak is Ramabhadra. It seems that this speech of mine gives me relief from births and deaths. So will I speak. Why should I find any other apology for composing this work." His culture was natural: not what was obtained through a teacher. A *Sahaja Panditya*—that is what he says of himself in his colophon. Such devotion is from within: it is felt, not got. The original Sanskrit *Bhagavata* had 22,000 slokas in it, which in Potana's hands grew into a book of nearly 80,000 stanzas. A devotee of Vishnu, he incorporated into his work, whatever great was said of his God, in the Puranas, and where the original had meagrely treated a topic, he could not resist enlarging it in the fulness of his feeling to give a vivid and effective expression. The fight of Satyabhama with Naraka, and the description of the Ganges as Bhagiratha first brought it down to the earth, are instances of some such portions. Some of his stanzas have become proverbial in the language, and there is and probably has never been a literate man in the country, who has not read his *Gajendra Moksham*, *Rukmini Kalyanam*, and the story of Vamaṇa. His story of Prahlada, wherein, touched by the spirit of God, the boy hero resists his father, (a demon), and suffers the severest persecutions for his true faith is one of the masterpieces of Telugu poetry.

Potana lived in A. D. 1400, and belonged to the Nizam's dominions. His poetry touched the heart and echoed our inmost feelings. He is loved and admired throughout the country, and such was the regard of the people for his poetry that miracle and miraculous powers were attributed to him. His *Gajendramoksham* is said to be a potent cure for diseases. A number of rich guests visit his poor house one day and all the provisions that he then had in the house was a small leaf of a plant. The poet invokes the blessings of Rama, and the whole host is fed. A king invades his house with an army to force him to dedicate his *Bhagavatam* to him. Potana was then writing the story of the incarnation of the boar, and God in the form of a boar kills the army of the invader. The poet racks his brains to remember a

particular word that suits a context, and failing in the attempt, goes out; then Rama disguised in the form of the poet, enters the house takes the manuscript and supplies the word.

Grammarians have found fault with Potana for some of his expressions. Portions of his Bhagavatam, were like Bhaskara's Ramayanam of old found missing. We thus find the pen of Gangana in skandha five, of Erchuri Singana in skanda six and of Veligandala Naraya in skandhas eleven and twelve. *Narayana Satakam*, *Bhogini Dandakam*, and *Virabhadra Vijayam*, all now extant are said to be the other works of this gifted poet. *Narayana Satakam* is undoubtedly written by Potana; *Bhogini Dandakam* is a vulgar piece of composition, too low for a sage like our poet while in *Virabhadra Vijayam*, its poet makes an untenable statement that in Bhagavatam he spoke unbecomingly of Siva, in his description of the sacrifice of Daksha, and that the object of this work was to make amends for it. Despite the opinion of many of the critics, the authorship of the last two of the above works has yet to be established.

While the Puranic literature was being translated by poets like Marana and Potana, others set themselves to the work of translating the other branches of learning from Sanskrit. Amaresvara, whose time and place are yet unknown, wrote *Vikramasenani*. Despite the fact that Errapragada had already translated a Harivamsam, the celebrated poet, Nachana Somanatha Kavi translated it again with the title of *Uttara Harivamsam*. *Uttara Harivamsam* is a classical work in the Telugu language, in eloquent and flowery diction. It is never surpassed by any poetry and it is difficult to determine whether Tikkana has anything in his poetry that excels that of Somanatha. Somanatha is certainly as great a poet as Tikkana, but while in the voluminous work that the latter had produced there was no opportunity for him to colour his expression by all the set graces of poetic art, Somanatha in the comparatively small work that he produced excelled the other by a scrupulous observance of all the optional requirements of that art, throughout his work. The difference, between the two is thus in the quantity of such matter; we have more of it in Somanatha and less of it in Tikkana. Somanatha's work is full of apt and pregnant expressions, that would do credit even to a Kalidasa. He fitly bears the title of *Sarvagna* (all knowing) and *Navinaguna Sanātha* (one, who possesses new graces), and his expressions have by critics been admired as satisfying the requirements not only of poetics, but also of the Darsanas. Later poets merely imitated his style. There is no comparison between our poet's work, and that of Errapragada. The work of the latter, grand in itself, is nothing compared with the diction of Somanatha. The story of Narakasura the fight of Satyabhama with him, the story of the supplication to Krishna by the Brahmin who lost his sons and their recovery, the story of Ghantakarna, the description of the unity of the Siva and the Vishnu ideals and other portions of Somanatha's are unique in themselves, and stand any proof to establish the superiority of our poet over Errapragada. Somanatha lived in A.D. 1360. In some of his best portions, such as the fight of Satyabhama, Potana of Bhagavata was only a poor imitation of our poet.

Jakkana translated the *Vikramarka Charitra* much admired for the beauty of its style and elegance. He dedicated it to Siddhana, a minister of Devaraya of the

Vizianagaram dynasty of kings (A. D. 1406—1422). The *Sivalila vilasam* of Nissanka Kommana belongs to about A.D. 1440 and the *Varaha Puranam* and *Prabodha Chandrodhayam* of the joint authors Mallaya and Singana belong to A.D. 1470. The *Bhojarajeeyam* of Ananta belongs to about this age. It is a popular Telugu work written in pure and chaste language. His other works are on prosody and poetics, and are known by the names of *Anuntuni Chandassu* and *Rasābharanam*. Of the two important works on *Panchatantram* in Telugu, that of Narayana Kavi (A. D. 1470) cannot stand the test of comparison with that of Vankatanatha of a later date. Mention may be made of Ravipati Tippana, whose *Tripurānta kōdaharanam* is the most famous of the Udaharana type of books in the language and of *Kridabhiramam* of Vallabhamatya, a variety of Rupaka. Udaharana is a type of poetry in which a stanza is written for each of the grammatical cases of nouns followed after every such stanza by a poetry known as *Kalika* or as *Utkalika*. Kridabhiramam is the first of the Telugu dramas. Of Taravalis (a string of 27 stanzas) in Telugu Tippana's *Chandra Tarvalia* has a high place, while his *Ambika Satakam* (a string of 100 stanzas in praise of the Goddess Ambika) represents the Sataka literature of the period. Tippana thus stands alone among the poets of this period as producing varieties of poetry, not generally attempted by the other poets, his *Udaharana*, *Taravali*, and *Satakam*, each representing a distinct type. His *Madana Vijayam* is now lost to the world.

Of authors, who wrote on technical subjects, mention may be made of Bhairava Kavi, who wrote a *Ratna Sastra*, on the nature and quality of precious stones. He dedicated his *Sriranga Mahatmyam* to Raghavamantri (about A.D. 1450) and his other work was *Kavi Gajankusam* on prosody. There are thus two popular books on prosody produced during this period, by Bhimakavi, and Ananta while grammar is represented by Atharvana and Vinnakota Peddana. Atharvana's grammar was written in Sanskrit, while Peddana's work was in Telugu poetry. From internal evidence Atharvana is known to belong to about the middle of the thirteenth century, while Peddana's date is known to us by his dedication of his *Kāvya-lankāra Chūdamani* to King Visvabhupati (A.D. 1320). Kavyalankara Chudamani treats of poetics in detail and is the first work extant in the language on this subject.

Of works written in the ancient *dwipada* meter of Telugu, the King poets Kacha and Vittala, who supplemented the Ramayanam of Ranganatha, by their *Uttara Ramayanam* may be mentioned. They wrote their work jointly and Ramayanam in the *dwipada* meter was thus completed in Telugu by (about A.D. 1300). Gaurana's *Harischandropakhyanam* belongs to (A.D. 1440). Gaurana was a great poet, and his text formed the basis for two later poetical works on this subject, namely those of Sankara Kavi and Virasarahba. The last of the *dwipada* works produced during this age is the celebrated ballad of Srinatha, known as the *Palnati Viracharitam*.

Srinatha was a gifted poet, who translated into Telugu, some of the most difficult of Sanskrit works. Next to the authors of the Mahabharata, his has been the most famous name in the literature of this period, despite the fact that Potana

and Bhaskara are more largely read. Somanatha and Nannechoda though certainly greater than Srinatha had their works published to the world to-day because of a single complete copy of the former being preserved in the Tanjore Palace Library, and the Nizam's Dominions having retained a copy of the latter in one of its estates. Works that had a popular or religious purpose, or that served as authority in literary matters were all that were mostly preserved of this age, but Srinatha's *Naishadham*, and with it some of his best works owed their popularity to a classical standard they had set up for the language. The famous Sanskrit classic, *Naishadham*, of King Sri Harṣa lived and would live so long as that language is studied. It is a standardised work, that fully illustrates the technique of poetics, and tests the scholar's depth of learning in all the intricate details of logical, grammatical, psychological and other requirements of this art. Such a standard was now necessary for Sanskritised Telugu, and Srinatha had excelled his original prototype in his translation of this famous classic. As in Sanskrit, so in Telugu *Naishadham* became the standard work for a scholar, and is in Telugu the most beautiful of its Panchakavyams. If in Sanskrit, *Naishadham* was regarded as *Vidvat Aushadham* medicine to the scholar, there was another work in that language, the *Kasi Khandam*, a Saivite work, which was nicknamed, *Ayah Pindam*, a ball of iron. Two such tough works, which only a genius like Srinatha could with success achieve, have become available to the people by this great author, and Srinatha's fame rests on them more than on any other work that he wrote in this language.

Srinatha lived in A.D. 1365—1420. His grandfather, Kamalanabha, a Telugu poet that wrote an epitome of the *Padma Puranam* lived at Kalpattanam, on the sea-coast of Pakanadu. Nothing is mentioned by Srinatha of his father. The poet early appears to have taken service under the Reddi Kings of Rajahmundry, whence he changed latter on to service under the Reddi Kings of Kondavidu. Srinatha was a famous scholar, who travelled far and wide, and his *Vidhi Natakam* and some of the stray poetical pieces,—the *chatus*—that have been handed down tell us of the life in those far off times in some of the places he had visited. In the discussions that he had held in some of the Kings' courts, he defeated some of the greatest scholars of the day, and the defeat of Dindima Bhattu has become most famous in his history. Such was the regard that Kings had for his learning, that when he visited the court of Harihara of Vijayanagar, the King literally bathed him in gold, by pouring like water pieces of gold on his head. Such a unique way of welcome, so costly, is said to be *Kanakabhishekam*. He had the title of *Kavi Sarvabhauma*. He held the position of *Vidyadhikāri*, master of letters, in the court of Komati Vema, who, along with many of the members of his royal house was a famous Sanskrit scholar and author, whose commentaries on many works are still extant throughout India.¹ He is said to be a brother-in-law of Potana of the Bhagavata and many interesting stories still survive of the meetings of these gifted poets. The principal works of Srinadha are, *Maruttarat Charitram*, written when he was a boy, *Salivahana Sapta Sati*, written at the age when the mustache was

¹ For details see my articles on Vemana in the Madras Christian College Magazine for 1923-24.

beginning to appear, *Panditaradhya Charitram*, a rendering in verse of the Sanskrit work of the Andhra King Hala, *Sṛngara Naishadham*, *Palnati Viracharitram*, *Kasi Khandam*, *Vidhinatakam*, *Bhima Khandam*, *Haravilasam*, and *Sivaratri Māhatmyam*.

