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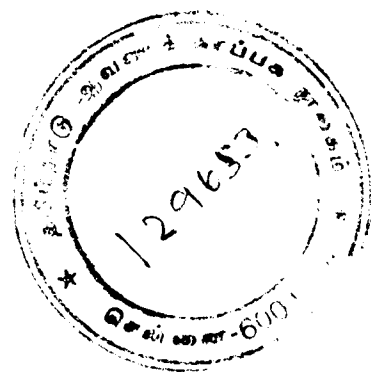
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A LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE.

By Sir P. S. SIVASWAMY AIYER.

AT no time in the history of the civilized world has war been regarded with feelings of unmixed approval by men endowed with the ordinary feelings of humanity as a means of settlement, of quarrels between nations. Nations that have been obliged to engage in defensive wars would have gladly preferred pacific methods of maintaining their rights, if available. Wars have often been entered upon with the object of aggression and aggrandisement, especially at the expense of weaker countries. But those who waged such wars have never sought to justify them on any moral grounds. The love of territorial expansion or martial glory has often induced rulers and peoples to invade and conquer other countries. They seldom made any pretence of justification by an appeal to any principles of international law or morality. In recent times, wars of aggression have sometimes been sought to be justified on the ground of a self-imposed mission for the extension of civilization, or by the profession of a trusteeship for the benefit and improvement of peoples of an inferior type of civilization. The resort to the mask of a trusteeship for conquered peoples is itself a clear admission that wars of aggression cannot possibly be justified on moral grounds. A war must always excite feelings of horror and loathing among all right-minded people and they would generally prefer amicable methods of settlement to the arbitrament of the sword. More than any previous wars in history, the Great War impressed upon mankind the evils of war especially under modern conditions with all the destructive appliances rendered available by scientific progress. The Great War was looked upon as one to end war and the thoughts of men were directed to the possibility of forming some organization to preserve and enforce peace when that war should come to an end.



It was with this object that the League of Nations was founded in pursuance of the treaties of peace which were concluded after the Great War. The League was intended to include as many of the nations of the earth as possible and it was hoped that by providing methods of conciliation and arbitration, the chances of war would be minimised, if not completely averted. Under Article 10 of the covenant of the League of Nations, the members were required to defend one another against aggression and under article 16 the members were bound to apply an economic boycott against any other member that made war in breach of the covenant. The council of the League was to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective Military, Naval or Air Forces the members of the League should severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League. Articles 10 and 16 of the covenant have been the subject of discussion almost from the commencement of the activities of the League. The economic boycott has also been found to be impracticable. Occasions have arisen when a member of the League has adopted aggressive measures against another in contravention of the covenant and without recourse to the procedure provided by the covenant. The seizure of the Island of Corfu by Italy was a flagrant instance of the disregard of the covenant by a prominent member of the League. The only thing that the council of the League was able to do was to advise the parties and bring about a surrender by the weaker country to the demands of the stronger.

By the Kellogg pact, the parties to it have agreed to renounce the right to make war as the means of settlement of international disputes. But the agreement has been accompanied by important reservations which deprive it of practical efficacy.

An attempt has also been made to reduce the chances of war by bringing about the limitation or reduction of armaments. While some steps have been taken in this direction as a result of the Washington Conference on Naval disarmament, it cannot be said that the problem has yet been satisfactorily settled. The reduction of the military and aerial forces of nations has also been engaging the attention of the League for several years past, but the problem is so beset with difficulties and confronted by the special

interests of important nations, that it has not been found possible to arrive at any solution which would be acceptable to all the members of the League. The situation and needs of each nation are not the same as those of others, and while it would be possible for one nation to reduce its land forces but not its navy, it might be possible for another to reduce its navy but not its land or air forces. Again it would not be sufficient to reduce merely the actual effective strength of the various arms, but it would be also necessary to control the potential armaments of nations; and this is an almost impossible task. In modern times, it is impossible to frame any satisfactory definition of munitions of war. There is hardly anything which may not be brought under the category of munitions. A country with great natural resources and large industrial establishments, can easily manufacture all its requirements in the shape of armament or munitions at short notice. A country with a large population can also train its soldiers in a few months at short notice. The greater the delay involved in the postponement of the recourse to war, the ampler will be the opportunity for any nation to raise its armament to the required strength, quality and quantity. It is not therefore difficult to understand the reluctance of nations to disarm themselves and forego any advantage which they possess in competition with powers of whose friendly intentions they cannot feel sure.

There is no doubt that a change in the mentality of nations towards recourse to war as a method of settlement of international disputes is bound to exert an influence in favour of the maintenance of the peace of the world. But the process of bringing about a moral disarmament by education is slow and tedious. It would not be wise for any nation to be sanguine about the results. If the great war has driven any lessons home to the minds of people, they are, first, that it is difficult to confine the hardships and evils of war to the belligerent nations alone and that the repercussions are bound to affect practically the whole civilized world and second, that with the rapid progress of scientific inventions and the tendency of wars to assume the character of a conflict between nations rather than rulers, they are bound to become more and more destructive. The attention of men in civilized countries has

therefore been turned to the discovery of some effective method of preventing the repetition of the horrors of war on probably a far larger scale than in the recent world-war.

Among the writers who have given their attention to this problem is Professor William McDougall who discusses the subject in his 'Janus' or 'The Conquest of War' published in the 'To-day and To-morrow' series. As a necessary preliminary to the consideration of the remedy, he considers in detail the various causes which have led to war in recent times. He is not disposed to attach any weight to the love of military glory, or the maintenance of standing armies and navies as a potent cause of war. Nor is he disposed to assign much importance to the economic rivalry between nations which induces them to seek the acquisition or exploitation of territories occupied by weaker races for the purpose of securing raw materials for manufacture, markets for the sale of the products of industry and lands for the emigration and settlement of their over-flowing populations. He is prepared to recognise that the need for an outlet for surplus populations has played an important part in promoting wars in the past and he is also prepared to recognise that the desire to retain its hold over its emigrant population and maintain and extend its strength and prestige induces a nation to increase its armament. The increase of its armament by one nation necessarily creates a fear of aggression in the minds of other nations and accordingly leads them to increase their armaments also. The growing spirit of nationalism in the modern state is another of the causes examined by Professor McDougall and he admits that national pride is too often associated with a hankering for power and prestige and a highly sensitive regard for national honour and reputation and leads to the maintenance of large armaments for the assertion of national rights, interests and honour. He comes to the conclusion that the real and immediate cause of war is the fear of sudden overwhelming aggression by another power and that if this cause could be removed, the danger of war would be greatly reduced. That this view contains a large measure of truth must be conceded. But we cannot help thinking that Professor McDougall has not given adequate weight to the persistent pressure of the economic

motive and the earth-hunger for the purposes of markets, raw materials and emigration. All the sparsely peopled and otherwise available spaces of the world have been already mapped and pegged out and coolly divided among the important nations of Europe. The circum-polar regions which are un-inhabited may attract notice with the progress of geographical exploration and the improvements in aviation. Whether these regions also may not be coveted for the sake of raw materials is not free from doubt; but we may dismiss these new bones of contention as at present of a speculative and remote character. It would be rash to affirm that the danger of aggression from economic motives has materially diminished. The desire to exploit weak countries and secure and maintain concessions and spheres of influence and the desire to maintain vast portions of the surface of the earth for the occupation of the white races, or domination by them must operate as a standing factor for the disturbance of the peace of the world. So far as the possibility of any discontent of the exploited races coming to a head is concerned, the white races have taken good care to see that they are disarmed and prevented from acquiring any knowledge or possession of arms. But it is conceivable and quite within the range of possibility that the oppressed or exploited nations of the earth may in course of time desire to come by their own and may even become sufficiently civilized to acquire a knowledge of the arts of self-defence or destruction. We are inclined to believe that unless there is a radical change in the economic mentality of Western Nations, the motives for war will continue to persist with unabated force and the remedies that may be suggested for the elimination of war will not be completely successful. This does not imply that the fear of armed aggression on the part of other nations and the consequent feeling of insecurity are not operative causes of war. Professor McDougall addresses himself to the question how best this fear of each other may be removed from the minds of nations. He passes in review the various measures which have been suggested for the prevention of war and with regard to each of them applies three tests (1) Is it desirable or permissible (2) Is it practicable and (3) Is it likely to be effective? He has no faith in the proposal for the education of

public opinion and in the inculcation of a spirit of pacifism. He thinks that the process will be too slow and that the adoption of pacifism and the renunciation of the superiority conferred upon western nations by the arts of war will end in the destruction of Christian civilization by the barbaric hordes of Asia and Africa. He then examines the efficacy of treaties of arbitration and mournfully reaches the conclusion that the existence of even a world-wide net-work of arbitration treaties cannot possibly compel nations to submit every dispute to arbitration. He lays his finger here on the weak point in the agreements for arbitration which have been recently concluded on the initiative of Mr. Kellogg and in the covenant of the League of Nations. No Nation is willing to submit itself without reservation to the decision of any arbitration tribunal. Wherever a dispute affects the territorial integrity, vital interests or the honour of a state, it would refuse to refer such disputes to arbitration. This reservation clause is as elastic as it is important and the question whether a dispute is one of the excepted character is one which a nation will decide for itself and will not refer to a third party for decision. As pointed out by him, the claim of Britain to a predominant position at sea, the claim of the United States and several of the self-governing colonies to exclude the immigration of coloured people and the demand for freedom of the coloured races under the dominion of the white races as in the Philippines and in Egypt are instances of the questions which would be claimed as falling within the reservation clause. Professor McDougall considers that the general disarmament of the civilized nations is not desirable and that even if it were desirable, it would not create a feeling of security, or avert the danger of war. He thinks it is not practicable to carry out the reduction of armaments very far. The rapidity with which the manufacturing resources of the great industrial nations can be diverted to the production of armaments must prevent nations from placing any reliance upon a policy of disarmament, partial or entire, even if it could be carried out. He dismisses the policy of economic boycott and pressure as unpromising. For very good reasons, he considers it undesirable and impracticable to suppress or destroy

the growing spirit of nationalism. After an exhaustive review of the various preventive remedies which have been proposed, he comes to the conclusion that the League of Nations must be invested with the power to enforce peace by the employment of Air Force. He proposes that to the extent necessary for the effective establishment of international justice every nation should forego a portion of its claims to absolute sovereignty and independence. The idea of maintaining a huge international military force at the disposal of the League of Nations is rightly dismissed as one which cannot be seriously entertained. But he is of opinion that the maintenance of an international Air Force will be attended with no similar disadvantages and that if the nations which are members of the League are debarred from keeping any air force or any anti-Air-craft guns, a comparatively small international air force stationed at a few well-chosen centres would be able to carry out the decrees of the international court of Justice and confer complete protection and security against lawless and recalcitrant members of the League. The scheme put forward by Professor McDougall is that the members of the League should bind themselves to make no air-craft capable of a greater speed than 100 miles an hour and should make or maintain at the highest level of efficiency an international police force furnished with high speed air-craft and all that contributes to make an attack from the air irresistibly overwhelming, and that this police force should be charged with the function of enforcing the decrees of the international Court of Justice. The League should not allow any military attack upon any of its members by any power, before that power has presented its case and has allowed a certain interval to elapse to permit of an enquiry by the court or attempts at conciliation. If the nation threatened with an attack were found to be innocent, the court should maintain its injunction against the attack; and on the other hand, if that nation were found to be at fault and it refused to accept the verdict of the Court, the protection should be withdrawn. If within the period of delay either party should take military action against the other, the court should immediately employ its police force against it and compel submission. Professor McDougall believes that his scheme satisfies all his three

tests, as to desirability, practicability and effectiveness. We cannot however help feeling that his scheme is open to several objections. In the first place, it is based upon a number of assumptions of a very questionable character. The fundamental assumption at the basis of the whole scheme is that the international court of justice is capable of arriving at a just opinion in all cases brought before it, and that its verdict will be accepted by a greatly preponderant part of the world. That this should be the ideal of the international court of justice may be conceded. But we are still a long way off from the attainment of the ideal. The very fact that the Great European powers who are parties to it have thought it necessary to make reservations with regard to the nature of the disputes to be submitted to arbitration shows that whatever may be the integrity of the members of the court, it does not yet command the implicit confidence even of the powers which have taken a prominent part in the establishment of the League. As Professor McDougall himself puts it, to each nation the justice of its own cause is likely to appear indisputable and a verdict against it will be regarded as an outrage upon every principle of right and justice. It would not be prepared to sacrifice its main vital interests, because the judges of a court of Law drawn from diverse nations cannot see the wood for the trees or have been swayed, as it might well seem, by some jealousy of a great power, a jealousy from which they, as citizens of rival nations, could not be immune. If this is likely to be the feeling of a great power, it can be readily imagined that small powers might feel even less confidence in the impartiality and soundness of judgment of the court in matters where the interests of the larger powers might be in accord. It is perhaps an unavoidable feature of the constitution of the League that the great powers who are prominent members of the Council of the League should exercise a predominant voice in all matters coming before the League. But it is none the less a fact that many of the smaller powers feel sore that in all matters that really count, the smaller powers have very little real voice, though in theory they are all equal. Under the present conditions the safeguards of the smaller or weaker powers consist in their possession of an equal vote, in the requirement of

unanimity of decision in several matters and in the mutual jealousy of the great powers which perhaps offers the best protection of all. If the European powers themselves do not have such complete confidence in the international tribunal as to be prepared to submit without reserve all their claims and disputes to the adjudication of the court, is it reasonable to expect that in disputes between the white and the coloured nations, the tribunals will be capable of holding the scales even? Can the members of the court, the majority of whom will be representative of the white races, be expected to be free from racial and religious prejudices, imbued as they are bound to be with the arrogant conviction of the superiority of Christianity to other religions and the superiority of Christian civilization to all others in the world and the mission of the white races to exploit and dominate the world in the interests of civilization? Taking some of the illustrations furnished by Professor McDougall himself, can a decision against the claim of the Phillippinos to freedom be possibly accepted by them? Or can a similar decision against their interests, be accepted by the people of Egypt in a controversy between them and Britain? It is essential to the authority of a Court of Justice, not merely that its members should be un-biassed and impartial, but they should command the confidence of litigants in their impartiality and freedom from bias.