Of the works above, the first three are now lost to the world. *Naishadham* is his most famous work, and it is dedicated to Mamidi Singanna, a minister of Pedda Komati Vema. It is a work of eight cantos, containing in all 1357 stanzas. The poet tell us in his introductory verses that in this translation he followed the original to its very letter, "with due regard to its delicate and choice expression, and meaning, the far-reaching idea, interest and emotion, figure of speech, and aptness to the context, and carefully avoided all errors of inapt or wrong expression" To maintain the beauty of the original he had in some places to borrow the very words of the text, even with their purely Sanskritic grammatical forms, while in other places, where a slight change has added to the beauty of the original, he took that liberty to improve the translation. Stanza 107 of canto I, stanzas 5, 19, 32, 41, 48 and 52 of canto II may be cited as some of the instances. There are several places where he added to the translation descriptions not found in the original, and very few parts in the original have been left without being translated. His translation is thus much nearer the original, than the translations of his great predecessors. But what is of greater importance to a student of Telugu literature is in the new ways and means of expression he had cut for himself, so that the latent powers of the Telugu language for adapting itself to new contexts and forms not known before have been most pleasingly developed. Srinatha had thus created a style for himself, so full of life and feeling that it became a model for all the future writers in the language. Some of the best forms of expression, which are seen only in their rudiments in the earlier writers are by the poetic art of Srinadha been developed to produce such effect that they came to stay in the language and enrich it for ever. Famous poets like Pillalamarri Pina Veeranna, Allasani Peddanna and others merely imitated the style of Srinatha in some of their best portions. But there is also the dark side of things in this imitation. His translation reads in most places as though a Sanskrit work is translated again into Sanskrit. A poet of extraordinary merit, his grand example has so affected the future literature of the country that to the latter Telugu poets, it mattered very little what proportion the Telugu element had constituted of their literary productions. By his translation of this great book, the language was enriched by a work, better than Harṣa's,—so that *Sṛngara Naishadha*, though a translation, has nothing of the demerits that translations always have, and there is no wonder if in the colophon to this famous piece, the poet styles himself as *Sakalavidya Sanatha*, possessed of all kinds of learning.

Palnati Viracharitram is a dwipada work, which in comparison with *Naishadham* looks as though stale and impossible to proceed from the pen of so great an author. Full of grammatical inaccuracies, and faults in some of the main principles of poetics, it has a style that must represent Srinadha's days of boyhood, but in the list of his works he gave in his *Kasi Khandam*, the name of this book is never mentioned. The manuscripts of this book now available show Srinadha's name for set

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tain portions, and the names of other authors for other portions. Some manuscripts begin the work with the name of Srinatha but end it with another author. One manuscript makes him Kavi Sarvabhauma, another calls Kaviraja raja. Books in dwipada meter continue the same meter till the end, but we find no such continuity in this work. The authorship is doubtful. The book gives an account of the heroic deeds of the warriors of Palnad.

Kasikhandam is a Saivite work adopted from the Skanda Purana. It is not an exact translation of the original but is only an account of it largely curtailed. It is one of the best of his works and shows his great devotion to Siva. In this and other works he scrupulously avoids all contexts which necessitate a praise of Vishnu.

Vidhinatakam is another of his works, partly spurious and gives an insight into the dress and some of the habits of the people in the different parts of Andhra Desa. His *Bhimakhandam* was dedicated to Bendapudi Annayamatya. It pays eloquent tribute to Bhimesvara of Draksharamam in the Godavari District. It is written in a high pleasing style and serves as a model for beauty of style and expression. *Haravilasam* seems to be an original work in Telugu, written to popularise the name of Siva by an account of his life and deeds. It is a book of seven cantos dealing with the story of Siriyala, the marriage of Parvati, the incidents of Dāru-kāvana, the drinking of the poison Halahala, and the blessing of Arjuna with the famous arrow Pāsupata. It contains translations of some of the most beautiful portions from Kalidasa's *Kumara Sambhava*, and Bharavi's *Kiratarjuniya*. Bana's Kadambari to which the poet has a special regard has given him ideas for many of his descriptions. It contains less of Sanskrit words and compounds than his other works. The book was dedicated to Tippaya Chetti, a millionaire who had extensive sea trade and who supplied spices, musk, and other articles to King Komaragiri. We learn about the sea trade of the Andhras of those days from the account he has given of its patron. *Haravilasam* contains many foreign words, not generally admitted into high class poetry. The book gives descriptions of some of the Saivite celebrations that the poet had actually witnessed at Conjeevaram and other places. The Sanskrit work *Haravilasam* is independent of Srinatha's work and had a different way of treatment in it.

Sivarātri Mahatmyam of Srinatha is the second of the Mahatmyams of this period, Srirangamahatmyam being already mentioned. The Mahatmyams are a class of literature that describe the glory of places, rivers, etc. that are held sacred. The book under notice speaks of the glory of the *Sivarātri* day which falls in the month of Magha. The manuscript now available contains only the story of the birth of Urulinga, the glory of the Sivaratri vrata (observance), and the story of how Sukumara attained salvation, by keeping awake one Sivaratri night. The manuscript closes abruptly with a war between the messengers of Yama (Pluto) and of Siva whose details, as also the stories of devotees illustrating the efficacy of the Sivaratri are all wanting. The theme is adopted from the Isana Samhita of the Sanskrit Skandha Purana and internal evidence of the language and style show that it was the author of the *Kasikhandam* that must have written this book. The author's love of Banas Kadambari makes him borrow freely from that Sanskrit

author in some of the most interesting portions. Sivaratri Mahatmyam was dedicated to Santayya of the Bhaikshuka Mutt near Sreesailam in the Kurnool District and seems to be one of the productions of his last days. Certainly it was written after the completion of his *Kasikhandam*.

I give below a few translations¹ of Potana's *Bhagavatam* :—

1. "The gods may have their selfish ends,
But ne'er for self the sage contends."
2. "He is upon the ocean wave,
In the air and in the sky.
On land He is and in the fire
In all the quarters round.
The day, the night, the sun, the moon,
The soul of man are His abodes.
He dwells in the syllable Om and in the Trinity
In sexed and sexless things alike
The Lord exists, O father dear.

* * * *

The Almighty that pervades the universe
From Brahma to a tiny blade of grass,
Will He not be in this column ?"

8. "Thereafter quick
With doubled fervour, Nanda's son did climb
The lifted jewelled hoods of Kaliya.
And on the gem set stage of their ample space,
The world-famed actor of the lotus-eyes
With his wonted skill performed a wondrous dance,
To the sound of the Jumna breakers like the beat
Of a delicate drum ; while the hum from Bṛnda's wood
Of bees did serve as a song of singers fine ;
And the sounds of swans and water-birds chimed in
Like the sounds of cymbals sweet and the audience

* * * *

... now rained flowers
As Vishnu in the form of a cowherd lad,
In his quick dance upon the serpent's hoods
Played, sang, and laughed, and tripped with his feet
In many a sportive pose."

4. "She would not tell
Her thought's perplexity to her dear mother.
That moon lit smile of hers no longer played
To brighten all. She did not brush away
The bees that hummed so near her fragrant face ;
She could not sleep, nor rest, nor care to free
The jewelled wreaths entangled, that she wore.

¹ From a Pamphlet on Potana by Mr. D. A. Narasimham

The Psychological Method in the Study of Religion

By A. S. Woodburne, M.A., Ph.D.

The use of the psychological method in the study of religion is of comparatively recent origin. Indeed the attempt to use any scientific method for examining religious facts is a strictly modern procedure. The first time that an educational institution attempted such a study was in 1884 when the Collège de France added Comparative Religion to its curriculum. In the first instance the proposal was met with much opposition, one of the professors remarking, "If religion be true, it is natural and you do not need to study it; if it be absurd, you do not want to study it." Since that time progress has been exceedingly rapid, and many scholars have laboured in the fields of the history and psychology of religions, greatly enlarging the stock of human knowledge in regard to these fields.

The question suggests itself as to what movements of thought made possible the beginnings of the scientific study of religion. A complete answer to the question would require a very extended study with many acknowledgements. It is impossible in this connection to do more than indicate a few of the more conspicuous influences. The age of discovery and invention gave rise to the beginnings of induction. With Francis Bacon and Descartes the modern period in philosophy, characterized so distinctively by inductive reasoning, began. These men carried into the field of the mental processes the method of natural explanation which the astronomers had found to be very fruitful in their investigation of cosmic processes. From the seventeenth century onward, induction has been practically a synonym for scientific method, the method itself increasing in effectiveness as scientists have learned through experience the best way of using it. The use of the method of trial and error in the formulation and testing of hypotheses has been particularly serviceable in making the inductive method more objective and scientific.

Bacon and Descartes did little more than introduce the scientific spirit into philosophy, and their positive contributions are not nearly so significant as the contributions of those who built upon the foundations these men laid. The British philosophers, Locke, Berkeley and Hume made a great step forward in their critiques of the concepts of substance and cause, those concepts with which modern philosophy uncritically started. Locke attempted a treatment of the psychological origin of our ideas without metaphysical assumptions. Substance for Locke was the unknown bearer of perceived properties. The mind itself is a blank sheet on which sensation and reflection may write. Berkeley criticized the sensationalism of Locke and carried the analysis one step further. He wanted to know by what right Locke had assumed this unknown bearer. Locke's criticism of secondary qualities, he claimed was also applicable to his so-called primary qualities, and Hume added, to the mind itself as an object of knowledge. Berkeley believed

that substance was a fiction which philosophy had inherited from the scholastics. Accordingly he substituted a complex of ideas for substance. 'To be is to be perceived' was his formula.

The task of disintegrating the old metaphysical concepts of substance and cause, thus begun by Locke and Berkeley, was carried to completion by Hume. It was from the standpoint of the psychological principle of the association of ideas that he attacked the causal concept. He maintained that the causal connection between events which men assume is not a necessary connection intuitively recognized, neither something perceived, nor yet an experience. It is rather something which is added by imagination to perception, a conclusion reached after successive observations of events in association. Perception can furnish us only with *post hoc*. It is through imagination that we conclude *propter hoc*. Hume is important for us not only for his psychological criticism of metaphysical concepts, but also for his investigation of religion. He wrote "The Natural History of Religions," a volume whose very title is significant of the dawn of a new era. In mediæval thought 'natural' and 'history' were antithetical terms to 'religion' and 'revelation'. He traced the beginnings of religion to primitive feelings of terror, fear and hope engendered by contact with Nature, and these feelings, together with the contrast which he drew between the natural course of events in the cosmic order and the vicissitudes of human experience, led to the formation of ideas of higher powers which man attempted to conciliate and worship. The earliest form of religion was polytheism; and the history of religion is a history of a gradual transition from polytheism to monotheism.

The stream of reflection divided with Hume, different currents flowing in different directions. One stream flowed on through Lessing and Herder. These men continued to use the historical method in investigating the faiths of non-Christian peoples. Both of them were men of deeply religious natures and conceived of religion as a vital and mutual relation between God and man. Religion is impossible apart from revelation, and the history of religions is an account of God's revelations to man, and God's education of the human race, the revelations being characterized by a successiveness of deeper and profounder meanings as God gradually unfolded himself to man. Both of these men had an evolutionary doctrine which anticipated that of Hegel, and which they applied to religion. God teaches one truth after another as men develop in the evolutionary process to the point of being ready for such revelations. Christianity is one step in the evolution of the highest spiritual religion. Nature and spirit are both elements in one great organism through which God reveals himself.

Another stream which found its source in Hume was positivism. Comte, like Hume, found the origin of religion in human nature, in fear, hope and the causal impulse. Comte declared that supraphenomenal reality was unknowable to man, so that religion in declaring the reality of God was an illusion, perhaps even a delusion. Comte followed Hume in declaring that it was imagination which peopled the unseen world with powers. The doctrine of the unknowability of God was taken up by John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer. The ground of their argument was that it

is only possible to know phenomena. Religion thus introduces man to the realm of the super-experiential. The positivistic contention is that the beginning of human history gives us cultureless religion, but at the end we may expect religionless culture. An open-minded investigation of the place which religion has occupied and still occupies in human life must convince us that positivism is too doctrinaire to be scientific. Its only notable contribution for our purposes was the investigation of religion as a social product of human experience, a point in which it has affinity with social psychology.

In some respects the most important work which Hume accomplished was that of awakening Kant "from his dogmatic slumbers." The period of the Enlightenment found its culmination in him and his critical method. He examined the form in which the principles of reason appeared in connection with their capacity for being employed necessarily and universally in experience. His work was thus a critique, not only of the content of consciousness but of the reasoning process itself in its various functions. He examined the traditional metaphysical arguments for the existence of God, the physico-theological, the cosmological, and the ontological, and showed that they were unwarranted objectifications of the principles of reason. He therefore denied the possibility of demonstrating the existence of God by philosophical argument. In place of the traditional arguments he set up the moral argument, claiming that it is necessary for the moral life to posit the existence of God. Religion for him rested upon interpreting moral laws as divine commandments. In his work, *Religion within the Bounds of mere Reason*, he claimed that he had destroyed knowledge to make room for faith. Thus Kant contributed to the emancipation of religion on the one hand from metaphysical dogmatism, and on the other hand from theological ethics.

Another name which is associated with the newer view of religion was Schleiermacher. His work was of especial significance from the psychological point of view since he found the basis of religion in the feelings. He defined religion as "the feeling of absolute dependence." From that feeling there arose the God-consciousness which provides the power needed by human nature for its moral perfection. This emphasis on feeling was the result of a violent reaction against the contemporary rationalism of the deists, and its error was the error of all violent reactions in swinging to the opposite extreme. The influence of Schleiermacher on the philosophy of religion has been twofold. In the first place he left an impression which it has been difficult to eradicate that there is a necessary opposition between the cognitive and affective factors in religion. It has been difficult for the intellectual element in religion to regain recognition since the days of Schleiermacher. But on the other hand he was one of the pioneers in the examination of the religious consciousness from the psychological view point, and the possibility of progress in the use of that method owes much to the work of the German theologian.

The nineteenth century saw a new impetus to the scientific study of religion coming from the side of history. The increasing use of the inductive method was responsible for a keener desire to broaden the range of human observations.

A thoroughgoing observation of any human institution involves an investigation of how it came to be in the historical process, of the social atmosphere in which it was created and the order of sequence in its development. This method has been exceedingly fruitful in dealing with the facts of religion. It has rescued religion from the realm of the abstract, and enabled students to deal with concrete facts. It has supplanted religion by religions, each of them related to particular social situations on the background of which they must be interpreted.

The historical method furnishes a survey of the way or ways in which human products have functioned and have altered to meet the exigencies of social situations. It also furnishes the data for the work of classification and evaluation. By the use of the historical method one is compelled to appreciate the functional significance of all human creations. The mediaeval way was to try to give an account of truth through syllogistic processes; the modern scientific method investigates the worth of ideas and institutions in the historical process. That leads to an understanding of the relative character of all thought-products, and of the necessity of working with a true organon. The organon to which the historical study of religion points is that of its competency to do something for man which he needs to have done and which cannot be accomplished in any other way.

The historical method inculcates the habit of intellectual honesty. Actual problems demanding solution, concrete needs demanding satisfaction, social tensions demanding adjustment—such are the types of facts with which the historical study of religions confronts us. The deductive method is normative. It operates very well when the major premise is scientifically credible, but breaks down when called upon to explain exceptions. But the historical method is just as much interested in exceptions as in rules. Its first consideration is an accurate account of facts, the theoretical interpretation being entirely subsidiary to that. It is thus an out-and-out objective method, uncontrolled by any motive to reduce life to syllogisms. In religion this means the emancipation of the science of religion from theological dogma, and perfect freedom to observe and record the facts of religious experience without reference to *a priori* judgements.

A historical study involves the application of the genetic method. An interest in the functional value of an institution or discipline leads to an investigation of how it came to be in an evolutionary process. The present is not an isolated present, but has gathered up into it the past with all its experiences of struggle and achievement. Historical study makes it plain that no period has a right to claim a monopoly of spiritual values. But the values themselves are social achievements the meaning of which can only be understood by reference to their functional significance. That means that the natural complement of a historical study is a psychological one. It is by the psychological method that the functional significance of an institution becomes clear. Social psychology enables us to place a religion in the social stream where it originated, and to relate the facts to the larger social whole in which the religion operates. History supplies us with a record of the facts; psychology relates them to the social consciousness of which they are expressions. The historical study has more concern with objectively observable facts,

external forms, and overt activities. For a scientific account of any religion the scrupulous accuracy which history demands is of the utmost importance. Already it has rescued students of religion from such unhealthy methods as manipulating facts to conform to theological theory, and of making comparisons which are as odious in religion as elsewhere.

There is no doubt that the historical study of religions has come to stay. It took a long time to emancipate it from the control of vested interests, and even at first these interests tried to assert themselves in the comparative method. A comparative study of religions may serve a useful purpose if it be carried on with meticulous scientific care, but it is exceedingly difficult to avoid the danger of being unfair. Some of the earlier studies in comparative religion were contrasts between a divine revelation, true and necessary, and human inventions, false and mischievous, but such studies are usually both unscientific and immoral. Of course the significance of the comparison is only with reference to a norm, and that implies some *a priori* conceptions with which the student begins his work. The historical study of religions is not concerned with trying to compare and contrast, so much as with tracing the development of a particular religion with reference to the other phases of the life of which it forms an integral part. Historical studies are thus as a rule studies of particular sects, cults, doctrines or movements, and they are wholly concerned to know the truth about such particulars. On account of the social character of religion, now clearly recognized, and the necessity of studying each religion in particular with reference to the social life, it has latterly become a subject to which social anthropologists have devoted no little attention. Anthropologists, with their investigations of folk ways, social institutions, and in short everything related to the social life, have very largely increased our knowledge of the function of religion in the social life. In so doing they have co-operated very cordially with historians, and both together have placed the student of religion under a very heavy debt of gratitude.

Anthropology and history thus furnish us with the facts in regard to religious experience. But the student is not yet satisfied for there are certain gaps because of the incompleteness of the records. Further, he would like to know what were the mental factors which determined the succession of religious occurrences, what were the causes for the origin of religious phenomena, and how the religious consciousness itself originated. Obviously these are functional problems which transcend the limits of a historical investigation, and belong to the province of that science which studies mental processes, individual and social,—psychology. The study of historical records is of far-reaching value in enabling students to be faithful to facts. But after the facts have been assembled, there still remains the task of interpreting their significance with reference to human interests, motives, and sentiments, a task which necessitates the co-operation of the psychologist.

The advance made in psychological science itself is happily coincident with its use as a method for studying the phenomena of religion. In particular the change from the faculty to the functional psychology, and the progress made in social psychology have been significant. We are learning more about the social element

in personality, and the fact that the individual's consciousness, mental and moral, is realized only in a social atmosphere. The rise of religion is in the corporate life of the group. Furthermore the religion of any folk involves a socializing of the supermundane world on the analogy of its own social structure. It is thus in the life experiences of folks, considered historically and socially, environmentally and organically, that we find the genesis and value of religious experience. For behaviour is socially determined both as to origin and direction. So that history and psychology alike lead into the sphere of social investigation.

The faculty method of dealing with the mental life, involving a tripartate division of the processes, made it difficult to account for the religious consciousness. Philosophers sought first in one and then in another of the faculties of the mind or soul the dominating influence. Descartes emphasized the faculty of judgement as a result of which man was for him little more than a cognitive mechanism and God an epistemological device. Pascal shifted the emphasis from cognition to feeling, as is evident from his famous dictum, "Le cœur a ses raisons que le raison ne connaît pas." With Kant we have a further shift, this time to the will or practical reason, and in the practical reason he found the guarantee of our faith in God, freedom and immortality. Another outcome of the faculty psychology was the tendency to keep religion as a thing apart from the other interests of life, a tendency which we see in Lotze and Ritschl. Ritschl tried to make religion quite independent of science, by declaring that religion gives us value-judgements whereas science gives us existence-judgements, as if value and existence could be separated into compartments. The great difficulty of the faculty psychologists was their compartmentalized view of life which robbed it of the fundamental fact of unity. When applied to religion it tended to make it a particular affair of one faculty instead of being a vital concern of the whole life, and thus it entailed the exceedingly difficult problem of trying to invent some principle of unity.

The transition to the functional psychology was a change from the physical to the biological approach, a change from the structural and static to the dynamic view of the mental life. The gist of the matter is that the human organism is an integral unity, psycho-neural in character, and that neither the mental nor the neural elements have any separate existence. The habit we have of talking of body, mind or spirit as if they were separate entities serves certain practical or theoretical ends, but we never experience them in separation. Our responses to stimuli are the responses of a single integral organism. The mental and neural processes are everywhere inter-connected and inter-related. A second characteristic of the functional psychology is that it places the emphasis on processes and tendencies rather than on forms, structures and states. It views the mental life as a process of adaptation through which the organism adjusts itself to the environment, and in the sphere of these adjustments there emerge the conscious attitudes, of which the religious attitude is one. The functional approach is in line with genetic study through which we are able to trace the development of the processes from simpler and natives types to more complex, acquired behaviour. It is not accidental that group psychology should develop

at the same time as functional psychology, for it is really one manifestation of the newer view of the mental life. The psychologist is interested in every determinant of the directions of mental tendencies, and it is easily appreciated that the traditional ways of thinking and acting—the folk ways—of the society of which one is a member are probably greater than any other determinant of individual behaviour. This point of view is of profound significance for all the mental processes, including the instincts, the emotions and the attitudes, matters of first rate importance in the psychological investigation of religion.

The functional point of view in religion means that you view the religious consciousness as an integral phase of the whole conscious life. You study the facts of the religious life, not as elements distinct and separable from the other elements of experience, but as particular responses to definite stimuli. Religious experience is a complex of attitudes, sentiments and overt actions each of which ought to be analyzed from the point of view of biological reactions. The experiences of life present certain situations which demand responses of a religious character. The exigencies of experience invoke feelings of need which can only be satisfied by religious means. From the functional point of view psychology investigates these experiences of felt need and examines the way or ways in which man seeks to attain satisfaction for them when he is religious.

This approach to the study of religion is of far-reaching importance. It involves little less than a revolution in method. Instead of the traditional dogmatic method which began with its *a priori* conceptions of the results which must be attained, it substitutes the method of open-minded inquiry with a readiness to accept and record whatever facts come to light. The appeal is to function rather than to origins. The interest is not that of trying to establish absolute truth or falsity with reference to the different forms and beliefs, but of seeking to understand what need was satisfied, what motive released, what tension relieved, what interest served or what emotion expressed. Religious practices and ideas can neither be understood nor explained apart from the mental and social complex in which they emerge and to which they minister. The religious consciousness is thus related to the whole conscious life, individual and social. This method of study has engendered a mutual understanding and sympathy hitherto unknown, while at the same time it has added scholarly contributions to the science of religion.

The mental life is exceedingly complex. The fact of complexity is one which impresses the student of the religious consciousness. This makes the matter of logical definition enormously difficult. The facts of religious experience are so multiform in their significance, their intensity, their degree of differentiation from other social facts, their cultural associations, as well as their geographical and chronological references that the formulation of a definition of religion is increasingly difficult. One wonders, in view of the bewildering variety of phenomena that are described as religious, whether the attempt is desirable. One thing is certain. Religion, like science and art, is a collective term. There is no such thing as pure, abstract religion apart from the concrete, historical forms any more than there is pure science, pure art, or pure ethics apart from the various sciences

and arts and ethical systems. A definition of religion would be an abstraction of the elements common to all the concrete forms, and the task of formulating a definition is primarily logical. But inasmuch as the elements in common are chiefly mental or spiritual, while the cult side exhibits such a breadth of variety, the only kind of definition that could do justice to the situation must be psychological. Can we ascertain, with any degree of assurance, what the elements are which are characteristic of the attitude of mind experienced by people when they are religious? Such an attempt to describe the religious consciousness is more likely to be scientifically successful than the attempt to formulate a definition. In other words a psychology of religion is more scientifically achievable than a logic of religion. It is more feasible to ascertain the attitude of mind common to all people when they are religious than to formulate a definition that will be commensurate with the great variety of individual religious experiences, practices and beliefs. It is only by this psychological approach that we may hope to ascertain the essential attributes of these expressions of conscious minds. The possibility of discovering a unifying tendency behind the multiplicity of religious phenomena is in a common attitude of consciousness which characterizes men everywhere when they are religious.