In the next place, it is assumed that commercial air-craft can barely attain a speed of 100 miles an hour and that the difference in speed between fighting and commercial air-craft involves such fundamental differences of construction that it would not be possible to convert the slow commercial aeroplane into a high speed fighting air-plane. While this is a technical matter upon which experts alone can pronounce an opinion, it would seem to be *prima facie* rash to set any limit to the possibilities of scientific achievement with regard to the speed and design of commercial air-craft. Nor would it seem reasonable to expect that those who are interested in commercial aviation would agree to limit the speed, when it is possible to increase it and thereby save time in commercial intercourse. Yet another objection to the use of air-craft for police purposes is the indiscriminate character of the

destruction which it causes. It would not be possible to discriminate between soldiers and civilians, between men and women and children, between the guilty and the innocent. It may be urged that modern warfare is indiscriminately levied against all the members of a nation with the deliberate view of intensifying the pressure of arms and bringing hostilities to a speedier close. It may also be urged that this objection would apply against the use of air-craft by ordinary belligerents as well; but if these arguments are valid, we fail to see any reason or consistency in the denunciation of chemical warfare which is at least as humane, if not more so, as the employment of air-force. Another objection to Professor McDougall's scheme is that it amounts to the creation of a super-state and that even though, the scope of its interference may be limited at first, it may prove to be the thin end of the wedge and that sooner or later it may lead to further encroachment upon the rights of the constituent members of the League a growing centralisation of authority and the tyranny of the stronger powers over the weaker and of the majority over the minority.

If we are compelled to disapprove of the remedy proposed by Professor McDougall, it must not be supposed that we are in any way opposed to the ideals underlying the League of Nations. But there is no use in trying to force the pace and it will take a considerable time before the idea of a fraternity of nations is realised in practice.

If we have confessed to a feeling of want of confidence in the impartiality of the International court of justice or in the council of the League, it may be asked what is the proper attitude to be adopted by Asiatic nations towards the League of Nations. Our policy should be not to keep ourselves aloof from the League, but to join it and endeavour to educate the other members of the League to a broad-minded conception of international morality transcending the narrow bounds of Christianity, and produce an atmosphere of sympathy and good-will towards all and work for the just recognition of our position, rights and interests in the world. A policy of isolation will not strengthen the position of the Asiatic powers or help to bridge the cleavage between the

white and the coloured races. Immature and imperfect as the League of nations may be, it represents the blossoming of some of the noblest aspirations and ideals of humanity and may by wise culture be so developed as to yield a finer fruitage for the world at large.

P. S. SIVASWAMY AIYER.

WHAT IS CHRISTIANITY?

By HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK.

I

THE first work of intellect is discrimination and nowhere in the field of religion is that more needed than in comparing with one another the great faiths of mankind. The older attitude of Christians was to call their own religion true and to lump under "heathendom" man's other worships and beliefs. Missionary maps printed the so-called Christian portions of the planet white while the remainder was indiscriminately black. To state the matter with restraint, this idea is no longer tenable.

Indeed, to many it has become so patently absurd that, in reaction against it, they now conceive all religions to be indifferently of one quality. Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Zoroastrianism, Bahaism, Judaism, Christianity—all these, we are told, spring from the same spirit and at heart mean one thing. At interreligious conferences sweeping assertions are made that the prophets and founders of the world's religions all "speak the same language" and "strike the same note."¹ Irenic and polite though this is, it happens not to be true.

Moreover, this sentimental reduction of mankind's faiths to such a minimum that unity can somehow be wangled out of them does no honor to the faiths themselves. If I were a Buddhist, I should not wish to be told that Buddhism is identical with Christianity. Buddhism has profound and distinctive sources and has pursued a historic course of development rich in peculiar associations and meanings; to lose these differential elements in

¹ 1. Rev. Tyssul Davis, in "Summing Up," final chapter in *Religions of the Empire*, ed. by Wm. Loftus Hare, p. 518.

religious abstractions which can be indifferently affirmed of all faiths does Buddhism no honor. The glory of a religion lies in its unique contributions.

While, therefore, every liberal mind desires a growing approachment between the world's faiths, the wise will not try to achieve it by loosely asserting an identity which does not exist. By appreciating, rather than by forgetting, the characteristic elements of each religion we are most likely to achieve fraternity.

What then is Christianity?

Starting in Galilee nearly two thousand years ago, it has run an amazing course. Diverse ages, races, and temperaments have played upon it. In it can be found all the dominant types of religious experience and expression known to mankind. Upon it mystics, metaphysicians and moralists of many sorts have left their mark. It has become stark asceticism in some and in others it has assumed the pomp of ecclesiastical autocracy. It has been pacifist in the Quaker, and militarist in the Crusader. It includes within its historic movement many kinds of theology, from the frontiers of pantheism to the borders of polytheism, and many sorts of sacramental theory from magic up. What is Christianity? The more one knows about it, the more difficult the answer becomes.

To many a youth this is no merely theoretical inquiry. He has always supposed himself a Christian but now he is bewildered as to what being a Christian means. He may sit in a classroom with a Buddhist on one side and a Confucianist on the other. Sometimes he understands them better than he understands certain types of Christian to whose talk in chapel he must listen. Christianity no longer is the simple thing it used to seem to him. Apparently it can mean almost anything. He hears a preacher say that it is like a snowball which has rolled across the centuries and picked up en route all sorts of refuse and debris.

Yet it must be possible to get some clarity about this matter. There must be some quality that specially characterizes the

Christian philosophy of life and constitutes its major contribution to the world. What, then, is Christianity?

II

Whatever differential factors may characterize the Christian religion, they certainly are not discoverable where popular orthodoxy commonly looks for them. All the superficial elements of orthodox Christianity can, I think, be paralleled in non-Christian faiths. Acceptance of an inspired Book is no peculiarity of Christians. In the theories which Islam holds about the Koran, or Hinduism about the Rig Veda, in the uses to which these holy books have been put, and in the methods of interpretation employed upon them, one finds reduplicated all the characteristic ideas and practises associated with the Bible.

Miracles are certainly no specialty of Christian faith. They are the psychological children of the ancient world-view, and while dressed in diverse clothes, Indian, Chinese, Japanese, or Palestinian, they are recognizably akin. The same kind of miracle, such as raising the dead, transforming one element, like water, into another, walking on the sea, and feeding multitudes with a small food supply, is found familiarly among the records of historic faiths.

The deification and worship of the religion's founder is no peculiarity of Christianity, nor is the ascription to him of a miraculous birth. Indeed, that latter idea not only appears in one form or another with reference to Buddha, Zoroaster, Lao-Tse, and Mahavira, but is used as a common explanation of extraordinary personality in cases that lie outside religion proper, like Augustus Caesar. Whether appearing in forms gross or refined, its commonness makes evident how familiar an idea it used to be in accounting for outstanding people. Origen, the Christian apologist of the third century, when pleading for the Virgin Birth of Jesus, took this fact for granted. "According to the Greeks themselves," he wrote, "all men were not born of a man and woman.....There is no absurdity in employing Grecian histories to answer Greeks, with a view of showing that we are not the

only persons who have recourse to miraculous narratives of this kind. For some have thought fit, not in regard to ancient and heroic narratives, but in regard to events of very recent occurrence, to relate as a possible thing that Plato was the son of Amphictione... by Apollo."¹ Justin Martyr born not long after the composition of the synoptic gospels, put it even more bluntly. "If we affirm that He was born of a virgin, accept this in common with what you accept of Perseus."²

Owing to the disaster of the Great War, and the consequent discouragement about the world's future, we have recently had a recrudescence of premillennialism, and fundamentalists have been insisting on the second coming of Christ as a necessary item of Christian faith. They are certainly nearer right than some liberals are on one point: very probably Jesus and most assuredly his first disciples did expect just such a sudden ending of the age and cataclysmic coming of the kingdom as the premillennialists predict. This belief, however, is not at all peculiar to Christians. The Mohammedan expectation of the returning Mahdi comes from the same psychological sources and the Shiah of Persia still are awaiting the return of Muhammad, son of Hasan al-Askari, who has been about to appear since the third Islamic century.³ As for Buddhists, they are expecting Maitreya, the next Buddha. Already in the Tusita heaven he is awaiting the divine moment to descend to earth and restore the Law.^a The imaginative hopes of his epiphany are cut from the same pattern as the Messianic expectations of the Hebrews,^b and, "Oh, that I might live to see Allenya Metai!" is the earnest prayer of many Buddhist hearts.^{c4}

No matter where one looks in Christianity one finds in the ostentatious orthodoxies, in the items of faith and practise, pushed to the front by its controversies and commonly insisted on as

¹ Origen Against Celsus, Bk. I, Chap. 37, p. 412, in The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. IV.

² Greek Thought in The New Testament, by Geo. Holley Gilbert, pp. 111-12 Ref. The First Apology of Justin, Ch. XXII, p. 170 of Vol. I of the Ante Nicene Fathers.

³ Religions of the Empire, p. 62, by William Loftus Hare, ed.

⁴ Quoted by James B. Pratt, in The Pilgrimage of Buddhism, pp. 136a, 155c, 228b.

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indispensable to its integrity, elements entirely familiar to the students of non-Christian faiths. Various religions exhibit similar doctrines and practises with reference to the sacraments; ideas associated with atonement are present in all highly developed faiths; "No one can be saved without regeneration" sounds Christian, but is a quotation from a pre-Christian Greco-Roman Mystery Religion;¹ and even justification by faith, so far from being exclusively Pauline or Lutheran, is being stated today and lived upon with peace and joy by one of the powerful Buddhist sects.² As for customs, such as pilgrimage, relic-worship, and the like, they appear everywhere. One who has seen Christians, Mohammedans, and Hindus on pilgrimage cannot mistake the common psychological elements in their behavior, while between the bones of the Three Wise Men in Cologne Cathedral³ and the holy tooth of Buddha in Ceylon⁴ there are differences of historic detail but none of essential meaning.

When one plunges deeper and thinks of vital matters, such as prayer and philanthropic love, Christianity has no monopoly. If Jesus said, "When thou prayest, enter into thine inner chamber, and having shut thy door, pray to thy Father who is in secret,"⁵ Epictetus said, "When you have shut your doors, and darkened your room, remember never to say that you are alone; for you are not alone, but God is within."⁶ If the Christian scriptures say, "Love your enemies, and do them good, and lend,"⁷ the Buddhist scriptures say, "By calmness let a man overcome wrath; let him overcome evil by good; the miser let him subdue by liberality, and the liar by truth."⁸

1 S. Angus in *The Mystery-Religions and Christianity*, p. 98, Ref. section of *Corpus Hermeticum* in *Poimandres*, XIV (VIII); text of R. Reitzenstein, pp. 339-48.

2 *Religions of the Empire*, pp. 194-5.

3. Seen by Dr. Fosdick.

4. J. B. Pratt: *The Pilgrimage of Buddhism*, p. 119.

5. Matthew 6: 6.

6. *The Discourses of Epictetus*, Ch. XIV on *That all things are under the Divine Supervision*, p. 54.

7. Luke 6: 35.

8. Trans. by D. C. Wagiswara and K. J. Saunders in "The Buddha's Way of Virtue," p. 55. From *The Dhammapada*, Ch. XVII.

No longer are these resemblances explicable in terms of borrowing, nor is it possible to say, as the early Catholic missionaries in India said, that the devil to frustrate them had forehandedly furnished the people with a caricature of Christianity. These widespread and deep-seated resemblances between separated faiths, beginning in primitive religion, as all readers of Frazer's "Golden Bough" know, and running up into the highly organized religions, have psychological explanations; they are due, not to mutual copying, but to similar emotional reactions to the mystery of the world and the deep needs of human nature.

The days are gone when wise adherents of Christianity are jealous of this world-wide dissemination of common ideas. One should as soon feel jealousy because architectural beauty is to be found in the Taj Mahal and not exclusively in Gothic cathedrals, as to envy Buddhism its spirit of love or regret that Islam teaches men to pray. Indeed, the universality of an idea or practise is a weighty evidence of its working power, and the prevalence of even such conceptions as Christian orthodoxy shares with other faiths shows the deep-seated human needs to which they have ministered.

Nevertheless, the combination of these similar elements in the various faiths brings widely different results. White paper and black coal may both be carbon compounds, but, for all that, they are unmistakably diverse in nature and function. So Buddha and Christ do not on the whole speak the same language nor strike the same note. Their followers have a desperately difficult time to understand one another. The various religions are really various and study of their distinctive elements is at least as important to the understanding of them as emphasis upon their unities.

In what terms, then, can we describe that quality which gives peculiar flavor to Christianity so that when it is absent Christianity is not Christian at all? This differential seems to reside in one major matter, discoverable elsewhere, to be sure, but so emphatic in Christianity, so dominant in the Founder's message, so unescapable in the ethic of the movement which succeeded him, that from it as from a fountain flows the result which makes Christianity Christian.

The genius of Christianity lies in reverence for personality.

III

At first sight, this reduction of the manifold complex called the Christian religion to so simple a formula, will seem to many the substitution of a thin abstraction for a rich reality. But this abstraction is not thin; like Aladdin's lamp, it has amazing potencies which have built into the Christian system its distinctive and abiding qualities.

Were one to select the special contribution which Jesus of Nazareth himself has made and is making to man's thought, one could do no better than to call him the champion of personality. Some have tried reducing Jesus to a poetic dreamer who loved flowers and children and held beautiful but impractical ideals. Renan, for example, says, "Tenderness of heart was in him transformed into infinite sweetness, vague poetry, universal charm."¹ That, however, so far from adequately representing the historic Jesus, bleaches the color all out of him.

Others have reduced Jesus to an ecclesiastical reformer who, rebelling against the shame of institutional religion, got himself crucified in consequence. Certainly he was an ecclesiastical reformer concerning whom the religious dignitaries of his time felt, as in Shaw's drama *King Charles* felt about Joan of Arc when he said, "If only she would keep quiet, or go home!"² That, however, does not represent the initial motive of his ministry.

Others have represented Jesus as a special reformer, a prophet of the Kingdom of God, who foresaw a reign of righteousness and brotherhood on earth and willingly died for it. That picture of him undoubtedly is true, but his social prophethood was the consequence of something profound in his philosophy.

Others have thought chiefly of Jesus as a metaphysical hypostasis, the second person of the Trinity. Such theological endeavor to explain him in terms of current philosophy in the ancient Greek world was inevitable, but Jesus of Nazareth himself

¹ Ernest Renan; *The Life of Jesus* p. 102 of trans. by Chas. Edwin Wilbour; Carleton, 1873.

² *St. Joan, Scene V*, p. 95.

was something quite different from a metaphysical hypostasis. He was an historic character and he made a concrete and describable contribution to human thought. He was the champion of personality. He laid hold on that, lifted it up, conceived it in all its appearances in child, woman, peasant, or king as infinitely valuable. Moreover, he thought of personality as the central fact in the universe and used it as the medium of interpretation for all other facts.