Various attempts have been made to describe the processes of consciousness when the response is religious. Religious experience is so much an affair of the total personality that it is difficult to define its psychological limits. Some have attempted to locate religion among the instincts. If the biological definition of instinctive behaviour be accepted, it will be seen that it is behaviour which does not require the functioning of the cerebral cortex and therefore belongs to a level below that of consciousness, consciousness when present being only a spectator. On the other hand it is quite possible to account for the development of the conscious attitudes out of instinctive reactions, even as it is possible to show that all acquired reactions are developed out of the material of native reactions. Though religious reactions are conscious, still it is possible to trace their roots in those ineradicable native types of behaviour which one call instinctive. Other scholars have endeavoured to identify religion psychologically as an emotion or a sentiment. In either case the emphasis is on the feeling character of the experience. While it is true that the affective is a prominent part of religious experience, it is not doing justice to religion as a concern of the whole personality to identify it with feeling. Some of the psycho-analytic school refer to religion as a projection of consciousness which is equivalent to describing it in terms of the imagination. There is no doubt of the activity of the creative imagination in the operations of the religious consciousness, but to deny that there is any objective stimulus to the religious reaction is a metaphysical interpretation of the experience which it is beyond the province of psychology to make.

The psychological conclusion which seems to be best warranted from the observable facts of religious experience, that are so widespread and so multiform, is that religion has taken its rise within the field of man's social attitudes towards the extra-human environment. By an attitude is meant a disposition to attend or to act in a characteristic manner. Attitudes are indeed the unifying

tendencies of conscious life. The attitudes indicate the way in which mental development takes place through the organization of experience. They may be grouped on one basis into habits of conservation and modification according to the human need to conserve an acquisition or to modify a type. Another basis for classification is into the social and the mechanical, according as the object to which the attitude is directed is conceived as a person or a mechanism. Now religion is the habitual disposition to seize upon the spiritual elements in the environment, the effort to organize and conserve them in the interests of the larger life. It originates and functions within the field of social relationships, having for its reference the cosmic environment. There is no other concept, logical or psychological, which so completely describes and includes the multitude of forms and activities which are expressions of the religious consciousness.

The religious attitude is based on the assumption that the universe is amenable to social manipulation and treatment. Although it has grown out of an ineradicable impulse in life, and is a persistently appearing product of the social consciousness, yet it is not always easy to differentiate it from other mental attitudes. It is not a compartment of consciousness, and neither are our other attitudes such as the aesthetic or the moral. It is one possible aspect of a unified consciousness, the aspect which consciousness assumes when the person is socializing with his cosmic environment. But it does not preclude the presence of other attitudes at the same time or closely related in time. It is a *person* who is religious or moral or aesthetic, and he may be all three at the same time. The mental attitudes must not be conceived as existing in isolation. They are constantly intersecting and interacting, and have mutual affects on one another. This makes the task of differentiation all the more difficult. The logical task involves differentiating the religious attitude from the magical, the scientific, the aesthetic and the moral. This includes an examination of the relation between religion and each of the other disciplines of thought. Since each represents an activity of conscious minds, the method of approach which meets the situation most satisfactorily is the psychological.

Editorial Notes

THE SIGNATURE OF THE LOCARNO PACT in London on December the first is one of the most significant events of modern times. The representatives of the German, Belgian, British, French, Italian, Polish and Czechoslovak Governments met in Locarno, a beauty spot in Switzerland, as the protocol says, "in order to seek by common agreement means for preserving their respective nations from the scourge of war, and for providing for the peaceful settlement of disputes of every nature which might eventually arise between them." A few months ago it would have been thought impossible to secure an agreement marked by such evidence of a conciliatory spirit as the pact discloses. The years subsequent to the war have shown that, though there was outward peace, the war-consciousness was still dominating the mind of Europe. Mutual distrust and jealousy were everywhere in evidence. Europe seemed like a storehouse of explosives needing only a spark to bring about chaos and ruin. Fortunately statesmen in many countries were beginning to realize that a continuation of the existing policy could lead to no good. The summoning of the conference at Locarno in October was an indication that better counsels had begun to prevail.

The Locarno agreement was possible because the representatives of the powers came in the spirit of give and take. There was a real effort to understand one another, and, when that could not be attained by meeting in solemn concave, sometimes a tea party or a sail on the lake served to rekindle the more human and sympathetic interests. The spirit which the German delegates showed and the entrance of Germany into the League of Nations are causes for great encouragement. Among all the representatives, indeed, there was a remarkable show of good faith and mutual sympathy. The seven nations have agreed to stand by one another in an effort to prevent further war or other disturbance. It is a wilful misreading of the pact to suggest that it was meant as a combination of western powers to protect their interests against Russia or against the East. The spirit was conciliatory and co-operative, and there is no evidence of aggression against any Government not represented. The logical outcome of that spirit will be another disarmament conference which will give practical effect to the expressed desire for a permanent peace. The entire civilized world has experienced a sense of relief from the tension which existed before Locarno, and of hope that the spirit of Locarno will march forward to still greater moral victories.

THE ANDHRA UNIVERSITY BILL has been passed into law by the local legislature, and now awaits the assent of the Governor and the Governor-General. Though there has been no little discussion on several provisions of the Bill there has been for the past ten years practical unanimity among those interested in the higher education of the presidency as to the need for an additional university in South India. 'The Statement of Objects and Reasons' appended to the Bill

mentions that the University of Madras 'had in its colleges last year nearly fifteen thousand students.' That number is obviously too great for a University which is making a valiant attempt to become a teaching university and to do something for the corporate life of its students. It is almost too great to secure for those who appear for its examinations uniformity of standard in the award of marks. The incorporation of the Andhra University is therefore on this ground alone a matter for much satisfaction; and we congratulate the Hon'ble the Minister for Education on carrying through the Legislative Council his second University Bill. We sincerely trust that the working of the new Bill will escape some of the difficulties which have attended the functioning of the Madras University Act. That Act came into operation over two years ago, and while much has been attempted and still more has been aimed at, the building up of a real university of constituent colleges situated within a ten mile radius of Madras seems almost as far off as ever, while the affiliating functions of the University far from having diminished have been actually extended. The Andhra University Bill has profited by the drafting of the Madras University Act and strikes one who reads it as drawn up with admirable conciseness, and arrangement.

The university which the Bill purposes to set up is of the affiliating type. It conserves the best features of that system while laying down two provisions which serve to neutralize what are its possible weaknesses. In the first place, the area of affiliation is comparatively small. It embraces twelve districts. And in the second place, the places at which affiliated colleges may be established is limited. The three centres of Vizagapatam, Rajahmundry and Anantapur are those mentioned in the Bill. It would have been well if the centres had been laid down definitely once and for all. There would then have been some hope of concentration with the accompanying co-operation which is so greatly to be desired if our southern universities are to make real advance within a reasonable period. But the provision as to centres is modified by two other provisions. One is that colleges already in existence may remain where they are; and the second is that a college situated in a place other than the three that are named may be recognized as a university or a first grade College 'if the Local Government so direct.' A third consideration is bound to act in the same direction, the fact that it has been decided to establish the headquarters of the University at Bezwada. Those who are not members of the Legislative Council and who have to depend on the newspapers for their information have been somewhat mystified by the announcement that the centre of university administration is to be situated at a town which is not a university centre. There are doubtless good reasons for this decision, but the one which has been freely mentioned namely that there is an advantage in having the administration of the University carried on where there are no colleges affording anything of the nature of a distraction seems to us to leave one or two important considerations out of account. The object of the Bill, as we have said, is to establish an affiliating university in the meantime, but its ultimate aim is 'the establishment of more than one unitary and residential university for the Telugu area.' But if this is the ultimate end, would it not have been more in keeping with the achievement of such an end if the headquarters of the University had been at a

centre where a university of such a type is likely to be set up? And another point is that the presence of the university headquarters at Bezwada is practically an invitation to managements to establish colleges in that town, and to apply to the local Government for their recognition. It is much to be desired that in the new university there might be the contribution of one strong college representative of Christian education. At the centres which have been mentioned in the Bill there are colleges under departmental and Hindu management. But the colleges which are under Christian management are two in number—the first-grade college at Masulipatam, the other a second grade college at Guntur which it is proposed to raise in the near future to the first grade. The amalgamation of these at a centre mutually agreed upon would result in an institution combining the strength of both and contributing to higher education a valuable factor. Collegiate education is now makes such heavy financial demands on managers, public funds are allocated to aided colleges with so sparing a hand, and the need for thoroughly well staffed and equipped colleges is so great, that concentration seems the only certain method of advancing the spread of sound learning. We shall be glad to know that, by means of concentration, the Christian Church may be able to make its fitting gift to the Andhra University.

There is no need to dwell on other features of the Bill. As to governance its main features are in harmony with the constitution of the reformed Madras University Act. The Vice-Chancellor, it is expected, will be a full-time salaried officer in the initial stages of the development of the University, but later on another arrangement may seem more suitable. As to the medium of instruction it is interesting to note that under section 23, the Academic Council has the power "to make regulations relating to the use of the vernacular as the medium of instruction and examination." Provision is made for the establishment of a publication bureau, an employment bureau, and students' unions. It will be interesting to see what financial support will be given to the University from public funds. The new university has our heartiest good wishes and we have no doubt that the enthusiasm of the Telugu people will lead them to make of their university a valuable addition to the academic life and educational activities of this land.

IN OUR LAST ISSUE WE COMMENTED on the treatment which aided education was receiving at the hands of the local Government. The article on 'The Budget and Education' showed that the educational budget framed for 1925-26 by the Government of Madras failed, in the most unmistakeable manner, to do justice to the large and important contribution which is being made to the education of the presidency by private effort. After a review of the inadequacy of the grants made to colleges under private management the question was asked 'When is the Ministry to encourage education?' We ask the same question, and with equal appropriateness, now that the grant which the Government have been pleased to sanction to this College has been announced. The Teaching grant allotted by the Government to the Madras Christian College for the year 1924-25, a first grade college, maintaining honours courses in five branches of study, and carrying on inter-collegiate lectures with the Presidency College, is Rs. 37,257. The Legislature

votes Rs. 31,800 for the 'Miscellaneous Contingencies' of Government Arts Colleges for men, and Rs. 68,000 for 'Apparatus and Materials' required by these colleges. Can it be satisfied that it has done its duty in regard to the expenditure of public funds when it votes to the Madras Christian College, as a recognition by the State of the work which that college is doing, a sum which is only a little more than the cost to the tax payer of the miscellaneous contingences of Government Arts Colleges for men, and only a little less than half the amount given to these colleges for the supply of the materials and apparatus they require? And if it be replied that the Legislative Council can reduce but cannot enhance a grant, then the question at once suggests itself, can we be satisfied with the action of the Ministry of Education which allows to be inserted in the Budget figures that lead to consequences so prejudicial to the spread of education and that indicate so marked a disparity in the allocation of public funds? It is obvious that a stage has been reached when the present Ministry will have to run the gauntlet of a just criticism that will not be without important bearings on its future. With unjust criticism we have no sympathy, and we readily recognize that no ministry is able to secure all the funds to which it lays claim. But clearly it has two alternatives before it: either it must obtain larger funds for education so as to treat fairly those who are bearing the great educational burden of the presidency, or it must allocate the funds at its disposal so as to achieve the same result. A large matter of educational policy is thus open before the Ministry, for our college is far from being the only one concerned, and it is hard to believe that so obvious a plea for justice can pass unheeded. It may be of interest to mention one or two figures. Those of the last two years will suffice. The net cost of the School and College to the management in 1923-24, that is after the deduction of fees and interest from endowments, come to Rs. 64,624. The amount of aid sanctioned by Government was a teaching grant of Rs. 43,571 and the equipment grant of Rs. 4,067. In 1924-25 the management had to expend from its own funds Rs. 71,040 on the maintenance of the school and college. The Government recognized this expenditure by sanctioning a teaching grant of Rs. 41,517 and an equipment grant of Rs. 1,741, or Rs. 43,258 in all. Perhaps we were making too great a demand on the Ministry when it was to encourage education, though *encourage* is the word which the Despatch of 1854 uses, and it is now seventy years since that Despatch was promulgated. We might be nearer the mark if we asked, when will the Ministry give effect to the provisions of the grant-in-aid Code?

What Men Think

The Present Predicament of Christianity.

This is the title of an article by the Rev. Thomas J. Hardy in the October issue of the *Hibbert Journal*. It is a very disquieting picture which the writer—sincerely, though in our judgement one-sidedly—presents of the religious situation. There can be no doubt, he says, that the characteristic object of Christianity has all along been to offer men union with God. And the essence of the plight, as Mr. Hardy envisages it, in which Christianity now finds herself is that there is no market for her distinctive wares. Men no longer want union with God—no longer want it not because they are worse men than they used to be but because a change in the habits of thought has made such an aspiration meaningless to them. Before there can be desire for union with God, man and God must be thought of as separated by a real distinction, and "down to the present time such a distinction has characterized all phases of the religious consciousness to which Christianity has appealed." In the West, however, at the present day Mr. Hardy considers this basic distinction to be fading out, and no small part of the indifference which is such a puzzle to the Christian preacher is due, he thinks, to the circumstance that "Christianity appeals to a sense which is no longer present in men's minds—the sense of a metaphysical as well as moral distinction between God and man. Immanentism, the conception that God is life-force, only 'personal' in so far as realizing itself through successive forms of life, cuts the ground from under the Christian appeal; for where there is not felt to be any distinction there can be no desire for union."

Such being the predicament in which Christianity stands, the problem is "whether we can discover any means of proclaiming the characteristic message of Christianity in such a manner as to restore" in men the lost sense of God. For the solution of this problem Mr. Hardy himself has no recipe. It used to be believed that an effective way to fight Immanentism was to appeal to the sense of sin. But the average modern outlook on life, Mr. Hardy thinks, leaves no room for the sense of sin. "There is no longer anything in our ideas of conduct to afflict us with a sense of distance from an absolute holiness, or to prompt a desire for deliverance from impulse or habit." A bulwark of Christianity which has still some strength left in it is its appeal to those who feel a wish to save their souls. But this bulwark also is being fast undermined. The old belief that man *has* a soul, after changing into the form, 'man *is* a soul,' seems on the way to vanish altogether under the solvent of modern psychology.

Need the Supernatural be 'Quietly Dropped'?

Discouraging as is Mr. Hardy's survey, it does not end entirely on a note of pessimism. Before quoting his concluding sentences, however, we may venture to

ask whether the gloominess of his picture is not due to an over-readiness on his part to assume too hastily that Immanentism has come to stay—that it is a logically consistent development of the modern mind. For our own part we believe that Immanentism can be fought with its own weapons; it is the result of an inconsistent or at least overhasty application of its own principles. "To hope to retain the original impulse of Christianity," writes Mr. Hardy, "in a world which has quietly dropped the supernatural is not modernism but madness." Yes, but to hope to regain it in a world which has been forced to readmit the supernatural may be not madness but sanity. Popular Immanentism may have no use for the supernatural, but may not this be simply because it has not followed out the principle of immanence to its end? The principle of immanence is that God is so immanent in everything that, if we could see things as they really are, we should see God in each, and if we could finish knowing the true whole of things, there would be nothing of God left outside and unrevealed. Now, whether this principle of immanence be a true or a false principle, we believe that, thoroughly applied, it leads straight back to the supernatural. For is it not mere shallow thoughtlessness to assume that, of the kind of things that we can know, there ever can be a finished or self-complete whole? Does not the nature of time and space constitute a standing denial of this assumption? But if so, then the principle that in the true whole God must be immanent without remainder, itself implies that God must transcend anything that ever we can know—that in relation to what passes with us for 'nature' God must ever be 'supernatural,' and that regarding each particular thing *as we know it*, we may more truly say that it is immanent in God than that God is immanent in it. To be unconscious of any clear distinction between God and the actual man is no logical consequence of the principle of immanence.

A Gleam of Hope.

As already remarked, the sombre hues of Mr. Hardy's picture are not quite unrelieved. For Christianity in any recognizable shape he sees no possibility of survival; for although it "goes without saying" that Christianity will be continuous because all thought is continuous, yet it will be so only "in the sense in which the poet became 'the violet of his native land'." But it is significant that he still sees a hope, for religion if not for Christianity, in Christ. We quote his unexpected closing sentences as a refreshing contrast to a quite unnecessarily despondent paper.

"Wholly as the supernatural has passed out of our calculations, passionately as the Christian ethic is challenged, there is observable amongst us a kind of proprietary interest in Christ which shows no signs of decrease. He belongs to us, it is felt, in the same way that Shakespeare belongs to us, and the contribution He made to the meaning of existence is still awaited, perhaps the more keenly because it is felt to have been exploited in alien interests. The Church has identified Him with a train of ideas for which we no longer have any use. He belongs to humanity, not to theology. Not His 'ethics' or the endless platitudes into which the Sermon on the Mount has been degraded since 'social Christianity' has been as fashionable

a topic for sprouting divines as Predestination was two hundred years ago; not cheap recensions of American sentiment like *In His Steps* or the torrent of conjecture as to *What would Jesus do* if confronted with the conditions of Manchester or Chicago; but those tremendous values of a spiritual world which were 'honoured' at the Bank of the Cross, and gained currency only with those who held an earthbound life to be counterfeit coin."

Individual Psychology.

The International Society for Individual Psychology recently met in Berlin under the presidency of Dr. Alfred Adler of Vienna. Dr. Adler is the author of several works on individual psychology from the psycho-analytic point of view. Beginning as a follower of Freud, he afterwards broke away from that school because of the undue emphasis put on the sex instinct. Individual psychology penetrates further and sees in the sex impulse only part of the moving power in human behaviour. Adler finds the chief point to be in the idea of compensation. Dr. Adler believes that any deficiency, whether mental or bodily, leads to some striving after compensation, "Freud attributes psychic disturbances to repressed sex impulse; he sees in them a result of the 'inferiority sense', the underestimation of one's own self in a certain direction. The individual cannot stand this feeling of inferiority. Man strives after self-assertion, without which one cannot live—after power and security; thus one frequently arrives at 'super-compensation' in order to gain complete security. The immediate consequence of the inferiority mood is an aggressive attitude towards the difficulties of life. If the individual feels too weak and loses courage, it will look out for replacing its aims by some substitute, and will try to avoid the difficulties by some subterfuge."

Even in early childhood the course of the individual is decided. The spirit of too little self-esteem produces strange attitudes and mental movements which shrink from the important questions of life and lead to useless endeavours and occupations. Bad preparation for school and life is the result of weak bodily organs, of spoiling, severity without love, and too great expectation.

Apart from self-assertion and the striving after superiority which are the fundamental elements in the souls of the child and the adult, the motor force in the individual is the innate feeling of solidarity, the individual being part of the community. From the desire for solidarity the common elements of language, reason, and intellect, morals and æsthetics have resulted, and solidarity finds its expression in the attitude of one individual towards the other, in one's attitude towards one's occupation, in friendship and sex relations. To strengthen that feeling of solidarity is one of the chief aims of Adler and his school. It leads to closer contact of men in general. It reduces the struggle of the sexes, and creates better understanding in married life. It eliminates selfishness.

If applied on a large scale, individual psychology, by increasing individual efficiency, must also increase that of groups. They claim to have been very successful in saving many under-developed, nervous, and neglected children and neurotic adults, who were restored to mental balance, their normal routine and the

enjoyment of things so that they are now satisfied with life. Such educational achievements should in the end lead to the elimination of strife, and to mutual appreciation and understanding between the large groups of mankind—the various nations.

The Truth in Hedonism.

In a recent issue of the *Journal of Philosophy* Professor J. R. Geiger discusses the utilitarian conception of the moral standard, and the way in which he thinks it is possible to amend it so as to make it more philosophically acceptable. Utilitarianism proposes the standard of the greatest happiness of the greatest number. But happiness is a highly relative matter. "The kinds of ends whose realization afford one satisfaction depend on the sort of character one possesses. The thief will derive pleasure from his thieving, the philanthropist from his philanthropy, and so forth." It is thus necessary to know something about the dominant interests of the agent before it is possible to pass any clear moral judgement on the pleasure-yielding character of his action. Thus it transpires that the agent's attitudes of appreciation or otherwise have to be considered with reference to his moral sense. Ultimately the moral choice must be personal, and is a reflection of one's own appreciation and appraisal. If one be a good man, why should he have to appeal to the goodness of others to provide himself with standards for solving his pressing problems? If it be necessary to make such an appeal, it would seem to cast opprobrium on his own morality, besides placing him in the awkward predicament of having to make a selection of the one or ones which he will choose as guides. On such an argument Professor Geiger presses the ambiguity which arises from the utilitarian view of the moral standard.

What is the way out of the impasse? Geiger proposes that the key to the solution of the problem is to be found in the complex character of personality. The self is a dynamic system of interests and capacities organized in such a manner as will bring about the greatest happiness of himself and of others, irrespective of the situations which call forth the actions. Thus the suggestion is made that the best way of correcting the ambiguities inherent in utilitarianism is to appeal to the happiness of the good man as able to furnish the only reliable standard. Now the good man would be one who would habitually seek his happiness in those interests and purposes which guarantee a progressively complete realization of personality. Since personality is predominantly social, it follows that man would realize himself most significantly in social purposes, social purposes being such as would minister to the welfare or happiness of the moral agent as well as of others. "The greatest good for the greatest number is, for practical purposes, the good as foreseen and appreciated when looking through the eyes and relying on the intuitions of one's best self."

Some Modern Ideas about the Earth :

The idea that the earth has at one time been a globe of fluid at a high temperature, which, by cooling, has become covered by a solid crust, is familiar to everyone and is accepted as highly probable by most men of science. The theory

is one of very great interest and much has been written about it not only by geologists but by mathematicians, astronomers, physicists, chemists and biologists. A number of modern ideas on the subject collected from various sources are very briefly summarized below.

Its Age.

After many estimates as the results of studies of cooling bodies, salinity of the sea and various astronomical phenomena, a reliable method has apparently been found for determining the time that has elapsed since the first formation of a solid crust. Certain radio-active elements such as uranium and thorium are slowly changing into lead at rates that can be accurately measured in the laboratory and which appear to be absolutely unaffected by temperature, pressure and other physical conditions. By measuring the amounts of lead of radio-active origin in thorium-containing and uranium-containing rocks, an estimate of their age can be got. This method gives a period of at least 10,000,000,000 years since the solid crust first began to form. This value is acceptable to workers in most other branches of science.

Its Composition.