Seen against the background of the centuries which immediately preceded him this constitutes the uniqueness of Jesus' message. Whether one is a Christian or not does not primarily depend on the acceptance or rejection of the orthodoxies of official church and creed. Give new names to many of these creedal conceptions and ecclesiastical practises and one may be a Buddhist, or a Hindu, or a Mohammedan. Whether one really is a Christian or not depends on whether one accepts or rejects Jesus' attitude toward personality.

IV

During this next generation Christianity will probably have to fight for its life, and the struggle will concern itself more and more manifestly with this central matter. Rear-guard actions will continue around belated disputes about ancient miracles, biblical infallibility, and what not, but the crux of the conflict will not be there. Can we in this modern world maintain Jesus' attitude toward personality? The answer to that question is the sign of a falling or rising Christianity,

If one thing more than another seems to fly in the face of appearances, it is the statement that personality is the primary and victorious element in this universe. Here we human persons are upon this revolving planet in the sky. We are very tiny and the universe is huge. Our span of life is brief, while the universe was crashing on unimaginable ages before we were born and will crash on after we have departed. We are frailty itself, at the mercy of a few particles of disordered matter, so that a slight accident can snuff us out like guttering candles. Tenuous and temporary, a human being seems anything but triumphant in this

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overwhelming cosmos. Yet at its best Christianity has taken up the cudgels for personality, for its divine origin, spiritual nature, infinite worth, and endless possibilities.

Take it or leave it, that is what Christianity is about. That is its guiding star and its dynamic faith. Personality, the most valuable thing in the universe, revealing the real nature of the creative power and the ultimate meaning of creation, the only eternal element in a world of change, the one thing worth investing everything in, and in terms of service to which all else must be judged—that is the essential Christian creed. Like it or not, the Christian religion, to use James Harvey Robinson's phrase, is "heavily anthropocentric."¹

If anyone wishes to argue that the appearances are against this estimate of personality, I agree. The appearances are certainly against it—size, for example. Consider the star, Betelgeuse, which brought nearer to the earth would fill the entire horizon, and then try to assert the conviction that man, a mere pigmy, is the triumphant element here. The appearance of time is against it. In the vast cosmic cycles why should man, appearing yesterday expect to last beyond tomorrow? The appearance of strength is against it, as anyone must feel who has experienced or even has imagined an earthquake shaking men to destruction, as a lion shakes off vermin. As for death, that looks as though, like the magnetic rock in the old legend, it pulls all the nails from the timbers of our ships until they disintegrate in the deep. One who wishes to win the argument on the basis of appearance can have it.

I cannot, however, imagine any one who has followed the course of science and philosophy being deeply impressed by so easy a winning. Appearances prove little or nothing. It certainly does not look as though our clear sense of up-and-down were pure illusion and that half the time we are hanging by our heels on the under side of a revolving globe. It does not look as though solid steel were made of electrons operating by hundreds in atomic nuclei—each nucleus one ten-billionth of a pinpoint. As for the cosmos at large, which seems obvious enough, it surely does not look like Einstein's curved space-time.

¹ Religion Faces a New World—article in September Harpers 1928 p. 407.

The outstanding attribute of materialism is its naivete. It bets on the appearances, while if any thing seems certain it is that the ultimate nature of reality must lie at least as much deeper than appearance as do the truths of astronomy, physics, and mathematics. It might conceivably be that, not what Bertrand Russell calls "omnipotent matter" that "rolls on its relentless way,"¹ but personality constitutes the key to the truth.

Certainly, big as it is, the universe would have no meaning without personality. Some silent, swift catastrophe conceivably might blot out all mental and spiritual life. Nothing would be left except the universe minus personality. Planets would swing in their courses with no eye to see. Wind would blow in the trees and surf break on the rocks with no ear to hear. Sunrise and sunset would mark the revolution of the earth with none to care. Age after age the stars would shine with no mind to interpret. There would be neither science to explain, poetry to praise, art to depict, music to celebrate, nor character to give response—nothing but endless things without personality.

Even if one does not fully assent to them, one can understand those philosophies which assent that in large measure a universe like that would be not only meaningless but non-existent since personalities, by their canons of interpretation and formulations of law, not only observe but help to create the very cosmos in which they live. What is color without an eye? What is the "law of gravitation" without a mind? Somehow an absolutely mindless universe simply is not a universe. Even physical science, when it gets back to the ultimate reality which it can glimpse behind molecules, atoms, electrons, and protons, finds a series of mathematical relationships. Now, mathematical relationships, whatever else they may be, are mental.

Moreover, the possibilities of creation seem to be locked up in personality. Look existence over and only here in this amazing thing is there any promise of development; only in what this pregnant and potential being may yet become does the cosmos, so far as we can see, have any future.

¹ The Free Man's Worship, p. 70 of Philosophical Essays.

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Long before we faced this problem in our modern terms, Christ took up the cause of personality's preeminence. Like a true son of his time and people, he did not speak about it in abstract terms. He was concrete, picturesque, poetic, dramatic. He said that when one personality turned from spiritual failure to success all the angels sang; that it was not the Father's will that one personality, even in a child, should perish; that quality of character was revealed primarily in the way we treated personality in others; and that to gain the whole world was an unprofitable bargain if one failed in building personality within oneself.

If, as some claim, the essence of religion lies in the sense of sacredness, then no doubt beclouds the nature of Jesus' religion. To him personality was supremely sacred. Mankind's faith for ages had dealt with holy rocks, mountains, trees, and caves, sacred temples, sacred days, sacred sacraments; the sense of holiness had attached itself to an endless variety of things, animals, customs, and personages. But Jesus cared for none of these. He allocated the sense of sacredness to one place—personality. Nothing on earth was sacred to him save as it contributed to personality some increment of what he called life more abundant. Whether he attacked economic customs that exploited people, or risked his life against an ecclesiastical system that misguided them, he was motivated by one central principle—the utter sacredness of personality.

That attitude constitutes the essence of Christianity. It is either magnificent or mad. It certainly is not tame.

Mr. H. L. Mencken, describing the desire of reforming Christians to recover the ethical principles of Jesus and try to live by them, says "All this is grateful to my gills."¹ I wonder! Mr. Mencken says that the cosmos is a gigantic fly-wheel making 10,000 revolutions a minute and that "man is a sick fly taking a dizzy ride on it."² He calls man "a local disease of the cosmos—a kind of pestiferous eczema."³ He values man as "the supreme

clown of creation, the *reductio ad absurdum* of animated nature."¹ One suspects that Mr. Mencken would have more trouble with Jesus than with any other character in history, not at all because the Master would be guilty of those ministerial "wowserisms"² that he so violently abhors, but because Jesus was the champion of personality and said his most scathing words, not against heretics, nor even against sinners, but against cynics.

The "simple Jesus" is not simple in the least. He is the leading representative among men of a tremendous philosophy of life. As Ralph Waldo Emerson put it: "Alone in all history he estimated the greatness of man."³

V

That this Christian idea of personality has some hard sledding ahead of it seems clear. It runs into headlong collision with prevalent ideas: that man, for example, is a physical machine made by the fortuitous self-arrangement of matter, with interesting mental and spiritual by-products. An ingenious scientist has invented a mechanical dog with selenium eyes which, when one flashes a light into the eyeballs, will follow the glare about the room—an amazingly clever physico-chemical machine.⁴ Human personality is being so conceived, and our thinking, loving, creating are not uncommonly pictured as highly complicated chemical operations.

To be sure, serious difficulties exist of which even the proponents of this view are conscious. If a human being is only a physical machine, he is at least a queer kind of physical machine doing things that ordinarily machines are not supposed to do. For example, we aspire, setting our hearts on high ideals and striving after them. Imagine a machine doing that—a Ford car longing to be a Rolls Royce. Moreover, we repent, sometimes wondering in agony whether, after tragic moral failure, it is possible to hope for pardon and recovery again. That experience

1. Ibid, p. 125.

2. Editorial in May 1928 American Mercury, p. 26.

3. An address delivered before the Senior Class in Divinity College, Cambridge, p. 128 of Vol. I. Riverside Edition of Emerson's Complete Works.

4. M. C. Otto: Things and Ideals, p. 193.

1. Editorial in May 1928 American Mercury, p. 26.

2. Prejudices: Third Series, p. 132.

3. Ibid, p. 121.

does not seem identical with a chemical operation. Even on the physical plane we human machines generate little machines called children, that grow up from infancy to maturity. I forbear imagining the consequence if Ford cars should do that.

Our behavioristic friends are right in insisting on the mechanistic aspects of the personal organism. Moreover, they are thereby making available an eminently useful method of investigation and control, with important consequences bound to come from it. When, however, they cease being scientists dealing with working hypotheses and try to become philosophers formulating dogmas, they fare no better than other dogmatists. They become enslaved to words. They call us machines, but we are obviously machines that think, love, distinguish between right and wrong, repent, follow ideals, sacrifice for one another, believe in God, hope for immortality, and construct philosophies to explain the universe. That is to say, we are not anything which anybody in his senses can mean by a machine.

The more insistent and dangerous enemies of the Christian philosophy, however, are not our fads of materialistic theory, but our abiding attitudes of moral selfishness. Wherever personality is being cramped, fettered, debilitated, and abused, there Christianity is being denied. If the churches would put that idea in the foreground of their minds they might get some Christian things done instead of remaining what too largely they are--societies for the propagation of an outgrown mythology.

It was on this moral side that Jesus approached the problem of personality. He came at the matter, as he came at all matters, not theoretically, but practically. He cared about people and believed in them. He leaped the barriers which caste and convention had erected and was in this sense the first great democrat. His major parables concern the treatment of persons. How the Good Samaritan dealt with the victim of the robbers, how the family handled the returning prodigal,--such matters seemed to him so crucial that for him the divine judgment was altogether concerned with the way people, especially the poor, the sick, and the imprisoned, had been treated. Even the most sacred institutions like the sabbath, and by implication all other forms of

human society as well, are to be judged by their effect on people. They were made for man, not man for them.

This elevation of personality's value has produced in the Christian movement a certain militant and aggressive unwillingness to leave things as they are so long as people are being wronged. Say the worst you will about Christendom, it is nevertheless the place where democracy has had its best chance, where science has at last gotten under weigh, where education has been most freely given to children, where poverty has been most tirelessly attacked, where philanthropy has been practised on the largest scale, and where today the general public conscience is most disturbed about industrial exploitation and war. To credit all this to Christianity would be incredible, but Christianity has been one of the major ingredients in the civilization where this has been true.

To be sure, the most anti-Christian attitudes have often controlled the churches. Many ecclesiastics have discouraged humanitarian movements, backed tyranny, defended slavery, blockaded endeavors to improve industry, end child labor, and abolish war, and in general have been among the world's worst citizens. But always underneath such official religion that other element, without which no Christianity is ever Christian, has worked like leaven. In its nobler hours, Christianity has been unable to escape from the spirit of its Founder, and has known that its essential business in this world is the championship of personality.

VI

So far as the theory of Christian personalism is concerned, one of the major problems which the modern mind faces centers in the idea of God which is involved. For the Christian enthusiast for personality inevitably approaches God in personal terms.

Many today have desperate difficulty with this endeavor so to think of God as personal, and no wonder! The universe does not on the whole act as though it were under efficient personal supervision and control. When I hear some hymns, sermons, and prayers, taking for granted or asserting with naive simplicity that

that this vast, ruthless cosmos, with all the monstrous accidents which it involves, is a neatly planned and personally conducted tour, I recall the more reasonable hypothesis of an East African tribe. "They say," reports an observer, "that although God is good and wishes good for everybody, unfortunately he has a half-witted brother who is always interfering with what he does."¹ That, at least, bears some resemblance to the facts. God's half-witted brother might explain some of life's sickening and insane tragedies which the idea of an omnipotent individual of boundless goodwill toward every soul most certainly does not explain.

To be sure, we can use our wits to some effect in justifying the ways of God to man. There are four factors in creation from which come all human tragedy and pain. First, the law-abiding nature of the universe that will not vary its procedure to save any one; second, the progressive nature of human life, that starting us with ignorance, disease, poverty, slavery, or war, makes us fight our way through difficulties and over obstacles to a better future; third, individual initiative and self-determination by whose misuse we often mess up our own lives and ruin others; fourth, our intermeshing relationships, so unifying our fortunes that what happens to one of us always befalls others too.

From these four factors come all the calamities of men. Yet would we be willing to eliminate any of the four? Would we make the universe whimsical and not law-abiding, or make human life static and not progressive, or make ourselves automata with no initiative, or break up all human relationships and leave our lives isolated like bottles in the rain? All our calamities come from the same factors that provide our opportunities and joys, and were one of us granted omnipotence for an hour he might well hesitate, in spite of the suffering involved, to disturb this fourfold basis of the world.

Nevertheless, when our wits have done their best, life is still an abysmal mystery. Modern Christian thought frankly faces the fact that in our popular pictures of God as "a sort of infinitely magnified and improved Lord Shaftesbury,"² who creates, plans,

1. Richard St. Barbe Baker in address, *Beliefs of Some East African Tribes*, p. 351 of *Religions of the Empire*, ed. by Wm. Loftus Hare.

2. Matthew Arnold in *Literature and Dogma*, p. 255.

supervises, and controls every event in the universe as an omnipotently affectionate and efficient individual might do if he had a free hand, we have added another idol to the list of man's theological images. Christian thought, however, insists that the recognition of this does not mean that we are thrown back on an impersonal idea of God as blind force, uninterested in man and his values as the weather is careless of the flowers.

All intelligent endeavor after an idea of God must begin its quest with reverent agnosticism, with the recognition that whatever we affirm about God can be only a partial and inadequate symbol. When a child begins to study geography he thinks of Italy as like a boot. So it is, but how inadequate a statement about the Italy of Michelangelo and Raphael, Petrarch, and Dante, of Venice, Florence, and Rome! Whatever language we little children on this wandering island in the sky ever use about God is like that—a far-off partial symbol. We are picture-thinkers when we talk about God and we cannot help it, and our pictures, drawn from limited experience, cover only an infinitesimal fragment of the whole.

To suppose that such acknowledgment of the incomprehensibility of God is skepticism is absurd. "All that can be said about God is *not* God, but only certain smallest fragments which fall from His table"—¹ Saint Catherine of Genoa said that. "Divine things are not named by our intellect as they really are in themselves, for in that way it knows them not; but they are named in a way that is borrowed from created things"²—Saint Thomas Aquinas himself said that. Nobody, I suspect, who has imagination enough to grasp the problem can think otherwise. What we can say about God to what is left unsaid is, as James Martineau remarked, "as the rain-drop to the firmament."³

It is important, however, to say what we can say as truly as possible. Whether we take a mechanistic, physico-chemical process as our picture of God, saying as another put it that the ultimate reality is a combination of phosphorous and glue, or whether we take personal life at its best as our admittedly inadequate endeavor to represent him in our thought and devotion,

1. Quoted by Evelyn Underhill in *Man and the Supernatural*, p. 15.

2. Ibid. 3. Sermon: *Where is Thy God?* p. 258 of *Endeavours after the Christian Life* (10th impression) Longmans, Green & Co.

does make an immense difference. What Christianity is at this point admits of no doubt. It is once more the champion of personality. It regards personal life as so significant in the universe that it can be used as the symbol in terms of which we think least inadequately about God.

Accept it or reject it, Christianity involves that. It challenges every merely mechanistic interpretation of the world. It regards materialism as of all systems of magic the most incredible. For materialism is magic. To suppose that physical particles maneuvering in the void fortuitously arranged themselves into planets, forests, mothers, musicians, artists, poets, scientists, and saints is not to work out a philosophy; it is to run away from philosophy and believe in magic.

As for Christianity, its primary postulate is regulative for its idea of God. It discovers him most surely and significantly within personal life. When it is intelligent it does this modestly, taking in earnest Paul's assertion that "at present we only see the baffling reflections in a mirror."¹ All its ideas of God are admittedly symbols, intimations, adumbrations, suggestions; they certainly are not definitions. It rejoices that we cannot comprehend God, for if we could he would not be worth comprehending. It does not suppose that we have achieved more than an infantile lisp when, with our delimited experience of personal life, we utter our profoundest assertions that God is personal. But it does everlastingly return to the proposition that personal life is the road out toward the truth.

The gist of what the church has meant by the Divinity of Jesus lies in the idea that if God is to be symbolized by personal life he should be symbolized by the best personal life we know. The interpretation of the Spiritual World in terms of personality and the interpretation of personality in terms of Christ—that is in brief the summary of Christian theology.

VII.

Inevitably, this philosophy issues in the hope of immortality. If one tells a modern Christian that that hope is vain, that the survival of the personal organism after death is so against all known

1. I Corinthians 13: 12, Moffatt translation.

possibilities as to be incredible, the Christian, I suppose, might answer somewhat as follows:

Imagine twin babes, unborn in their mother's womb, gifted with the power of thought, the one a skeptic and the other a believer. They are living without light and without breathing, both of which would be to them unthinkable. The crisis of birth, tearing them loose from the matrix on which their existence seems fundamentally to depend, would appear to them like death. As for picturing the world without² that would be impossible.

The skeptic babe could say to the believer: You are only a wishful thinker; you desire to go on living and so you think you will. How can you be decently scientific and think that? You see how absolutely our existence depends on present circumstances. You are credulous to suppose that the disruption of them will still leave us alive.

To which the believing babe could reply: My faith is not mere wishful thinking. Month after month nature has been at work here developing something so marvelous that I am confident of an aftermath. Nature is not utterly irrational. She means something by all these preparations, and something will come of them.

To which the skeptic might retort, How, then, do you picture the new life? If you are so sure about the future, describe it! What is it like?

This would obviously put the believing babe in a difficult situation. I do not know how to picture it, he would have to say. It is to me unimaginable, but it may still be true. I am agnostic about all details. Only of this I feel confident, that nature is not so senseless as to undertake such a promising process with no end in view. The crisis that you call death will turn out really to be birth.

I sympathize deeply with that believing unborn babe. He is in the same case with multitudes of Christians. The outward appearances admittedly are against life after death. Nevertheless, not the skeptic babe but the believer would be right. The crisis did look like death but it was not. It was birth.

At any rate, Christianity being the champion of personality is irrevocably the religion of hope. It sees this world as a home for the rearing of persons, not as a gallows on which ultimately they will all be hanged.

Such is the essential genius of Christianity. Whether one looks at its morals, its metaphysics, or its characteristic emotional reactions, reverence for personality is the key to their understanding. In a previous article I said that religion centered in devotion to spiritual values undergirded by confidence in their Conserver, and issuing in communion that brings peace and power. When, however, one finds such psychological elements of religious experience in their typically Christian forms they are always shaped by personalism and colored by its hues. Spiritual values are conceived in terms of enrichment of personality; the Conserver is symbolized by personality at its best; the communion is with an unseen friend.

One does not mean that this emphasis is so exclusively Christian as to be undiscoverable in other faiths. That claim would be absurd. No faith would fail to assert that love for people as expressed in practical service is part and parcel of true religion. Listen to Buddha: "As a mother at the risk of her life watches over her own child, her only child, so also let everyone cultivate a boundless mind towards all beings. And let him cultivate good will toward all the world, a boundless mind, above and below and across, unobstructed, without hatred, without enmity. This (way of) living they say is the best in the world."¹

Yet I am confident that a Buddhist would at once acknowledge that the genius of his religion is far from identical with such enthusiasm for personality as this paper described. Indeed, a good Buddhist might stoutly assert his satisfaction that his faith holds to another view altogether. Individual existence he might say, is an illusion; we are like bubbles on the sea and our peace is to be reabsorbed into its endlessly prolific depths. Continuance of individual existence, he might insist, is a curse and only Nirvana,

¹ Sutta-Nipata, Chapter 8, Mettasutta, p. 25 in Sacred Books of the East, ed. by F. Max Muller.

with the quietude of a candle that has been blown out, is the ultimate hope.

Not all schools of Buddhist thought would say exactly that; they are as diverse as are the multitudinous sects of Christendom; but no one who knows the genius of Buddhism can possibly mistake it for Christianity. Even at the risk of seeming prejudiced, I think Buddhism is a defeatist philosophy. It despairs of personality, thinks it transient and futile, counsels the renunciation of desire as the remedy for ill, and in the meantime pities men that they must exist at all. Christianity is aggressive and spiritually militant. It believes in personality, its infinite possibility, its permanent continuance, its ultimate victory.

Meanwhile, multitudes of people in our so-called Christian land will find it exceedingly difficult in the next generation to be Christians. For some, behavioristic psychology and materialistic philosophy will make the Christian ideas of personal value seem untrue and, for others, the forces of commercial exploitation and selfish greed will make them seem unreal. Many will fall back on being Christians within limits, believing in the sacredness of personality, more or less. In their better moments they will dare to think high thoughts about it, but faith in man will prove too difficult to hold steadily, and the personal God and immortality will seem too good to be true.

The fact is there never have been many Christians. There have been millions of believers in the pagan and semi-pagan accretions which ecclesiastical Christianity has held in common with other faiths, but Christians, who shared Jesus' reverence for personality, have been few and far between.

This is the real challenge to the churches.

What have their sectarian divisions to do with reverence for personality? What have their theological wrangles in common with the cause that Jesus of Nazareth had at heart? What if they could be made to see that their primary business is the championship of personality! What if the enrichment of personality by worship or by better schools, a juster economic system, and a warless world, could become their great enthusiasm! What if the philosophy involved in this championship, interpreting reality in terms of spiritual values instead of dirt, could absorb their thought!

Such a perception of what Christianity is might cause as salutary a revolution as ever has convulsed and reconstructed the churches. It might even make Christianity Christian!

NEW YORK.

HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK.

BIJAYAKRISHNA GOSWAMI.

By BIPIN CHANDRA PAL.

III

THERE was a group of devout people in Bengal who went by the name of "Kartabhajas." This name was evidently given them by their enemies, who could not tolerate the growth of a new spiritual brotherhood about them, seeking after special illumination. The founder of this Brotherhood was a saintly person, to whom great spiritual and occult powers were attributed by his following. A succession of spiritual teachers followed this saintly person, carrying the light which he had lighted in this province, particularly in Western Bengal, and trying to initiate people into his Sadhana. They inculcated no creed, did not set up any image or idol of any of the gods or goddesses of the popular Bengalee Pantheon. Their disciplines were partly psychophysical, and partly emotional; and in their emotional or spiritual culture they used the "Name" of the Lord and through concentrated contemplation of this "Name" which they declared was not different from the Lord himself, they attained the state of spiritual beatitude known as "Samadhi" in the literature of our Yoga. At the time of the revival of the Brahmo Samaj there were some powerful Gurus of this Brotherhood living in and near Calcutta. One of them was living in the village of Garifa which was the ancestral home of Keshub Chunder Sen himself. He was the uncle of one of the purest and most devout of the Brahmo missionaries whom Keshub had gathered about him. The religious songs extant in the country bear convincing testimony to the profound acquaintance of this saintly person with the higher philosophy of Vedantic Gnosticism of the Vaishnavic school, as well as to his deep spiritual experiences and realisations.



There were two other teachers of this spiritual Brotherhood, who were living in Calcutta in those days. One of them was accepted as *guru* by the late Umesh Chandra Dutt, Principal of the City College and a respected leader of the Sadharana Brahmo Samaj. Another was also intimately known to some of the leading members of the Samaj.

There was considerable intellectual, moral and spiritual affinity between the Brahmo Samaj and this unique spiritual Brotherhood. Though they accepted the place and function of the *guru*, who had acquired direct God-realisation, in the pursuit of the knowledge of Brahman, they did not advance any supernatural claims on behalf of their gurus, even while they did propound the doctrine that through the grace of the *guru* alone real illumination ultimately came; and loyalty to the guru was a condition for the acquisition of his grace. But the guru was still only an ordinary human being, liable to errors like other human beings, in regard to matters that were not within his direct realisation. In fact, one of the familiar sayings of this Brotherhood is:

Yaha na dekha apana nayane

Vishwash na kara kabhu guru'r vacane

It means that which you do not see with your own eyes, you must not accept on the saying of your *guru*. The function of the guru is not to impose his opinion or convictions upon you but to lead you by the same way that brought illumination to him, and when you have attained that illumination, then only you will be able to believe honestly and intelligently in him. No creed, no restrictions regarding one's personal faith, which is mostly a matter of tradition and hearsay and not a thing established by direct realisation; no restrictions in regard to domestic or social conduct except that which is in violation of the accepted laws of morality; complete freedom of opinion and belief, and of social and domestic life and relations; these were the general characteristics of this Brotherhood. It was, thus, in some sense, a Universal Brotherhood, because it accepted even Mahomedans into its fold, and all castes, high or low, were equally welcomed into its fellowship. While it left its members free to follow their own social laws and traditions, inside the Brotherhood, in meetings

of the Brotherhood,—caste was never tolerated. Outcaste Brahmos, and high-caste Brahmins, and so-called untouchables of the Hindu communion, were not only equally welcome to the spiritual meetings of the Brotherhood but as frequently they had a feast on special occasions, even in eating and drinking, no caste conceits were tolerated. One instance of it came to my knowledge some years back. They had a gathering of the Brotherhood in the house of a Barber by caste, at Bhavanipur. Some of the Brahmin members of the Brotherhood objected to take food cooked by the lady of the house. At this the *guru* who presided over that gathering openly asked those who wanted to keep their caste in meetings of the Brotherhood to get out of it; they had no place in it. This brought the caste-proud Brahmins to a proper sense of their relations with the Brotherhood and they meekly submitted to take their food cooked and served by non-Brahmin people! Owing to these attitudes and general laws of personal freedom and social equality this Kartabhaja Brotherhood had great affinities with the Brahmo Samaj and orthodox Brahmos like Babu Umesh Chunder Dutt found no difficulty in joining it for those spiritual and emotional exercises for which they did not find sufficient scope in the ordinary worships of the Samaj.

Bijayakrishna was gradually drawn to this group and got himself initiated into their *Sadhan* or spiritual culture. But it did not satisfy his craving for direct God-realisation. As a result of these exercises, he, however, did get some new experiences. At this time he frequently lost himself in repeating the name of the Lord, and even was possessed by the vision of nameless beauty in Nature. One day, for instance, after conducting divine service in the Brahmo Samaj at Dacca, he came out as if in a trance and with outspread arms rushed to embrace a crotone grove that stood in front of the Mandir. These experiences were frequently repeated, but instead of satisfying his hunger for direct God-vision or God-realisation, these only served to increase it the more until he found it impossible, literally, to live without *seeing* his Lord and Master.

At this time, he retired from the turmoils and distractions of the life in Calcutta, and going to Gaya devoted himself entirely

to the contemplation of the Lord in the solitude of the Gaya-hills sanctified by the memories of the strivings and attainments of many a saint and seer from the days of the great Buddha himself. And one day when he was literally writhing in the agony of his soul, and fell into a swoon, a saintly person came and taking him up in his lap, communicated to him a *mantram*. Awaking from his trance, Bijayakrishna commenced to repeat this *mantram* with every breath, and went presently into a trance again. And in this state, he found the object of his heart's desire. Thus did *siddhi* or the fulfilment of his untiring spiritual endeavours, come at long last to Bijayakrishna. What this experience or vision was, it is not easy for those who never had it, to say. But those who had known Bijayakrishna from his early youth onward and who had been his spiritual companions and friends in the Brahmo Samaj, saw a strange change not only in his conduct and conversation but even in his outer appearance at this time. Tradition of the life of Shree Chaitanya Mahaprabhu, the founder of the Bengal School of Vaishnavism, says that he too saw a vision while offering the customary *pinda* to his father at the Stone called Vishnook-pada at Gaya which at once maddened him and he went about crying "Oh Krishna! Oh my son!" Bijayakrishna had some such experience at the spot near "Akasha Ganga" where he received his initiation from his last Guru.

During the following anniversary of the Brahmo Samaj in Calcutta, people observed a strange transformation in Bijayakrishna. He moved about like a drunken man. Living on the physical plane, he seemed hardly to belong to it. On the 11th of Magh, the principal day of the anniversary, Bijayakrishna, as had been usual since the establishment of the Sadharana Brahmo Samaj, was the Minister. But he could not follow the usual liturgy of Brahmo worship; all that he was able to do from start to finish was to call upon the assembled congregation to "place their feet on his head." It was a strange prayer, but so great was the power of it that it moved the crowded house to tears and not a man or woman could move from his or her seat, and there was a strange spiritual and emotional afflatus resulting from these simple words. Never before had there been such a tidal wave of emotionalism and devotion, in the Brahmo worship.