As is well known the density of the earth as a whole is about 5.5, or almost double the average value for the crust. This has given rise to the suggestion that the greater part of the interior of the world is made of metal, most probably of iron as is the case with meteorites, and which is likely for a number of other reasons. The crust, which is the only part available for direct analysis, is composed chiefly of a mixture of silicates. It is well known to metallurgists that fused silicates will not mix with fused metals, so that a metal-silicate earth would consist of two distinct zones. It has been suggested that there is probably also a sulphide-oxide zone, as fused sulphides and oxides are found by experiments in the laboratory to be immiscible with both silicates and metals. It is thus probable that there are several clearly defined concentric layers in the earth's structure. This, of course, is quite a different phenomenon from the stratification of the rocks constituting the thin skin on the surface of the earth known to geologists.

Its Physical State.

It is thought that the centre of the earth is still very hot, and there has been much speculation as to the physical condition of the inner region. Thermal evidence suggests that its temperature is such that it should be plastic if not fluid. There are, however, several methods of measuring the rigidity of the earth. One of these methods consists in measuring the amount of distortion brought about by the attraction of the sun and moon. Besides the tides in the sea, there should also be a tide in the land unless the material of the earth is perfectly rigid. The tide that should occur in the sea can easily be calculated and from this value and that actually measured, the distortion of the earth's crust can be found. Unfortunately, the tides are greatly disturbed by the irregular distribution of land areas, and so reliable figures cannot be obtained. However, by constructing artificial canals

running N and S, and E and W, and by extremely delicate methods of measurement, it has been found possible to get reliable values. The actual tide is only about 0.7 of that calculated, the difference being due to the earth tide. Another method of getting information about the condition of the interior of the earth is by the study of earthquakes. Vibrations caused by earthquakes can be detected in distant parts of the world not only after they have travelled round the earth's crust but also after they have travelled through the earth and after they have been reflected in various ways in the interior. These studies lead to the conclusion that, except for a small core, the interior of the earth behaves like a rigid solid. The tidal and seismic evidence thus does not appear to be in agreement with the thermal evidence. It is probable, however, that a fluid or plastic substance under the enormous pressures that exist in the interior of the earth may have properties quite different from those of ordinary liquids, as is the case with glasses and other super-cooled liquids.

The Continents and the Moon.

If the earth has resulted from the cooling of a liquid mass, it is difficult to explain the very uneven nature of its surface as indicated by the very irregular distribution of land and sea areas. As is well known, about 30% of the earth's surface is land and 70% sea. Apart from a relatively thin skin of sedimentary rocks, the land-masses consist almost entirely of granite and similar light and acid rocks, called collectively sial. The earth's crust beneath the ocean, however, is chiefly composed of rocks of a more basic kind, like basalt, frequently called sima. Measurements of gravity at various parts of the earth's surface lead to the conclusion that at a distance of about 100 kilometres below the sial of the land-masses there is a denser material like basalt so that the land-masses appear to be part of a crust of granitic rock that may be supposed to have covered the whole surface of the earth at one time. The theory has been put forward that the apparently missing two-thirds of the sial were stripped off as the result of tidal resonance while still plastic, and formed the moon. The weight of the moon is about the same as that of the missing part of the earth's crust, and the density of the moon, about 3.5, is not far from what would be expected if it is supposed that some of the deeper and denser material came away also. It is suggested that what is now the Pacific Ocean represents the scar left by the tearing off of this part of the crust.

An idea called the doctrine of balance or isostasy has recently been brought forward and much evidence has been found in its favour. The suggestion is that for equilibrium, the earth's crust should be exerting an equal pressure at all parts so that where the earth's crust is thick it should be less dense than where it is thinner, and that if inequalities of pressure exist, lateral earth movements will take place so as to restore the balance. The sima is believed to act as a fluid on which the more rigid continental blocks of sial are floating. The rate of flow is of course exceedingly slight, but as geological periods are involved, the result will be the same as if an ordinary liquid were concerned. According to Wegener, there once

existed a single land-mass, Ur-Kontinent, centred round what is now Africa. The present distribution of land areas has resulted from a slow floating away of the various continental blocks under the influence of isostatic forces. He believes that Western Europe and North America were once in contact, and also West-Africa and South America, and that Australia was joined to the mainland of Asia and Africa far to the west of its present position. Others believe that Africa and America were much nearer than they are at present but that there were strips of land between them, the material of which, as the main masses parted, have slipped away, part to one side and part to the other, so that they now exist only as submerged mid-ocean ridges. This process of continental drift is believed to be still going on, the general direction of the movements being still towards the Pacific Ocean. The numerous regions of volcanic activity round the Pacific Coasts are thought to be connected with this movement.

Book Reviews

Worship in Islam By the Rev. Edwin Elliot Calverley, Ph.D., Madras: Christian Literature Society, 1925. Pp. x and 242. Rs. 2-8.

One of the greatest Muslim thinkers of all the centuries was Al-Ghazzali, philosopher and theologian, who lived in the twelfth century of our era. The present volume is a translation with commentary and introduction of Al-Ghazzali's Book of the Ihya' on the Worship. Students of the psychology of religion know that there is no better way of understanding the functional significance of any religion than to get to the bottom of its thoughts on worship. Worship is not to be considered as merely a matter of ceremonial form, though undoubtedly there are times when it appears on the outside to be little more than that, and the kind of worship which Al-Ghazzali describes is not free from that criticism. Nevertheless it would not be true to the heart of this author any more than it would be true to the heart of the worshipper's attitude to portray it in such terms. It is a spiritual or social converse between the worshipper and God, the fundamental factor being this social attitude and its accompanying technique. Al-Ghazzali is well aware that mere formalism is not worship, and, though he describes forms which go into meticulous details, still he reminds his readers that without the inner realities of the heart it is not really acceptable. The bond of connection without which worship is incomplete and formal is faith and assurance, and "according to the measure of assurance the heart is humble."

Those who are acquainted with Arabic inform us that the translation of Dr. Calverley is excellently done. It is of interest to note that the work was done under the direction of that eminent Arabic scholar, Professor D. B. Macdonald of Hartford, Conn. as one of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The introduction and commentary will serve a very useful purpose in enabling the student to understand the work of the Muslim divine. Indeed the book ought to be especially welcome among non-Muslims in enabling them to understand the real Muslim attitude towards worship.

Children of the Field and Forest, and Children of the Mountain and Plain, By Uncle Robert. London: A. and C. Black, 1925. Each 48 pp. Each 1s. 6d.

These two books belong to the series captioned 'Peeps for Little People,' written by Uncle Robert. They are stories of boys and girls the world over, written for boys and girls of the ages 8 to 11. The pictures which they give of children in foreign lands are clear and attractive, appealing to the child's imagination at the same time that they are imparting information. The books are splendidly illustrated in colours, and are sure to find a welcome with the kiddies.

God's Way with Man By Lily Dougall. London: Student Christian Movement, 1924. Pp. 124. 4s. For sale at the Association Press, Calcutta.

This book of short essays is the last which we shall receive from the hands of this gracious writer, who did so much in recent years to stimulate fresh thinking on God's way with man. Her position was that "the old theology is not simple, it is merely familiar." When people have heard the same words repeated a great many times they come to think them simple and easy, just because they are not new; but they do not understand them. Real simplicity is something that people can really understand; and real religion is something which is a source of power and inspiration to the individual in the face of the sorrow and the difficulties of life." A familiar example of this so-called simplicity is the use of the word "blood." What does this word mean in e.g. "The blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin." How are we to understand this great promise? How are we actually cleansed from sin? As one faces these questions one begins to ask, how does God deal with sin, and what is His method of forgiveness? These essays attempt an answer to such questionings. "Providence and Miracle" is the first chapter, in which Canon Quick, one of the younger thinkers in the Church of England, comes in for some acute criticism. He defines miracle as "an act of God directly intervening in the natural order." Such a statement at once raises the problem of God's non-intervention. Why have so many splendid civilizations gone down to dust before the ruthless arms of the invader?

If God waits upon the process of development before He manifests Himself, "are we not bound to believe that he chose to condition His power to save men by these very processes of natural development? It is not going much further to believe that he always chooses thus to condition His power, and this is all that is maintained by those who deprecate the insistence upon miracle." The contention seems to be that "we never could believe God sent us our daily bread through bakers, if He did not sometimes send it by a raven." "That God should be universally invading the universe everywhere, at all times with the constant pressure of His inspiration, seems to Canon Quick to be almost equivalent to cancelling the Divine action everywhere." God does help us, but His help is not necessarily miraculous help.

In the chapter on "Forgiveness" many penetrating observations are made. "It is in proportion to the insight one has into the intrinsic beauty of goodness that one's forgiveness of any breach of it will count—will be of value." "Jesus teaches us to argue from human love to Divine love," but "unfortunately the best and most essential thing in what Jesus taught about God's forgiveness has been veiled and overlaid by the fact that in the Gospels as we have them, there are a certain number of passages of a contrary tenor. These passages, I am convinced, do not belong to the original teaching of Jesus."

"Of the genuineness of the sayings attributed to Jesus there are four main tests:—

"1. *Consistency*.—If we find two passages affirming ideas directly contradicting each other, we have, so far, reason to suspect that one or the other does not express the mind of Christ.

2. *Originality*.—Whatever in the Gospels is found also in the current Jewish literature of the age was of course, not originated by Jesus. It follows that ideas in the Gospels, which differ from the mind of the age, are more likely to belong to the mind of Jesus.

3. *Comparative date*.—If we find that a certain idea is either completely absent from the oldest documents, or only very slightly hinted at in these, but that it becomes more and more emphatic with each later version of the Gospel story, we have a right to suspect that the idea was not integral to the original teaching of Jesus, but was read into it by the mind of the early Church.

4. *Style*.—There are many passages in the Gospels which, translated into any language, stand out as gems of literary style. There is not a word too little or a word too much. That is one mark of genius: it is a clear characteristic of the genius of Jesus. Passages that show this literary quality are more likely to belong to the original teaching of Jesus than passages which, in comparison, are wordy and weak."

The application of these tests has been worked out in detail by Miss Dougall and Mr. Emmet in "The Lord of Thought." (S. C. M. 1922). "The conclusion reached is that though Jesus constantly emphasized the terrible consequences of wrong doing, He never taught that those consequences were punishments directly inflicted by God." "We must beware of confusing consequence with punishment or reward. A child falls against the fire and is burned; that is a case of consequence not punishment. Punishment is a human method of education and government, and its very essence is its relation to individual desert. In nature we see no sign of punishment; we see cause and effect working out over a large field, but it is a working of cause and effect which does not adopt itself to individual desert." "In a world of regular causation man can and does become intelligent. If, then, God's purpose in our creation is to bring forth intelligent or rational minds, that can approach Him as children a father, we can see why they must live in a system of ordered causation such as is our natural environment."

And the Christian believes that in his struggle to achieve character, he is not alone. God is with him in this role of soul-making. And since like his master only through suffering shall he become perfect, we do not believe that God shall intervene to save us from all misfortunes. He did not do this for His well-beloved Son. But we do believe that He will enable us to transform the ashes of our sorrow into beauty by His grace and power, and that we can suffer no calamity, which He cannot transform into a far greater good.

J. N. A.

Five Stages of Greek Religion By Gilbert Murray. London: Oxford University Press, 1926. Pp. 276. 10s. 6d.

This book has grown out of a course of lectures which the learned author delivered at Columbia University in 1912. They were subsequently published under the title of *Four Stages of Greek Religion*. But Professor Murray, feeling that there was a gap in the story, has introduced a new stage between the former

second and third, thus making five stages. It is a description of what the author calls 'the highwater mark of Greek religious thought,' dealing with the great intellectual and spiritual effort which characterized the Great Schools of the fourth century B. C. The work was already well known as one of the clearest bits of thinking and finest products of literary art in regard to the subject with which it deals. It is therefore saying much to say that the added chapter is one of the best, if not the best in the book.