The congregation, however, did not really seize the significances of this soul-moving prayer of Bijayakrishna. Read in the light of the experiences of Bengal Vaishnavism, it meant really a prayer not to men and women gathered in that congregation, but to the Lord himself. Because men and women had ceased, after his beatitude on the Akasha-Ganga hills at Gaya, to be mere human in Bijayakrishna's eye. They were the visible manifestation of the Supreme Lord Himself. The Lord appeared to Bijayakrishna at Akasha-Ganga, not as an abstraction of logic or generalisation of philosophy, nor as some supernatural Being, but as the highest perfection of the ordinary, natural human. He saw Him neither as Brahman, nor as Paramatman, but as Bhagavan, or Narottama, or Purushottama. It is impossible for one like myself who have not had this direct God-Vision, to put in words what it really was. But even one without this qualification can imagine in the light of much lower experiences, what it must have been. In these visions the sensuous and the supersensuous so mingle together, that it is difficult, if not impossible, to separate the one from the other. From this time forward Bijayakrishna lived in a perpetual consciousness of the Universal. He proved in his life and conduct the truth of the text of the Upanishad:

Bhidyate hridayagranthis chidyante sarva samsayah

Kshiyante c'asya karmani tasmin drishte paravare

For him who sees the Supreme Person all bonds of carnal affections and desires are severed, all doubts are dispelled, all self-regarding actions are worn off. Bijayakrishna attained this state after his supreme beatitude at the Akasha-Ganga Hill in Gaya. Real and absolutely honest as all his previous life and conduct had been, and moving as his prayers and spiritual exercises in our congregational worships had been universally found before, these became more real and soul-stirring from now. There was no suspicion of fancy or rhetoric, or makebelieve in his worships and sermons from this time forward. There appeared a new power in the simplest and plainest of his words in prayer and adoration. A new emotionalism took possession of him. The old universalism of the Brahmo Samaj assumed a new meaning and significance now in the life and conversations of this Brahmo Minister and

missionary. He was now found to go off in trance not only during Brahmo Sankeertans, but also during popular and so-called, idolatrous Vaishnava keertans also. He was found to lose himself in God-consciousness even in the presence of the Goddess Kalee in the temples of the Bengalee Shakti Worshipers. And it was not confined to Hindu temples only, the same vision came to him even before Moslem Mosques. To him all religions thus became true, in the sense, that in all religions there have been devout saints and seers who had direct God-realisation. In the plane of direct realisation, there were no conflicts of theologies or sectarianism. These were found only on the lower mental plane where men imagine the Nature of their God from their experiences of their outer cosmic or inner psychological or their social life. Here God was the God of logic or philosophy, or more often merely the God of ancient traditions. But in the higher reaches of the religious and spiritual life where the worshipper sees his Lord not darkly as through a glass but directly face to face, there is no room for conflicts and sectarian bigotry. Bijayakrishna after his experience at Akash-Ganga, attained this state of spiritual illumination and henceforward all sectarian limitations dropped off from his mind and conduct as dry leaves of autumn.

But the general body of the members of the Brahmo Samaj still living on the lower intellectual and ethical plane, could not tolerate this new universalism of Bijayakrishna. They could not imagine that true God-vision could come before the Hindu images of Kalee or Krishna. And this was the root of the troubles which they had at this time with Bijayakrishna. Bijayakrishna had figures of Radha-Krishna put up on the wall of his sanctuary in Dacca. Though he offered no puja to these, still the very presence of these figures in a private Brahmo Sanctuary, gave mortal offence to many Brahmos. To add to this offence, popular Vaishnava hymns to Radha and Krishna were permitted in this sanctuary and Bijayakrishna even used these as spiritual helps and oftentimes lost himself in trance during these performances. All these were against the creed of the Brahmo Samaj. And there was a hue and cry against these outrageous innovations as they seemed to the general body of intellectuals, ethicists and rationalists of the Brahmo Samaj. The result of this agitation was that

Bijayakrishna resigned his position as a Missionary of the Samaj which resignation, unhappily, was readily accepted by the Executive Committee of the Samaj. This was a very grave misfortune for the Brahmo Samaj itself on the one side, as it was on the other, for the high and profound spiritual ideals which had found such manifest verification in the life of Bijayakrishna. From this time forward his Hindu disciples gathered in great force about him, and sought to lend a mediaeval Hindu air to his character and realisations, which was not really true; but which for obvious reasons found popular acceptance by the multitude.

The ground for this mediaeval Hindu interpretation of the life and realisations of Bijayakrishna had been already prepared by the movement of so-called Hindu Revival that followed, particularly in Bengal, the keen political conflict provoked during Lord Ripon's Viceroyalty, by the Ilbert Bill. The reckless attacks on Hindu religious and social institutions made by representatives of the European community in the country to prove the moral disability of Hindu or Indian Magistrates to try criminal cases against Europeans, led to a counter movement which on the one hand commenced to defend these Hindu institutions and on the other sought to expose with equal recklessness the moral defects of the European domestic and social life. The Brahmo Samaj and every other reform movements in the country suffered very seriously in consequence of this new revival and reaction. About the time when Bijayakrishna attained his *siddhi* this wave of Hindu reaction was passing over Bengal upsetting all our progressive and rational ethical and spiritual values. The movement of religious and social freedom represented by the Brahmo Samaj from the days of Raja Ram Mohun Roy lost the hold that it had got on the mind and life of our educated intelligentsia. This new conflict with Bijayakrishna, whose great spiritual achievements were universally acknowledged by even orthodox Hindus, reacted against the Brahmo Samaj on the one side and in favour of Hindu reaction on the other. Bijayakrishna's secession from the Brahmo Samaj naturally gladdened the opponents of the progressive propaganda of the Samaj, who commenced to gather round him in increasing numbers, until they practically overwhelmed his personality and his teachings, in their

determined and designing attempt to present him to the people as a great Hindu saint and seer of the mediaeval type. As had happened in the case of Ramakrishna so it happened in the case of Bijayakrishna, around whom the same kind of supernatural legends soon grew up that appealed to the crowd and blurred the vision of the great and fundamental truths for which he stood. This is seen even today in the many lives of Bijayakrishna that have been published by his Hindu reactionary disciples.

But Bijayakrishna never by so much as a jot or tittle went back upon the progressive ideals of his Brahmo days. When the painting of Radha-Krishna was put up in his sanctuary, he declared in a sermon delivered in the Brahmo Mandir at Dacca that Radha-Krishna are not allegories. They are not devatas or gods of the popular Hindu Pantheon. At this he stopped. He did not say what they are. But we know from the literature of Bengal Vaishnavism what he meant. Radha-Krishna are *tatvavastus* or Ultimate Realities. They are the two aspects of the Divine Unity, which is not undifferentiated, but eternally self-differentiated. Through this eternal act of self-differentiation, the Absolute or Brahman stands to Himself as both Subject and Object, or Knower and Known as well as, as Enjoyer and Enjoyed. The three essential aspects or qualities or properties of the Absolute or Brahman or the Ultimate Reality are Being or Sat, Knowing or Chit, and Doing or Enjoying or Anandam which includes both the emotional and the volitional qualities or attributes of Brahman. And though mere Being is possible and conceivable in the abstract as undifferentiated unity, Chit or Knowing, Anandam or Enjoying and Acting, are impossible and inconceivable unless some form of differentiation be posited inside the Unity of the Absolute or Brahman. In practical religion, which consists of the worship of the Lord, and the consequent belief in the Divine Personality, this self-differentiation of the Absolute or Brahman is absolutely essential for all religious and spiritual exercises and realisations. But modern rationalism has failed to seize this truth as the logic of man's religious life. The conception of the Divine Personality is therefore very feeble in modern rational religion. In Christianity it is built upon the doctrine of Christ indicated in the Fourth

Gospel; "In the Beginning was the Word, the Word was with God, the very God of God. "The Word here corresponds to the Prakriti of our thought and theology. This prakriti is Sri Radha in the philosophy of Bengal Vaishnavism. Through Sri Radha the Ultimate Reality or Sri Krishna (described as Bhagavan Himself: *Krishnastu Bhagavan swayam*") realises his personality even as through the Christ or Logos, the Father, in Christian consciousness realises Himself and becomes a Person. This is really what Bijayakrishna meant when he said that Radha Krishna were not gods, Radha Krishna were not allegories.

When correctly understood, there is really no repudiation of the fundamental principles of the Brahmo Samaj in this Rādhā-Krishna philosophy of the school of Sri Chaitanya Mahāprabhu. The Brahmo Samaj believes in the Divine Personality. Brahman in the philosophy of the Samaj is not "impersonal" as is generally interpreted by the Samkara-Vedanta philosophy. Brahman is a person, the Supreme Person. This is what Sri Chaitanya established in his discussion with Prakasananda Swami, a renowned Samkara-Vedantin of his time, in Benares. Mahāprabhu declared that the meaning of the Sutra of Vyasa is as clear as crystal. It is the commentary of Samkara that clouds this meaning. And saying this he placed his own interpretation of the Sutra regarding Brahman in these words in Bengalee:

Brahma shavda mukhya arthe kahe Bhagavan

Chidaishwarya paripurna anurdhasaman.

Tamhar vivhuti deha sav chidakar

Chidvivuti acchadiya kahe nirakar.

It means that the word Brahman in its essential meaning refers to Bhagavan. This Bhagavan is filled with spiritual contents and powers and objects. He has none equal or superior to Him. His manifestations and body are all spiritual objects—his form is a spiritual form. It is only by concealing His spiritual or *chit* attributes and objects and form, that He is established or declared as "nirākara" or without form or body.

The Brahmo Samaj entered its protest not against spiritual "form" of the Lord but only against material forms imagined by the crowd of Hindus. In the philosophy of Bengal Vaishnavism also we find a repudiation of the ascription of all material forms

to Bhagavan. The Brahmo Samaj believes in the Personality of God. Personality involves not necessarily duality but certainly differentiation. We realise our self-consciousness or personality by finding ourselves standing over against other persons or objects. The presence of the not-self is a necessary condition of our self-consciousness. But Brahman or the Ultimate Reality from which all objects have come to being, by which all objects continue to be, Brahman, Who or Which is both the efficient and material cause of this universe or Brahmanda, can have possibly nothing that can be called His not-self. Therefore, Brahman can have no personality either. This is the position of the Samkara-Vedantin. But the Vaishnava-Vedanta particularly of the Bengal school urge that though it is true that there is nothing which stands outside the Being of Brahman, within His own Being there are essential differentiations of subject and object. The universe though eternally existing in Brahman stands still eternally differentiated from Him as the known stands differentiated, but not separated from the knower. The relation between the subject and the object is not a relation of absolute identity, nor is it a relation of absolute difference. The object is neither absolutely different from the subject; if it were so the subject could never know its object, all knowledge being self-knowledge. If, on the other hand, the object was absolutely identical with the subject, then also there could be no knowledge, because who then would know what? Therefore the Vaishnava Vedanta of Bengal declares that there are endless relations, not "maayic," but "paramarthic", to use Samkara's own terminology, in Brahman. The character of the Being of Brahman is therefore not undifferentiated, but self-differentiated Unity. The term used is "Acintya Bhed-Abheda"—inconceivable difference in unity and unity in difference. The subject in this relation in the Being of Brahman is called the Purusha while the Object is called Prakriti. Purusha is the personal God; Prakriti stands as neither absolutely identical with Him, nor as absolutely different from Him. This, briefly, is the philosophy of the Divine Personality both in Christianity and our Vaishnavism. This is the necessary logic of the creed of the Brahmo Samaj. When Bijayakrishna said that Radha Krishna were not allegories or gods, he really referred to the fundamental

philosophy of the Divine Personality. Krishna is the Purusha and Radha is his Prakriti. Translated in the terms of Christian thought Krishna would stand for the Father and Radha for the Son. It is, therefore, that I contend that correctly understood Bijayakrishna did not repudiate the fundamental creed of the Brahmo Samaj in accepting Vaishnavic terminology or Vaishnavic method for the cultivation of the deeper spiritual realisation or higher emotional exercises that now became a prominent feature of his life and devotions.

In justice, however, to those members of the Brahmo Samaj who entered their emphatic protest against this new development of the religious and spiritual life of their Minister and Missionary, it must be said that the true meaning of the Vaishnavic cult and culture of Bengal, as taught and practiced by Sri Chaitanya, had been almost completely lost in the prevailing faith and realisations of popular Vaishnavism. The great body of Vaishnavas regarded Radha Krishna as god and goddess just like the other gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon; while a section of them had degraded religion by indulgence in anti-social sexual relations as a part of spiritual culture. All sorts of immoralities had found shelter behind the popular Radha-Krishna cult which had become therefore a contemptible and vulgar thing even in the eye of respectable Hindu orthodoxy itself. English education and Christian influence following it, had created a new moral consciousness in the community which felt deeply disgusted with the sensualities that had got associated with the Radha-Krishna cult in Bengal. In these circumstances one can hardly blame the Brahmo Samaj for refusing to accept the neo-Vaishnavic developments of Bijayakrishna, at the same time looking back upon the history of the Brahmo Samaj on the one side and the evolution of general Hindu religious thought and life of Bengal on the other during the fortyfive years that have elapsed since Bijayakrishna was made to resign from his connections as Minister and Missionary of the Brahmo-Samaj, one cannot help realising what a great loss his breach with the Brahmo Samaj has been to the spiritual life of the Samaj itself and to the modern religious movement in this province in general.

Separated from the intimate fellowship of the Brahmo Samaj, Bijayakrishna inevitably found himself so far as human companionship is concerned, in a state of intellectual, moral and even spiritual isolation. He was henceforward surrounded by his Hindu disciples, who while accepting him as their *guru* had little appreciation of his real *sadhana* and *siddhi*. There were a few Brahmos, no doubt, who clung to him even after he resigned from his old connection with the Samaj. But the inner mould of even of most of these Brahmos was more mediaeval than modern. They were captivated by the superb emotionalism or Bhakti of Bijayakrishna more than by his deep spirituality. Though they had joined the Brahmo Samaj, they were never in living intellectual and moral touch with the reasoned beliefs and ethical ideals of the Samaj. They were in their inner nature and longings still hankering after the popular traditions and disciplines of orthodox Hindu society. They were still looking for signs and wonders in the higher regions of the religious life. And when Bijayakrishna gave evidences of direct God-realisation, these disciples of his commenced to search for what are called "yogaishvarya" or yogic powers in him. And they soon started to proclaim these occult acquisitions of their guru to people whether consciously or unconsciously, to attract the multitude to him. Gradually, the emphasis of the achievements of Bijayakrishna was transferred in the estimate and propaganda of many of his disciples, both Brahmo and Hindu, from his real spiritual life to these powers and acquisitions. In this way, the process of Hinduising him went on until he was accepted by the crowd as a real Hindu saint of the old orthodox and mediaeval type. Some of his disciples went, indeed, so far as to proclaim him as an avatar, on the one hand, and on the other, with curious logic, declare that he had committed a great mistake in his early life by joining the Brahmo Samaj which he really repented in his later life.