Professor Murray is one of the greatest living Greek scholars. He is not only a master of the Greek language and literature, but has done more than it is the privilege of most men in interpreting Greek thought and culture to the English-speaking world. As an appendix to the last lecture in the present volume we have a translation of Sallustius' tract *On the Gods and the World*. This is but one piece of evidence of the splendid gift that is his of rendering Greek into English. No civilization of the ancients has contributed more to modern western culture than Greece. Many of the finest traditions in art, philosophy and literature own their origin to Hellenic culture. We are particularly indebted to Professor Gilbert Murray for the way in which he has made us appreciate the measure of our debt to Greece. He has a great gift for making his readers feel as though they were living back in the atmosphere of the Hellenic world.

In the present volume we see Mr. Murray as an interpreter of religion, and it is to that aspect of his work that the present review would call especial attention. He remarks with considerable penetration that "Religion, like poetry and most other living things, cannot be defined." Believing however that it is possible to describe some of its chief characteristics, he sets down three: (i) that religion deals with the uncharted region of human experience; (ii) that religion deals with its province directly by methods of emotion or sub-conscious apprehension; and (iii) that the uncharted region with which religion deals is apparently infinite. We in India who have come into contact with Buddhist thought, and are familiar with the fact that for a long period of its history Buddhism got along with no definite thought about God, can appreciate such a description as the one given by our author. Although Buddhism had no doctrine of God in the early period, still its Nirvana doctrine introduced the devotee to this 'uncharted region' and attempted to show him how to order his life with reference to it. The author is decidedly right again when he emphasizes the fact that the religious way of coming into helpful relations with this uncharted realm is the way of faith, and that the way of faith enables a man very frequently to gain positive help and guidance where experience and argument fail.

The first study, entitled *Saturnia Regna*, deals with primitive Greek religion, and is a most illuminating study of a period that is frequently neglected by classical students. It is the period in which we find the religious consciousness of Greece gradually becoming articulate. Like primitive cults which we find originating among other peoples, the early Greek religion found the focus of its interest in the two primary concerns of life, the obtaining of food and the propagation of the species. The author analyzes the elements of the ancient cults and finds three

elements in common: (i) an atmosphere of religious dread, (ii) a sequence of magical rites, and (iii) the presence of a sacred animal. When we read the author's descriptions of the sacred bull of Greece and the place which it occupied in that cult, we are left wondering whether fuller knowledge would establish certain parallels between India and Greece, and thus solve some of our problems. "The bull was the chief of magic or sacred animals in Greece, chief because of his enormous strength, his size, his rage, in fine, as anthropologists call it, his *mana*; that primitive word which comprises force, vitality, prestige, holiness, and power of magic, and which may belong equally to a lion, a chief, a medicine-man, or a battle-axe." We do not forget that the Greeks were another branch of the same human family which came into India, and perhaps we have here a heritage from the ancient Indo-Europeans, the regarding of the bull as possessed of a mysterious *sakti* which made it a cult object of great importance.

The second chapter deals with the Olympian deities which are interpreted as the gods of a hill people who conquered the country. They are the gods of Homer, and are an improvement morally on the gods of the more primitive period. The third chapter is the addition, and deals with the Stoics, Epicureans and Cynics. This is indeed the period in which the religious thought attained its summit. The ethical development was particularly notable, and the influence on Christianity is noted. The survey which the author makes of these great thinkers is a splendid contribution. In the fourth period which is characterized as 'The Failure of Nerve' we witness a decline in thought and practice. It is the period between the Great Schools and the birth of Jesus. The final chapter deals with Greek thought after the rise of Christianity, and deals in particular with the lament of the Emperor Julian over the decadence of the old religion. It is the final reaction of paganism against Christianity, its appeal being rather to the philosophic mind than to the religious emotions. Altogether the book gives us a great survey of a great period of religious history.

A. S. W.

The Doctrine of the Infallible Book By Charles Gore, D.D., Bishop of Oxford. London: Student Christian Movement. 1s. net. For sale at the Association Press, Calcutta.

"The Doctrine of the Infallible Book" prepared for the Student Christian Movement by Bishop Charles Gore, D.D., is a sincere effort on the part of a churchman, who can neither follow the literalist nor the extreme modernist, to satisfy the longings of a soul searching for the word of God. Bishop Gore's sympathy for those lost in the maelstrom of conflicting opinion, is an indication that he has faced the same problems and found that what may seem a conflict from a scientific point of view is not really so. His contention is that the scriptures viewed from an historical standpoint, in the light of the times and the thought processes of the people, present no problem to the soul searching after God. In brief his object is to show that it is possible, even if we accept criticism as freely to be applied to the Bible records, for us to retain our belief in inspiration. In other words a disbelief in the infallibility of Biblical records does not destroy belief in

inspiration. Bishop Gore's views present a *via media*, acknowledging various critical problems as existant but not incompatible with reasonable explanation. To quote—"The belief in the inspiration of the prophets, permeating ultimately the whole of the literature of Israel, is wholly compatible with critical methods and results; and it is the glory of the higher criticism to exalt the spiritual teaching of prophecy into the place of first importance, in the spirit of our Lord, and at the same time to recognize with Him the imperfection of the Old Testament—and, what goes with that, to recognize degrees of inspiration, and that inspiration may be real which is yet incomplete." "We are free to yield to the demands which historical criticism makes on us in its application to the Bible. There is to be found neither in the Bible nor in the records of the Church any authoritative definition of inspiration. If we are now unwilling to say that the Bible is the Word of God in the sense that all its phrases, on all sorts of subjects, were dictated by God and are infallible, yet we are no less sure than our ancestors that it contains and conveys to us the Word of God."

It goes without saying that the Bishop's views will satisfy neither the literalist nor the extreme modernist but young souls searching for God will take joy in a popular restatement of the fact that a belief in inspiration is not so tied to the idea of infallibility that in losing the latter, the former is lost also.

J. M. H.

Forest Meditation By James H. Cousins. Adyar: Theosophical Publishing House, 1925.

In the great mass of poems, (many so called by courtesy), coming from the press to-day, it is indeed refreshing to find an occasional volume of verse by one who is gifted with real poetic power. Such a volume is "Forest Meditation and Other Poems" by James H. Cousins.

The verse is not all on the same plane of excellence, but this is hardly to be expected since the volume is a collection of verse and naturally represents different moods of the author, from the inspiration that produced "The Brook" and "Offeratory" to the less exalted "Archery."

Though Mr. Cousins may not be considered a nature poet, since his field is much wider, yet he senses in a way granted to few, music in the flowing stream and the sweeping bough. His poetry may be characterized by the word 'spiritual.' The appreciative reader and the lover of poetry will find much aesthetic enjoyment in his verse.

J. M. H.

College Notes

WE HAVE MUCH PLEASURE in presenting to our readers the photographs of two former Principals of the College, Dr. Skinner and Dr. Macphail. During the latter period of Dr. Miller's tenure of office when his health was failing, Dr. Skinner acted for several years as Principal, and when Dr. Miller retired and was made Honorary Principal in 1909, Dr. Skinner was confirmed, and held office until his own retirement in 1921. Dr. Macphail was Principal from 1921 to 1923 when he retired on his appointment as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras. We are confident that former students will appreciate these photographs which will help them to recall many pleasant memories.

TO VERY MANY IN THIS PRESIDENCY the news of the death of Dr. J. R. Henderson will come with a sense of deep sorrow. For over thirty years he held in Madras a place of remarkable influence, partly because of his scientific attainments and partly because of his personal gifts. Before he came to Madras he had established for himself a reputation as a zoologist. Educated at Dulwich College and Dollar Academy, he proceeded to Edinburgh University, where he graduated M.B., C.M. But his interests did not lie in medicine: already zoology had claimed him. He was one of a band of scientists who established, in 1884, the first Scottish marine research, and to the work connected with this he devoted himself with unflagging enthusiasm until he was appointed Professor of Zoology in the Madras Christian College in 1886. This post he held for twenty-five years, and during that time he impressed many classes of students, passing on to them his own delight in the study of life. He was an admirable lecturer, clear, interesting, and stimulating. To him the College is indebted for the formation of the Zoological Museum, as well as for the foundation of the Natural History Society, which has now a record of twenty-seven years happy and useful work. The Library is the fortunate possessor of the Report written by Dr. Henderson on the *Anomura* in connection with the well-known "Challenger" expedition. It is marked "Presented by the Author." There are not a few in this Presidency to-day who readily ascribe their interest in science and their pursuit of it to the influence which Dr. Henderson exerted on them as students. Some, indeed, of his students have won distinction for themselves in English Universities. Outside his strictly scientific pursuits Dr. Henderson had a keen interest in athletics, and it is satisfactory to think that every year his name is remembered in the annual competitions for the Henderson Cup. In 1911



REV. E. M. MACPHAIL, C.I.E., C.B.E., M.A., D.D.



REV. W. SKINNER, C.I.E., M.A., D.D.

Former Principals of the College

Dr. Henderson has elected the first president of the Zoology section of the Indian Science Congress. When Mr. Thurston retired from the Curatorship of the Madras Museum, Dr. Henderson was appointed his successor. And in this sphere he showed to the finest advantage the fruits of his investigation and interest in many fields of study and research. There were few spheres of knowledge altogether outside his ken, and what he knew he brought to the service of the Museum with readiness and skill. His desire was to extend the benefits of the Museum as widely as possible, and with that end in view he started a system of demonstrations to teachers and pupils so that they might be in a position to visit the Museum and profit by it. It was while he occupied this post that the Aquarium on the Marina was begun and no one who knew him at that time will forget his keen interest in every detail and his joy in the success of the new development. When, in 1918, the C.I.E. was conferred on Dr. Henderson his many friends felt that a very fitting recognition had been bestowed on one whose service to South India had been peculiarly valuable. It seems but a short time, although it is actually six years, since Dr. Henderson retired from his curatorship and left for Home. He took up his residence in Edinburgh, and it is there in a nursing home that he died on Monday, October 26. Others will write with full acquaintance concerning the important scientific researches which he carried out, but those who remember him in Madras will continue to think of him as one of the best friends and charming companions they were ever privileged to meet. To spend a few days with him on the hills, whether he was on the hunt for poochies, or whether he was engaged on his favourite pastime of fishing, was to be the sharer in a liberal education and a delightful companionship. His scientific knowledge was at the service of all, and he used it to impart to all the enjoyment which he had in the pages of nature's story. In his retirement, he gave much of his time to the Edinburgh Zoo, and latterly to the Aquarium that was being erected there. His counsel was always ready and always wise. The last time that the present writer met him was when Lord Pentland was being laid to rest in the Dean Cemetery, Edinburgh. He spoke there of his esteem for the late Governor of Madras in words that were singularly appropriate. He had always thought of him, he said, as one of the best examples he had ever known of the Christian gentleman. Those who knew Dr. Henderson would be the first to apply to him the same designation, and the sense of what they have lost in his very early death, for he was only 62, gives a very intimate feeling to their sympathy, with those near and dear to him whom he has left behind.

WE DEEPLY REGRET TO RECORD THE DEATH from heart failure of Mr. A. Madhaviah who was well known throughout South India as a practical social reformer, a keen educationist and the author of several Tamil novels. Mr. Madhaviah attended the University Senate meeting on Thursday 22nd October and soon after the proceedings commenced he rose to put a supplemental question. Hardly had he spoken before he sank back and medical men who were present at the meeting hastened to his side to render first aid; but on examination they pronounced that life was extinct. Under these circumstances Mr. Madhaviah passed away under the very shadow of the University and, while there can be no more suitable form of

death to a man who devoted himself to the education of his countrymen by his writings and speeches, the incident is not without its element of pathos. Mr. Madhaviah graduated from the College in 1892 and joined the Abkari department of the Madras Government. He rose to the position of Inspector and retired from the service a few years back. He will be remembered by posterity chiefly as a man of letters, as the author of short stories and Tamil novels. His writings had a definite didactic purpose and *Padmavathi* will be long remembered as a picture of Indian life. His other famous work *Thillai Govindan* first appeared in the pages of this Magazine during 1906 and 1907 and his criticisms of the social customs and manners of the people attracted wide attention and provoked healthy discussion. Mr. Madhaviah was a keen student of the Tamil language and literature and an advocate of the development of the vernaculars. He was also a good student of English literature and studied carefully the growth of the English language in order to lead the Tamil language along those lines. Mr. Madhaviah was a charming writer and it is unfortunate that the chances and changes of life should have taken him to the Abkari department very early in life. After he retired from service Mr. Madhaviah edited and published a monthly Tamil journal *Panchamritham* and he hoped to make that an instrument for reviving the Tamil language and literature. In private life Mr. Madhaviah was a warm-hearted friend. His death leaves a gap in the ranks of Tamil scholars—all too few—which will not be easily filled. We wish to convey our sincere condolences to the members of the bereaved family.

ONE OF THE RECIPIENTS OF THE *Sanad* of Dewan Bahadur at the Madras Collector's Durbar held on the 13th November was Rao Bahadur R. N. Arogiaswamy Mudaliar, Superintending Engineer, who retired from the service of the Government in April 1925. Mr. Arogiaswamy Mudaliar is one of the most respected of our 'old boys' whose name carries great weight and influence with the general public for his sterling character and great achievements in the Public Works Department of the Government of Madras. Mr. Arogiaswamy Mudaliar was a pupil of this institution in the lower forms in 1877 and after a brilliant career graduated in 1890. In 1891 he joined the Engineering College and took the B.C.E. degree in 1895 heading the list in the competitive examination of that year. Soon after he was appointed as Assistant Engineer in the Public Works Department and rose to the position of Superintending Engineer after 30 years of service in almost all the districts of this Presidency. He visited Europe and America studying the great engineering works of the West. His name is chiefly associated with some of the great irrigation projects of South India such as the Upper and Lower Bavani projects and the Tungabhadra project. Besides Mr. Arogiaswamy Mudaliar is also responsible for several large works connected with water supply, bridges and other maritime works. His services during the floods in South Arcot in November 1913 were much appreciated by Government and the title of Rao Bahadur was conferred on him in 1914. During all these years of a strenuous life Mr. Arogiaswamy Mudaliar steadily kept before him the ideal of service which helped him easily to reconcile

the view points of the government with those of the people. A great deal remains to be done to ensure water supply for the irrigation of this Presidency and now that Mr. Arogiaswamy Mudaliar has retired from Government service it is to be hoped that he will devote his leisure and talent for the improvement of the common weal. He looks healthy and vigorous and his unrivalled knowledge of local conditions ought to be helpful both to the State and to the public in solving some of the intricate problems connected with the irrigation of this Presidency. He is greatly attached to this institution, and presided over the College Day celebration of 1923. Our congratulations to Dewan Bahadur R. N. Arogiaswamy Mudaliar.

WE ARE PLEASED TO HEAR of the appointment of Mr. K. George as Chief Secretary to the Travancore Government. Mr. George graduated from this College in 1904 with distinction and entered the finance department of Travancore which had just then been reorganized by Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, Dewan of Travancore. By sheer hard work Mr. George rose to the higher ranks of the service and when Mr. Ratnam Aiyer, Financial Secretary to the Government resigned his office in 1915, Mr. George was selected for the place. The economic consequences of war and peace did not leave Travancore untouched and the responsibility of preparing and finding ways and means to balance the budget naturally devolved on him. During the last ten years Mr. George has been discharging that task with consummate skill. The Chief Secretary is the chief adviser to the Dewan of the State and his office ranks in administrative importance next only to that of the Dewanship, and Mr. George succeeds a line of brilliant Chief Secretaries to the Travancore Government. In all governments the position of Chief Secretary is an extraordinarily arduous office and probably for the first time in Travancore the Chief Account Officer and Head of the Financial Department has been elevated to the Chief Secretary's place. The intimate knowledge Mr. George must have gained as Financial Secretary of the working of the various departments of state ought to help him to remodel some of the cumbersome spending departments of the State. Mr. George is still young with many years of service before him, and he ought to feel happy in his chief who brings an imaginative and open mind to bear on all the problems of the State. We extend our congratulations to Mr. K. George.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF SCHOOL PRIZES took place on Friday, 18th December in the Anderson Hall with Mr. G. D. Watkins in the chair. There was a large gathering of pupils and members of the staff and the proceedings commenced with prayer by the Headmaster. The annual report, which was presented by Mr. Asirvatham, Assistant to the Headmaster, referred to the retirement of Mr. Muliyl and assumption of charge by Mr. Watkins as Headmaster in October. The boys made good use of the School library, and medical inspection was continued in spite of the withdrawal of the Government grant towards it. The District Educational Officer who inspected the School in August was satisfied with the work of the School. The athletic side is encouraging, and at the annual inter-school sports the school

team won the Mangalore Trophy for the third time. The Boy Scouts are doing well and the Societies are active. Poppy Day was a great success and 1,000 poppies were sold in the School on that day.

Mrs. Moffat then distributed the prizes to the winners who were cheered as they trooped up to receive them. The Headmaster related the story of "The Other Wise Man" and the School Choir sang the School song "Up and On" Mr. Henderson pronounced the Benediction and the function terminated.

THE CELEBRATION OF DEEPAVALI BY MEMBERS of Caithness Hall on the 16th October was a great success and the guests departed at about 8 P.M., after spending a happy evening in the company of the members of the hostel, past and present. In the morning a portrait of the late Sir P. Theagaroya Chettiar was unveiled by Rao Bahadur O. Thanicachellam Chettiar and in the evening after tea the guests adjourned to the hall where the general meeting was held. Mr. Venkatachalam, Secretary of the Hostel, welcomed the guests in a short speech. He conveyed their respectful congratulations to Dr. Meston on the Doctorate of Divinity conferred on him by the University of Aberdeen. The members of the hostel did well in University examinations and their literary society was active. The Secretary concluded his speech as follows :—

"It only remains for me to thank the Principal and the Professors for their steady and constant interest in our progress as members not only of this hostel but of the College as a whole. For we take it that the hostel is what it is on account of its being an integral part of the College and the College would be incomplete without its hostels of which ours is not the least important. In this hostel at all events we try to think over what is taught in College classes, to see its bearings upon our lives as individuals and members of the large communities of which the nation is composed. We try also to put into practice as far as opportunities offer the principles we are taught in our classes and to live up to those high and large ideals which are associated with the name and traditions of the College to which we have the honour to belong."

Mr. B. Kuttappa, M.A., speaking in behalf of the former members of the hostel recalled the days he spent in the hostel which reminded him of the great debt of gratitude they owed to the invaluable services rendered by the professors of the College in educating them and preparing them for the battle of life. Mr. Kuttappa advised the members to prepare for a life of service and follow the example set by the Professors of the College. All of them may not be called upon to devote their lives to the cause of education but there were other fields of activities where unselfish workers were needed. He deprecated students associating themselves with political agitation. The vital functions of their society were of a hum-drum and non-sensational nature. They had to produce food and keep their homes, villages and towns clean and healthy. Whichever way they turned only one sight met their eyes and that was the work to be done. The prospects of winning *swaraj* did not depend upon holding public meetings and conducting processions. India wanted unselfish workers who had the interests of the masses really at heart. Do

you covet distinction? You will never get it by serving yourself. Do you covet honour? You will get it only as a servant of mankind. The price to be paid for leadership is service. Only extra hazardous service will win honour. Jesus Christ has said "whoever has ambition to be a great man among you, let him be your servant; and whoever is ambitious to rank first among you, let him be your bond servant. The Son of man did not come to have others serve him, but to render service, and to give his life as a ransom for many."

The members then enacted an English and a Tamil farce with considerable skill. Mr. Barnes who presided emphasized the significance of the occasion, and the function then terminated.

WITH THE BEGINNING OF THE SECOND TERM there passed into well earned retirement Mr. J. Muliylil, Headmaster of the School and Professor of English after a period of over twenty-five years of continuous service of the College. The first Indian member of the Lecturers' staff to be elevated to the professoriate and the first Indian Headmaster of the School, Mr. Muliylil joined the College service in 1900 as lecturer in the English Department and was soon recognised as a singularly fascinating teacher in English and Malayalam with the unique power of captivating and retaining the attention of his students. An old boy of this College Mr. Muliylil always looked upon himself as a humble worker in the Master's vineyard. His unobtrusive work, his great sincerity of purpose and his whole hearted attention to duty won the respect of his colleagues. Perhaps Mr. Muliylil's greatest contribution to the College consists in his co-operation for the development of hostels and hostel life. Mr. Muliylil has a genius for managing young men entrusted to his care and during the seventeen years he was the Manager of the Fenn Hostel and later of the Park Hostel, his careful management made it possible for hundreds of poor students to find a home in these hostels. In this connection it will only be just to note the active interest of Mrs. Muliylil in the labours of her husband. Mrs. Muliylil delighted in providing comforts for the young men in far-off Madras and she cheerfully gave all her available time to supervise the hostel mess. Their many acts of kindness endeared them to hundreds of students throughout the Presidency, and we sincerely hope that Mr. and Mrs. Muliylil will be long spared in full enjoyment of health and happiness.

ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF NOVEMBER the students of the II class (Gr. 1 and 2) went on an excursion to the Chemical Factory at Ranipet, accompanied by Mr. E. Barnes. It was a week end trip, and the party consisted of about 80 students. The students were shown round the large Sulphuric Acid plant and the bone-crushing mill. They also visited the super-phosphate manure works and the large pottery where glazed earthenware vessels were made. Besides the educative value of seeing the industrial processes, the members of the excursion appreciated the value of the excursion, which brought the teacher and the taught into intimate contact. They are hoping to arrange for some more excursions to other places of interest.

THE FOLLOWING IS THE LIST OF PREACHERS at College Church during the Third Term 1925-26.

January	10—Rev. J. N. Anderson.
"	17—F. W. Henderson, Esq.
"	24—G. D. Watkins, Esq.
"	31—Rev. A. J. Boyd.
February	7—Rev. C. K. Williams.
"	14—J. P. Manikkam, Esq.
"	21—S. J. Theodore, Esq.
"	28—Rev. J. Bittman.
March	7—Rev. A. G. Hogg.
"	14—Rev. A. S. Woodburne.
"	21—Rev. G. Matthews.
"	28—Rev. W. Meston.

THE MADRAS Christian College Magazine

"They are slaves who dare not be
in the right with two or three."

(QUARTERLY SERIES, VOL. V)
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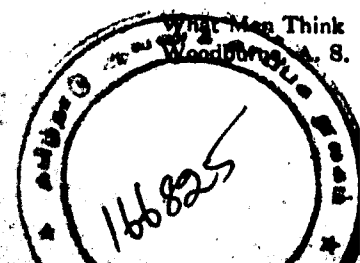
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The Call of the Child. By Miss Corrie Gordon, B. Ed.
Animistic Beliefs and Practices in South India. By K. Balasubramaniam.
A Historical Sketch of Telugu Literature, I. By T. Rajagopala Rao, B.A.,
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The Nirvana of the Buddhists. By V. W. Vidyasagara.
The Barrows Lectures.
- April ... The Commemoration Day Address. By Rev. A. Moffat, M.A., B.Sc.,
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Temporal Taboos in South India. By Y. Balaram.
A Note on Anatole France. By J. R. M.
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- July ... What is there in Religion. By the Rev. Charles W. Gilkey, M.A., B.D.,
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The Grama Devathas. By Paul Lawrence, B.A., (Hons.)
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