But these legends are not borne out by actualities of the life and teachings of Bijayakrishna after his supreme realisation at the Akasa-Ganga Hill at Gaya. For some years after that incident, Bijayakrishna continued his ministrations in the Brahmo Samaj, and indeed, it was not really he who found it impossible to be

inside the Brahmo Fellowship, but the leaders of the Sadharana Brahmo Samaj who made it practically impossible for him to continue his association with them. Whenever his personal attendants, who were extremely eager to prove his reconversion to current Hinduism, did anything special in furtherance of their object, Bijayakrishna, if the matter came to his notice, would do something as a silent repudiation of their ideas. After his connection with the Brahmo Samaj as its minister and missionary had ceased, Bijayakrishna, then living in Calcutta, had a spell of fever, that appeared to be malaria. The doctor who was called to see him, prescribed toasted bread for his diet. One of his close attendants at this asked Bijayakrishna from where must the loaf be brought. Calcutta had in those days, loaves and biscuits prepared by Brahmins which was generally used by the semi-orthodox Hindus, the truly orthodox would not even touch these foreign preparations. Bijayakrishna evidently saw through the motive of this query and replied: "Why? It should be brought from the Great Eastern Hotel." Of course after this direct injunction this Hindu disciple could not help Bijayakrishna to observe the Hindu rules of caste. For a few days the prescribed loaf was brought from the Great Eastern Hotel. But the Great Eastern Hotel represented the higher and purer type of heterodoxy. After some days, Bijayakrishna called his attendant and ordered him not to go so far for his loaf of bread but get it from the Moslem baker who had a shop at the junction of College Street and Mechua-bazar Street. After resigning from the ministry of the Brahmo Samaj, Bijayakrishna came from Dacca and took up his lodgings in the house of the late Babu Rakhal Chandra Roy, zemindar of Lakhutia in Barisal in Sukero Street. The hall in which he had his seat (at this time he had given up sleeping on bed, extending his limbs at full length, and spent the whole day and night in uninterrupted contemplation of the Lord) was covered with reed mat as was the fashion in the house of Europeans and the wealthier class of Indians. A disciple of his brought a "shalagram-sheela" the familiar stone-god of Bengalee Hindus, and started giving *arjya* to it in the usual fashion, with the holy water of the Ganges and the leaves of the sacred Tulsi plant. One day an old Mahomedan peon of the Sadharana Brahmo Samaj, Shauket ali by

name, who had known and loved Bijayakrishna when he was a Minister of the Samaj, came to pay his respects to him. When he was announced, Bijayakrishna readily asked to have him brought up immediately. This was done, and this Mahomedan menial of the Brahmo Samaj was invited to take his seat on the same mat on which the Shalagram was being worshipped by a Brahmin disciple of his. When Shauket ali had taken his leave, and the Brahmin disciple had also gone away to his room carrying his idol with him, Bijayakrishna said: "When Kulada Brahmachari (the disciple mentioned above) brought his Shalagram here and set up its worship, I did not like it; as I have no sectarian symbol here in my sanctuary. But I tolerated it. Now I find that I did well not to object to Kulada's shalagram being set up in front of me. Because it has been proved today that my toleration of the shalagram has resulted in the shalagram's tolerating the contact of Shauket ali." This incident throws quite a flood of light upon the mind and temper of Bijayakrishna even after what has been described as his *siddhi* or illumination or direct God-realisation.

Two incidents indicative of Bijayakrishna's fidelity to his Brahmo principles and ideals had reference to me personally. One morning, when Bijayakrishna was living in Seetaram Ghosh's Street, I went to see him. He used to have a large cup of tea for his early meal with hot "halooa" called also "kadaprasad" by the Sikhs, a preparation of semolina and sugar cooked in clarified butter and milk. When I was seated in front of him, his tea was served, and Bijayakrishna asked the disciple who was attending him to bring tea for me also. At this time his Hindu disciples tried to prevent any one being present when Bijayakrishna had his meals. The attending disciple, evidently did not like the idea of an outcaste like myself being present when the *guru* was taking his tea; so he asked me to follow him outside for my tea. But Bijayakrishna obviously did not like it, and in an unmistakably offended tone, ordered him to bring my tea and sweets there in his room so that I might keep him company in his early meal.

When I went to England in the autumn of 1898, Bijayakrishna was in Puri. On my way to Bombay it suddenly occurred to me to take leave of him on the wire, and I sent a telegram to him

from the Nagpore Station. Having despatched it, I gave no further thought to it. But what therefore was my surprise when on board the steamer on the high seas going to my cabin I found his wire, which simply said "God bless you"! On my return home in 1900, I heard from a friend who was with Bijayakrishna when his son went to him with my telegram and read it out to him, what happened at that time. Bijayakrishna sat for a few moments lost in *dhyana* or meditation, and then opening his eyes, asked his son to despatch the wire that I had found on the high seas. That was the last message which I had from him. During my absence in England, Bijayakrishna left this world. When my wire was read to him the Hindu disciples seated about him commenced to comment upon my heresy in going to England. Their words entered Bijayakrishna's ears and he asked what it was they were talking about. They said that how would it be possible for me to observe the rules of his sadhan or discipline in the matter of food and drink in England? Bijayakrishna hearing this at once declared: "There are no restrictions in Bipin Babu's case." All these are clear evidences of the freedom from all prejudices and superstitions of this Bengalee saint, who continued to the end of his days to be a reformer and a Brahmo, in his social and domestic ideas and ideals, with this difference, however, that while in his younger days he sought to preach these to all and sundry, in his later life he realised that every body was not fitted to receive these and consequently permitted different individuals to pursue their inner bent in the conviction that all would in good time see the Truth and follow it at the instance of their own inner reason and conscience and not merely run with the crowd in regulating their life and conduct.

The greatest contribution of Bijayakrishna was to the Vaishnavic revival in modern Bengal. And it was for this that at the Kumbha-Mela of 1894 at Allahabad, Bijayakrishna set up the figures of Mahaprabhu Sri Chaitanya and his right-hand colleague Nityananda near his tent there. The obvious object was to invite the attention of the sadhus of Hindoostan assembled in such large numbers in that Mela, to the great Bhakti Movement in Bengal. That movement did not achieve its fullest end, Bijayakrishna used

to say, and that was the real need and reason of the advent of Raja Ram Mohun and the Brahmo Samaj which came not to destroy but only to fulfil the great mission of Mahaprabhu. No one who had not acquired real Brahmajnanam, that is who had not realised Brahman in all things animate and inanimate, and particularly, who having attained this Brahmajnana had not ceased to look upon man as mere man, instead of as the highest revelation of the Supreme Lord himself, is qualified to pursue the way of pure Bhakti shewn by Shree Chaitanya Mahaprabhu. In this Bhakti was the real fulfilment of the mission of the Brahmo Samaj. This was Bijayakrishna's message to his time and people. Few even among his near disciples have been able to seize the truth and inwardness of his life's message and mission. But, however, partially understood Bijayakrishna stands as one of the makers of the spiritual life of modern Bengal.

CALCUTTA.

BIPIN CHANDRA PAL.

THRALLDOM.

I have listened to the missel-thrush,
 Listened to the lark,
 Listened to the Nightingale
 Singing after dark.
 But never have I heard a song,
 That clung so to my choice,
 As that to which my whole life turned
 When first I heard your voice!

* * * * *

I have watched the glimmering stars at eve,
 Watched the sun awake,
 Watched the moon-kissed ripples on
 A deep and silent lake.
 But never have I seen a light
 In Gods own glorious skies,
 Like that which held my soul in thrall
 When first I saw your eyes!

BIRMINGHAM.

LELAND J. BERRY.

THE VALLEY OF DREAMS.

Here in a Valley where streamlets are singing
And sweet golden laughter sweeps up to the skies,
Where Thrushes and Linnets are mating and winging,
Here 'twas I loved you, O! Beautiful Eyes!

* * * * *
Here midst the gold of the wild daffodils
When the air throbbed and thrilled with love-cries,
When the moon drew a soft veil of gold o'er the hills
Here 'twas we wandered, O! Beautiful Eyes!

* * * * *
Here, where our sweet tale of love was oft told
When life was a medley of laughter and sighs,
Here I shall wander when we have grown old
Remembering—and dreaming, O! Beautiful Eyes!

BIRMINGHAM.

LELAND J. BERRY.

THE LIGHT OF LIFE.

When thou art near
Sorrows fall from me
As the ripe leaves drop
From their parent tree
To the cool green sward below.

* * *
When thou hast gone
Care lines my face
With cruel fingers,
And sorrow comes apace
Like night after radiant day.

BIRMINGHAM.

LELAND J. BERRY.

GLEANINGS.

"THE TIGER" SURVEYS THE WORLD.

UPON his head the man who dictated the Peace Treaty of Versailles, overruling both Lloyd George and Woodrow Wilson, wore somewhat coquettishly the famous Greek cap, classically "flapped," in which he is always depicted.

Clemenceau's stature is slight. In spite of the almost ferocious energy that one still suspects in his frame, he did not at first look like a tiger. In his lighter manner he seemed Puck at the age of a hundred; in his more serious moods, when the cap sat awry on his skull, there were touches and traits of King Lear.

"What is your view of the present state of the world in general and of France in particular?" I asked him.

Imps seemed to leap from Clemenceau's eyes.

"Conditions will be satisfactory as long as the present balance of power on the continent of Europe remains. If that balance be upset by any revival of German imperialism, Europe will have another general war."

"Will it be possible for diplomacy or philosophy to abolish war?"

"No."

PEACE AND POWER.

"What is the supreme lesson of the War for you, for France, for the world?"

"History repeats itself. Man should prevent history from repeating itself. Peace is made by the biggest battalions. Peace is the creation of the strongest power! Our statesmen have secured with much expenditure of words the admission of Germany into the so-called League of Nations. There her pledges will have the same value as those by which she guaranteed the neutrality of Belgium only in the end to violate it openly without even seeking the ordinary resource of lying pretexts."

"Are you happy when you are not working?"

"Happiness! What is happiness? I take pleasure in simple things. It delights me to be in life and out of it at the same time."

"Which is more dangerous, the vague idealism of men like Woodrow Wilson or the opportunism of men like Lloyd George?"

MUSSOLINI'S ESSAY.

"All depends upon the man. A nebulous idealism fostered by a positive genius is better than a positive opportunism in the mood of Hamlet. We should study the

circumstances in which each was placed before deciding anything. History is filled with characters who essayed to play a part for which their temperaments unfitted them. There is a time for all things. Hence there may be a time to be nebulous as well as a time to be an opportunist."

"Did you know," I interjected, "that Mussolini not only reads Nietzsche, but that he wrote an essay on Klopstock, a poet so dull that not one in a million Germans has the patience to wade through his works?"

"Klopstock?" Clemenceau repeated. "I have not read Klopstock. But I translated every line of Goethe's 'Faust.'"

"In verse?" I questioned.

"Yes."

"Did you publish your translations?"

"No, I"—he emphasised the personal pronoun grimly—"make no claim to being a poet. I am a materialist."

GREATEST OF ALL POETS.

"Do you consider," I asked, Goethe's 'Faust' the greatest of all poems?"

"It is one of the greatest."

"Who is the greatest poet?"

"Shakespeare is the greatest of all poets. He overwhelms me. He is over-towering. But I certainly honour Johann Wolfgang." He bowed.

"Shakespeare," Clemenceau continued, "was not only a great poet, but a great personality. He embraced the world."

The supreme human achievement to Clemenceau has given much thought to the problem of life and death.

THE ULTIMATE HAPPINESS.

"Can you," I said, "summarise in a phrase what is the ultimate happiness?"

"The Ultimate happiness," Clemenceau chuckled, "is not to be bothered."

"And what," I asked, "is the supreme human achievement?"

"To be a philosopher."

Clemenceau takes his place with philosophers. One of the masters of French politics, he is at eighty-six one of the masters of French thought. Clemenceau is the incarnation of philosophy in its sceptical mood! He looked the part. The light that fell through the curtained window revealed fierce, flashing, furious eyes. He dissembles them behind spectacles which he takes off at intervals to stare at those whose questions rouse him.

"Is not life too short to be worth living?" I asked.

"It depends upon how you define life," Clemenceau growled. "In the light of my own experience I have not found life too short to be worth living. It might easily be too long to be worth living. Life is no longer worth living when one has exhausted its possibilities."

"Do you believe that modern science will be able to prolong life appreciably?"

"Yes."

SECRET OF YOUTH.

"To what do you ascribe your own extraordinary youthfulness?"

"I write, I read, I exercise, I eat simply. That is the secret of youth," he remarked. "Moderation, exercise, work, are my daily companions. One day I discovered with a shock that I was fifty. On that day I made up my mind to exercise regularly. I never depart from this habit. It keeps me fit."

"Do you believe with Bernard Shaw that man will live three hundred years eventually?"

"That," Clemenceau replied, shaking his head impatiently, "involves a prediction about the future of humanity, and all predictions about the future of humanity are liable to be falsified by the introduction of the element of the unforeseen. Granting that the element of the unforeseen does not upset the inference, it may be said that a time can be envisaged when the life of man will be prolonged very much beyond what we now think possible."

"As a psychologist and a philosopher," I ventured, "what is your attitude toward psycho-analysis?"

Clemenceau looked at me without comprehension.

THE GREATEST PHILOSOPHER.

"What do you think of Freud?"

He repeated the name which, however, seemed to mean nothing to him.

"Yes, Freud," I spelled the name for him.

"Who is he?" the Tiger roared. "Has he written a book?"

I renewed my questioning along more familiar channels.

"Who is the greatest philosopher?"

"Plato." The reply was instantaneous.

"The greatest statesman?"

"Caesar."

"The greatest soldier?"

"Napoleon."

"Who is your favourite author?"

"My favourite author? My favourite author to-day may not be my favourite author to-morrow."

Clemenceau, at eighty-six, is fickle in his attachments. He likes to be amused. Authorship is one of his amusements.

GEORGE SYLVESTER VIERECK.—In the *Sunday Referee*.

Mr. GALSWORTHY AS DRAMATIST

NATURALISM AND THE SOCIAL SCENE

"The Times Literary Supplement" in the course of a review of a collected edition of Mr. Galsworthy's plays, writes:—

A fifth volume of plays, containing *The Forest Old English*, *The Show and*

Escape, has lately been added to the Manaton Edition, and *Exiled*, which was first performed at Wyndham's Theatre on June 19, comes now from the press. All the dramatic work that Mr. Galsworthy has accomplished lies before us. It has too much substance to be regarded as the off-shoot of a novelist's pen. Nor is there any temptation so to regard it; for, whatever faults it may have, they are not faults that spring from a confusion of media, even the episodic method of *Escape* being a genuine theatrical experiment and not the chopping up of a novel into lengths. There is, and must be, an easily traceable connexion between the novelist and the dramatist in Mr. Galsworthy; when he turns to the theatre he does not put away that distinguishing character of his writing which is his style—a quality so deep and personal in an artist that it permeates all variations of technique. But men who are by profession "of the theatre" are so inclined to claim for themselves an exclusive privilege within it, and to pretend that there are mysteries of their art unfathomable by "literary men," that it may be salutary to insist that Mr. Galsworthy is a lively instance of the opposite truth.

The art of the theatre is not a bundle of actors' or producers' tricks but a branch of letters, sprung from the same creative seed as poetry itself, warmed and refreshed by the same sun and rain of experience and imagination, and owing its life to the same continual sap of human illusion and desire for illusion. When the drama is separated from the tree of literature it dries up and withers. Instead of a play we are given a pageant or, in the manner of the expressionists, a disconnected series of emotional shocks to which weariness speedily makes an audience immune. Mr. Galsworthy's drama is, as it should be technically "of the theatre;" that is to say, the artist's selective process is governed by the conditions of the stage and the nature of theatrical audiences. In this sense he is generally an accomplished technician, having only one outstanding weakness—and that in common with Shakespeare—namely, a tendency very conspicuous in his last play, to over-estimate a theatrical audience's demand for comic relief. Apart from this and a dangerous habit of rubbing in his conclusions, his theatrical judgment is sound. At the same time he remains in the theatre a man of letters, and it is upon his power to preserve a particular technique within the general tradition that his strength depends.

HIS SPIRITUAL PREOCCUPATION

In any attempt to relate his merits to his defects it is necessary to remember two things. First, though he is not, as Mr. Shaw is, a pamphleteer, and "is not conscious of any desire to solve the problems of his times in his plays," the temper of his mind is such that he is primarily interested in men, not as individuals in their relation to other individuals, but as members of groups in relation to their social environment. Thus, in his latest play, Sir John, an industrial King and Sir Charles, a twelfth baronet, though their private characters are vigorously portrayed, are dramatically valuable to Mr. Galsworthy because one successfully rides the evolutionary whirlwind by which the other is swept away. Thus—to look from theatre to library—"The Forstye Saga" is "an intimate incarnation of the disturbance that Beauty effects in the lives of men," and "the figure of Irene.....is a concretion of

disturbing Beauty impinging on a possessive world." All Mr. Galsworthy's principal characters might be described as concretions of disturbing—impinging on a—world, the missing words being made appropriate to each portrait and its surroundings. This is by no means to decry his character-drawing, which is often vital and profound, or to suggest that there is necessarily and aesthetic sin in using the figure of a man or woman to show how a spiritual quality impinges on its environment. Far from being a sin, the practice is justified throughout literature. But it is dangerous, and dangerous above all when it is governed by the second of the considerations which, we have suggested, are necessary to the appreciation of Mr. Galsworthy's theatre—the consideration, namely, that he has imposed upon himself the restriction of naturalism as if it were a hair-shirt.

THE FETTERS OF NATURALISM

Naturalism, or the convention which passes under that name, may very well be used in a novel to exhibit, in human forms, the concretions of spiritual qualities impinging on the world. So Mr. Galsworthy employed it in "The man of Property." Alternatively these concretions may be given dramatic life as they were in "Hamlet"—that is to say, with the aid of poetic concentration. A novel is elastic; its narrative space may be expanded at will; and the novelist, finding that in naturalistic speech his characters are incapable of expressing their spiritual beings, may pass from their dialogue to his own more flexible prose. Poetic drama is elastic; its narrative space may be compressed at will; and the poetic dramatist, saved from affectation by the flexibility of his chosen medium, may, if he be Shakespeare, pour the soul of man into a pentameter. But naturalistic drama has not the same elasticity. Its *personae* may not cease to speak, nor may more be put into a speech than it will naturally hold, lest it overflow in didacticism or sentimentality. To write what is, in effect, poetic drama in the form of a prose was Ibsen's purpose towards the end of his life—a purpose of which he fell short in *The Lady from the Sea*, but which he miraculously achieved in *The Master Builder*. Mr. Galsworthy has set himself the same gigantic task, a task that becomes more and more difficult, as, under levelling influences, the colour of district and class is rubbed away and the spoken language settles to a clipped, uniform greyness.

"To deal austere and naturalistically with the life of one's day is" he says "to find the human being so involved in environment that he cannot be dissociated. Two persons, a plank and a passion, is the charming province of the romantic or poetic dramatist." Such characters, he continues, as Mrs. Jones, Wellwyn, Falder, and DeLevis "could not exactly be depicted isolated by the sea, or standing out against the sky." He thus presupposes the naturalistic method of treating his chosen subjects, ruling out the poetic method with a phrase that is almost contemptuous, as if its use in dramatizing "the life of one's day" were inconceivable. And yet it is evident that the more complex the social environment which a dramatist wishes to portray within the confines of the stage, the more need he has of poetry; if not of a verse form, then of some other non-naturalistic convention that has the effect of freeing the persons of his drama from the diffuse unexpressiveness of

customary speech. We are inclined to regard all the serious literary experiments of the modern theatre, experiments, we mean, that are not merely fashionable freaks of "productionism"—as attempts, more or less conscious to emancipate it from the fetters of rigid naturalism. Ibsen found one way of freedom; Strindberg to whom the drama seems always to have been music struggling for verbal translation was continually driven to seek another; Mr. Eugene O'Neill in *Strange Interlude*, and M. R. H. Lenormand, in his curious formalizations, are clearly seeking escapes of their own. And even Mr. Shaw—is not he too a stylistic revolutionary *malgré lui*? "It might be said of Shaw's plays," Mr. Galsworthy remarks "that he creates characters who express feelings which they have not got." Sometimes this is unhappily true. The resulting characters are sticks of propaganda, the vocal pieces of a platform orator. But it is more often true that Mr. Shaw creates characters who express feeling which, in life, they could not or would not express. In this sense Mr. Shaw's drama is unnatural and conventional; but his is a liberating convention. When once we have learned to accept it, it reveals to us a complexity of environment and a subtlety of spirit which naturalistic dialogue could never reveal.

Mr. Galsworthy has made of naturalism a burden. He speaks defensively of this "severe technique" as being good for the dramatist, "who is cleansed by a sort of self-inflicted purgatory". This may be true, so long as dramatist confines himself to the narrow range of subjects obedient to that technique. But to cling to it as an article of faith and to choose subjects that cry out for liberation from it is to court disaster. Mr. Galsworthy's successes and failures correspond play by play and almost scene by scene with the appropriateness or inappropriateness of their subjects to naturalistic treatment. His excursions into sentimentalism and irrelevant humour appear almost invariably to be rebellious against that "self-inflicted purgatory"; his occasional lapses into incoherence and vagueness, so that when all is said and done the artist remains inarticulate and his drama hangs in air, are the result, as in *Windows* and *The Forest* and *Exiled* of his having chosen a theme before which plainly imitative dialogue is dumb; and his strength is chiefly exhibited in plays such as *Loyalties*, in which he has successfully compressed an environmental subject within a particular spiritual locality and has, indeed, so far conventionalized his naturalism that its silences, and sometimes even its words, have the effect of poetry.

"The best moment in any of my plays," he says, "is perhaps that when Anthony and Roberts bow dumbly to each other in mutual defeat." (*Strife*: Act 3.) It is certainly a good moment. Why? Is it not good because it is a moment of rich, subtle and "environmental" emotion which could be fully expressed in poetry, which is to some extent expressed in silence but which would be dragged to high-falutin bathos by naturalistic speech? And is not the last scene of *Exiled* bad for a corresponding reason—that, attempting to express naturalistically the private emotions of a reticent man, Mr. Galsworthy has had to resort to the tricks of sentimental theatricalism—to the singing "off" of appropriate songs and to soliloquy

AMONG THE ARTISTS.

Louis made unsuccessful efforts to earn a living by his pen and retired for a while to a Bohemian colony of artists in the forest of Fontainebleau. There he met Mrs. Fanny Osbourne, a plain, strong-minded woman of Dutch-Scandinavian origin, living apart from her American husband. Like Mrs. Sitwell, she was ten years his senior and at once proceeded to dominate his life, teaching him to be practical and avoid offence, two difficult tasks for him. She effected a reconciliation with his father, who sent him a hundred pounds towards fictitious legal studies, with the result that he and Fanny went off travelling together.

He kicked against her traces sometimes, but when she went to San Francisco and fell ill, he hurried out in defiance of all the horrors of travelling as an emigrant in 1878. He nearly died on the way and then found he could earn only two dollars a week as a reporter. However, Fanny now secured her divorce, they exchanged two silver rings and were married; a fine bridegroom, he describes himself, "a pure combination of coughs and bones." They spent their honeymoon in a deserted silvermine and fresh hardships seemed ahead, but Fanny's diplomacy already bore fruit, money arrived from home, and the old parents awaited them on Liverpool quay with fatted calf.

Fanny's craft and patience were certainly amazing. She made every concession, agreed with the utmost Calvinism, won golden opinions, and laboriously trained Louis to write for the public instead of for his own whims. She was not only good to him, but good for him.

KING OF CANNIBAL ISLANDS.

With prosperity, he decided to gratify an old desire and visit the Pacific Islands, hiring a millionaire's yacht and blending delightful experience with horrors at death's door. At Samoa he brought fifty acres of scrub for eight hundred pounds, built a lordly pleasure-house and became a patriarchal laird of Southern Seas. There were a great banqueting hall where he read family prayers, stables, poultry farms, tennis and croquet courts, all his treasures from Edinburgh and Bournemouth, including Sargent's portrait and Rodin's statuary. But he soon grew tired of the monotony, and talked of a Paradise lost. He wrote endless letters to the "Times" about Polynesian politics. He felt irritable and very far away.

At the age of forty-four, he died suddenly of apoplexy. The mountain behind his house was a sort of jungle, but he had expressed a wish to be buried there, and during the night, two hundred Samoans carved a path to the summit and dug a grave where he rests beneath the inscription of his native name, Tusitala, "the teller of beautiful tales."

—T. P's Weekly.

Mr. G. J. NATHAN ON ENGLISH AND AMERICAN PLAYS.

"O'NEILL has written some bad plays. 'Dynamo' is one of them, but I feel he is one of the most potent of living dramatists. The only other new man of any consequence is Franz Werfel, whose play, 'The Goat Song' has not been seen in London. O'Neill's best work, however, is to come. His next enterprise, which will take him three years to complete, promises to be something far surpassing anything he has yet done. It is a curious thing that England is his only 'blind-spot' country, for he is popular almost everywhere else.

"The ideal man of the theatre in England is Charles B. Cochran. He is such a wonderful showman that I think of him as an American spy! He has taste, but that's nothing—most of us have taste. More important he allies it to commercial courage. The secret of his success is that he is willing to lose money. He gets excited like a little child, and that is all to the good."

Of course I asked the usual question about talking pictures.

"Let's be H. G. Wells," he replied, "and imagine the day they are perfect. At their highest point of perfection 'talkies' will only be second to the theatre. Some years ago cigarette-makers gave away pictures of actresses with the packets. Do you mean to tell me that the collectors of those pictures did not want to see the actresses on the stage? What amuses me is the pretentiousness of the empty heads who, for the most part, run the cinema industry. In England they would either be ostracised or knighted. Over there they are allowed to talk and carry on as if their stupid affairs were of any consequence to the world. This nouveau class does not represent the real rich American, who is a charming simple man. The best illustration of the cinema magnate mind can be given in a perfectly true story. In one of the immense palaces round Hollywood, by the side of the bed in each of the thirty odd guest-rooms, there is a board of electric press buttons. One, for instance, is labelled 'high-balls', next to it there is another marked 'books'! Can you believe it? No button for Joseph Conrad, just for 'books'!"

"Yet the astonishing thing is, the quality of the best seller in America has improved so much that four out of five are really books that you or I would want to read. The fact is, the Americans, must be *au courant* with everything that is good. They want the best service in literature—just as they want the best service at the Ritz Hotel. It is not honest development, but what does it matter? 'A lie well told is as good as the truth,' as a certain gentleman has said."

"Then all British dramatists are sentimental. I do not mean the 'sugar boys,' like Barrie but Shaw and Galsworthy. Some of them hide their sentimentality under a veneer of cynicism, and Galsworthy is so sentimental that he always presents both sides of a question!"

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Some of Mr. Nathan's further comments, delivered to a "Daily Chronicle" representative were :—

Noel Coward is an English fad.

Shaw is so respectable that if he lived in America he would be a member of the Y. M. C. A.

People stopped thinking about Barrie years ago.

The best book about war was written by Lugwig Thomas 40 years ago.

The "talkies" are horrible, but they are merely a new toy.

One of the great plays of the century is O'Casey's "The Plough and the Stars"—and that is by an Irishman.

Shaw has an enormous public in the States. He says respectable things in an insulting way.

The Observer.

A VIKING SAINT

ST. OLAF AND THE BATTLE AND BREAKING
OF LONDON BRIDGE

Though mere romance of association may not in itself justify the preserving of a church, it would be a pity if at least the tower of St. Olave's, Tooley Street itself, of course, only a corruption of St. Olave's Streets—were not allowed to survive. This much is only due to the old Viking saint who, as King Olaf of Norway, helped the hard-pressed Londoners against the Danes in the days of Ethelred the Redeless, and gave them—for the time being at any rate—the victory at the great Battle of London Bridge just over nineteen hundred years ago.

PIRATE CHRISTIAN

In spite of all the pagan elements in his character—his ferocity, his avarice, his frank piracies, and his habit, Christian though he was, of calling upon Odin in battle—King Olaf had qualities which were appealing. He was a representative of muscular Christianity, full of courage, ability, and resource, and a man to be reckoned with in all circumstances.

According to Freeman, the saga-stories of his exploits in this country are not to be explicitly believed. But they are worth telling none the less. The very fact that churches should have been dedicated to him at both ends of London Bridge—St. Olave's Hart Street, will, happily continue to recall his valour—shows there must have been some reason.

WHEN THE BRIDGE WAS BROKEN DOWN

The account of the battle itself is detailed enough to be convincing. We learn that Olaf, when he came to London's aid, found the Danes strongly encamped in Southwark and in complete possession of London Bridge itself. He thereupon drove his own ships right up to the bridge, laid cables round its piles and rowing on down stream pulled the bridge down bodily, so that it fell, Danes and all, plump into the river. Then he stormed Southwark and took it. As the old Norwegian bard song:

London Bridge is broken down—
Gold is won, and bright renown.
Shields resounding,
War-horns sounding,
Hildur shouting in the din!
Arrows singing,
Mail-coats ringing—
Odin makes our Olaf win!

STURDY MONARCH

It is true that the relief was not permanent. London was to come before long, completely under the power of the far greater Canute. But when one remembers that Ethelred himself was away in hiding in the Isle of Wight, and that London had been left, as it has been since Alfred's time, to fight its own battles, one can understand the reverence felt in this stubborn old city for "Olaf the Thick," as he was called in his earlier secular days. He appears to have been a stockish, burly, square-chinned fellow—not by any means a stained-glass-window type—with ruddy face and piercing grey eyes.

Never at any time does St. Olaf seem to have quite understood non-resistance as a Christian attitude, though his fighting spirit was toned down somewhat after-exile from his own kingdom to Russia.

BOOK REVIEWS.

BRITISH HISTORY. By Ramsay Muir (George Phillip & Son)
7sh. 6d.

THOUGH the author, modestly enough, intends the work to be no more than a text-book to advanced school children, it is an admirable survey of the entire history of the English race, spread over all the parts of the world. The need for compression has driven the author to employ what he calls 'a concise, business like style'. But this has not rendered the work dull—a result the author seems to dread, for he says 'If the book is dull the fact that it is a text book is no excuse.' The work is a considerable achievement and because of its admirable arrangement its value as a book of reference is immense.

CHINA'S MILLIONS. By Anna Louise Strong (Coward-McCann, New York.)

IN writing on China and the recent revolution there are authors who have shown more of philosophical insight and historical Scholarship but few have achieved the vividness and gripping interest that make the present work a unique production. That is due primarily to the writer's method of approach and also to the manner of writing. The big political and military events do not exhaust the narrative. Rather, they come in as minor episodes and throughout the emphasis is on the

"Lives and struggles of workers, peasants, students, women, their individual concrete problems, their attempts to achieve organization and freedom, their measure of success and of failure,—rather than the shifting alliances of transient generals and politicians, who form for the moment the unstable and chaotic ruling power of China."

The style is uniformly bright and never dull. Her description

of the leaders, either it be the leaders of Chinese labour (89—105) or the builders of Mongolia (380—401), shows knowledge and judgment.

The account of the problems of China's new women (120—138), the part that the students and peasants have played in the revolution is extremely vivid and gripping. Her report of the days of the People's power in Hunan and the reaction that followed constitutes one of the most interesting portions of the book. The experiment failed; but, as she says, four salutary results have emerged out of the debacle:

"Nevertheless they did four things that were very great. The peasant of China has slept for many thousand years, submitting to all evil without believing he could accomplish anything; now he has become conscious of his collective power. Second, the peasant has taken no interest in government, seeing no relation between politics and his daily needs. Now he is very much interested in government. Third, the widespread fight against illiteracy has not only taught many thousands to read but has awakened in the hearts of the entire peasantry the belief that to learn to read is the right even of the poorest. And lastly, the women are now awake. My own wife, who last year would not go out on the street except in a closed chair, now organizes a Women's Cooperative Exchange with forty women to sell the handicraft products of the members. . . . All of these seeds have been sown and will come up again. How soon I do not know, maybe two years, maybe twenty. Even now, in my native town, when the solidiers leave, the union starts once more."

Miss Strong tells us not merely how much the peasants and workers have done but how important they are in determining the future of China. She is filled with no common place pessimism in respect of their fitness for the high destiny that fate has in store for them. She says "no peasant revolution in history had organized so quickly and with such discipline". It is these men and women in whom Miss Strong centres hope.

From the actions of the peasants and workers, even under revolution, one gains a realization of the essential orderliness and power of organization that lies in China. It will be such peasants and workers, and neither the northern nor southern generals, nor the wealthy but subservient bourgeoisie of Shanghai, nor the timid intellectual politicians and officials, who will have courage to carry their country out of the Middle Ages into the modern world.

One may quarrel with her over some of her preferences but no one can mistake her sincerity nor praise too much her splendid achievement.

CIMMERII OR EURASIANS & THEIR FUTURE: by Cedric Dover :
Modern Art Press, Calcutta 1-8.

This Small book which is written in a very forceful and popular style, is little else besides a passionate refutation of the idea that the Eurasians are intellectually and morally inferior to either Europeans or Indians and a bitter indictment of the white races for the snobbishness and cruelty with which the Eurasians have all along been treated. Why in spite of all the bitter things he says of the whites he still expects them to give the Eurasians a helping hand, the author does not make clear. Nor does he consider a more hopeful alternative namely the assimilation of their race into Indian nationalism.

C. S.

REVIEWS REVIEWED.

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW. July 1929.

With this issue, the *Quarterly* completes 500 numbers and in almost the last hours of his Premiership, Mr. Baldwin sent a letter of congratulation and good wishes to "so old a friend and supporter of our party". The *Quarterly* has been a successful organ of Toryism with special stress on social reform. The strong Tory note comes out in the article on *America's Own 'India'*. The first article is devoted to a brief account of the varied activities of the *Review* for nearly 120 years and it is interesting to know that Sir Walter Scott himself reviewed his own "*Tales of my Land Lord*". Says the writer of the account "not a convincing piece of work, as he was bound to bring to it a false air of sincerity by criticising the 'incoherent style' and 'the insipidity of the heroes'". Sir Andrew Macphail has an interesting article on *Boswell*:

There are six tests to which a man may be put, and no man ever lived who so amply as Boswell supplies the evidence upon which he is to be tried. These counts are: his main achievement in life; his friendships; his financial conduct; his personal integrity; his conjugal relation; the attitude of his children towards him. Let us try Boswell on these six counts.

1. Boswell's main achievement was his '*Life of Johnson*.' In the third century after it was written, it is yet a joy to the young, the consolation of the aged in fatigue and sorrow, in sleeplessness, and pain. So hostile a witness as Macaulay describes it as 'one of the best books in the world'; and Carlyle 'questionless the universal favour is well merited'. Any person of English speech, who has not read the book, is illiterate, without taste, without education, without interest in life.

2. If a man would have friends, he must show himself friendly. Boswell, by an indefinable quality within himself, made instant friendships. He had a friend

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and friends. Mrs. Cobb repeated Johnson's remark to her. 'Boswell is a man who, I believe, never left a house without leaving a wish for his return.' More formally he says, Oct. 27, 1779, 'Why should you opportune me so earnestly to write? Of what importance can it be to a man who finds himself welcome wherever he goes, and makes new friends faster than he can want them? If to the delight of such universal kindness of reception, anything can be added by knowing that you retain my good-will, you may indulge yourself in the full enjoyment of that small addition.' The 'Life' is dedicated to Sir Joshua Reynolds, the intimate and beloved friend, the most invulnerable man whom Johnson knew, who at all times welcomed Boswell with cordiality to his table, and introduced him to his friends. 'The Literary Club to which he belonged had fifty-two members in thirty years, and included every man of note in London. Boswell once asked himself what there was about him that interested most people at first sight in his favour. This wonder was aroused by the conduct of an agreeable young man, who in a fly supported his lame foot on her knee; and this has been distorted into a grievance against him. "The first time you came," Rousseau's housekeeper assured him, "I said, "That gentleman has an honest face."'

3. Boswell was a rich man. When he died, his son would inherit from him 3000£ a year, for the estate under his prudent management was rising in value; he would have an additional 500£ from another interest that was only for life. Boswell's father was a rich man. In addition to his salary, he had 1400£ a year from the family estate. It would, therefore, appear that by successive prudence the estate had doubled in value in thirty years. He made a handsome allowance to his son, which enabled him to live in London and to study for two years in Utrecht. But his adventures on the Continent and in Corsica entailed an expense of 1000£ which his father deducted from his allowance. Much of this allowance was spent in London, entertaining Johnson and his friends. He borrowed 200£ from Temple, which he paid; and Temple borrowed 100£ from him. Sheridan cleared him of a gaming debt, and he vowed to abstain for three years, which he did. Then he incurred a debt of fourteen guineas, and he resolved never again to risk more than two guineas at a sitting, but it was a practice of which he seldom was guilty. Johnson borrowed occasional small sums from him, and mentioned his minute exactness as a creditor.

It is quite true that Boswell was in straitened circumstances whilst his father lived. He had a wife and five children to support, and his fees were not large. He was in further distress over their future, before a son was born to him, as the estate was entailed in the male line. The most serious difficulty between Boswell and his father arose over the entail of their estate. On a matter of law and principle they differed; but the son adopted an interpretation unfavourable to himself, in order conscientiously to respect 'an implied obligation in honour and good faith.' He submitted the question to Lord Hailes, who, on the authority of Johnson, was a Christian as well as a lawyer. He expressed a firm contrary opinion, and added, 'The plea of conscience is a most respectable one, especially when conscience and

self are on different sides; but I think that conscience is not well informed.'

4. Boswell's personal integrity has not been impugned. He never wronged man or woman; he never uttered an unkind or malicious word; he performed no cruel act. He never made a statement he believed, or suspected, to be false. He would run half over London to ascertain the truth. He gave 800£ to his wife's nephews; he dealt fairly with his 640 tenants; he lent money to his friends. To Temple he wrote, 'I am just now a good deal in debt.' The reason for so writing was, 'If you want any credit from me, let me know some weeks before.'

5. In 1769, Boswell married Margaret Montgomerie, his dearest cousin, friend, and wife, whom he esteemed and loved after fifteen years as on the day when she gave him her hand. She died in 1789. During all that period, his devotion to her was perfect. He confesses to no indiscretion; and if there had been any he would have confessed to it. After her death, his letters to Temple are piteous, lamenting her and accusing himself. Often, in London, he records, when she was very ill, after indulging in festivity with Sir Joshua Reynolds and other friends he came home late, and disturbed her repose. And yet he consoles himself: 'So excellent a woman, so sensible a mistress of a family, so agreeable a companion, so affectionate and peculiarly proper helpmate for me, I do believe I make her happy.'

In early life, like many another youth, his wandering affections alighted upon various heads: 'I find mistresses wherever I go'—Miss Blair the princess, *la belle Irlandaise*, the Dutch Zelide, an Italian angel, Miss Bosville, Miss W———t, Miss Dick, several other sweet little ones and angelic girls. This natural rhapsody has been transformed into sinister surmise by writers ignorant of the poetical convention, 'mistress.' On his return from the Hebrides, he was impressed at Inverary by the ladies'-maids tripping about in neat morning dresses. So innocent an observation has been wrenched to a wrong use. There was an amiable creature in the fly with him, but he could 'unite little fondness with perfect conjugal love.' From the time of his marriage onwards, his letters are of such a kind that any son might be proud to inherit them.

6. Boswell was left with five children, two boys and three girls, the eldest being a girl of sixteen. He cared for them with that solicitude which those alone know who are left to care for motherless children. 'While she lived,' he writes to Temple, 'I had no occasion almost to think concerning my family; every particular was thought of by her, better than I could. I am the most helpless of human beings.' He discussed every possibility for their upbringing. He even thought of marrying a woman of excellent principles, who read prayers to the servants in her father's family every Sunday evening. He shrank from sending the youngest girl to school at such a distance, as there might be a loss of all natural affection; she was very pretty and very clever. The second girl was sent to Edinburgh under the inspection of his father's widow, who, although an implacable woman, was exceedingly good to her; the eldest was in London with Mrs. Buchanan, but he could perceive she would not long be happy. 'What then is to become of them?' he asks. 'I am utterly at a loss.'

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THE NEW ERA.

The eldest son, a steady boy, was at Eton; he wrote for some time as if from the galleys, and entreated his father to come to him. The second son lived at home, 'quite a companion, although only eleven in September.' He proposed placing him at Westminster, where the boys were not worse than at other schools. He designed that this one should spend two years at Eton, then two years at Edinburgh, and then study civil law in Holland and Germany. In reality, he became baronet in 1821, 'a high-spirited, clever, and amiable gentleman of a frank and social disposition.' He was killed in a duel the following year. Of his daughters he wrote to Temple, 'My only hold is their affection. It pleases me that you think so well of them.' When Boswell lay upon his death-bed, his son James took the pencil from his hand and completed a letter he was striving to write to Temple. He wrote three more in filial grief. The news of Boswell's death on May 19, 1795, was conveyed by his brother, honest David, to Temple: 'We have both lost a kind affectionate friend, and I shall never have such another. His sons and his two eldest daughters have behaved in a most affectionate exemplary manner during his confinement.' Appendicitis was the cause of death.

NINETEENTH CENTURY. August, 1929.

The opening article is the first instalment of an illuminating discussion on Socialism. To the question *What has capitalism done for labour?* a sevenfold answer is given.

We will put it very shortly. First, it has enabled Labour to live and multiply in an ever-increasing degree, to the unprecedented extent of eighteenfold in four centuries since the modern system began with the discovery of America. Secondly, it has enabled Labour, whilst multiplying with such extraordinary rapidity, to improve its standard of life to a degree that a short century ago would have been thought a hopeless dream. Thirdly, it has enabled the manual labourers to obtain an ever-increasing share of the ever-increasing value of production and to become capitalists themselves in vast and increasing numbers. Fourthly, it has enabled Labour in Great Britain to throw upwards during the last century no less than about 8,000,000 of what is called the intermediate class - that is, small business people above weekly wages and yet below income tax level. This is more than double the whole population of England when the modern system began. This alone is a marvellous performance. Fifthly, Capitalism has enabled many millions of working men to save enough to emigrate to empty lands and prosperity beyond the sea, and to build up the 50,000,000 Anglo-Saxons across the ocean. Before the war about 1,000,000 workers on an average every four years emigrated from the United Kingdom on their own savings. Sixthly, it has enabled so vast a sum, over 300,000,000l., annually, to be devoted to social services for the people, that a hundred years or even fifty years ago it would have appeared the fantasy of a wild optimist. Seventhly, it has enabled Labour, originally rude, uncouth and illiterate, to obtain free education, and to produce such educated men as the Labour leaders of the

present day, the very men who ask in the House of Commons, 'What has Capitalism done for Labour?' Their own existence is an answer to their own question. As for socialism, where it is fully tried, it has worked infinite harm.

The late Home Secretary defends his conduct about the censorship of books.

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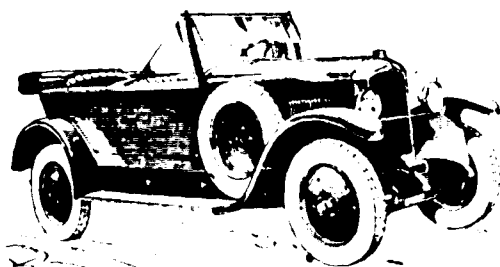
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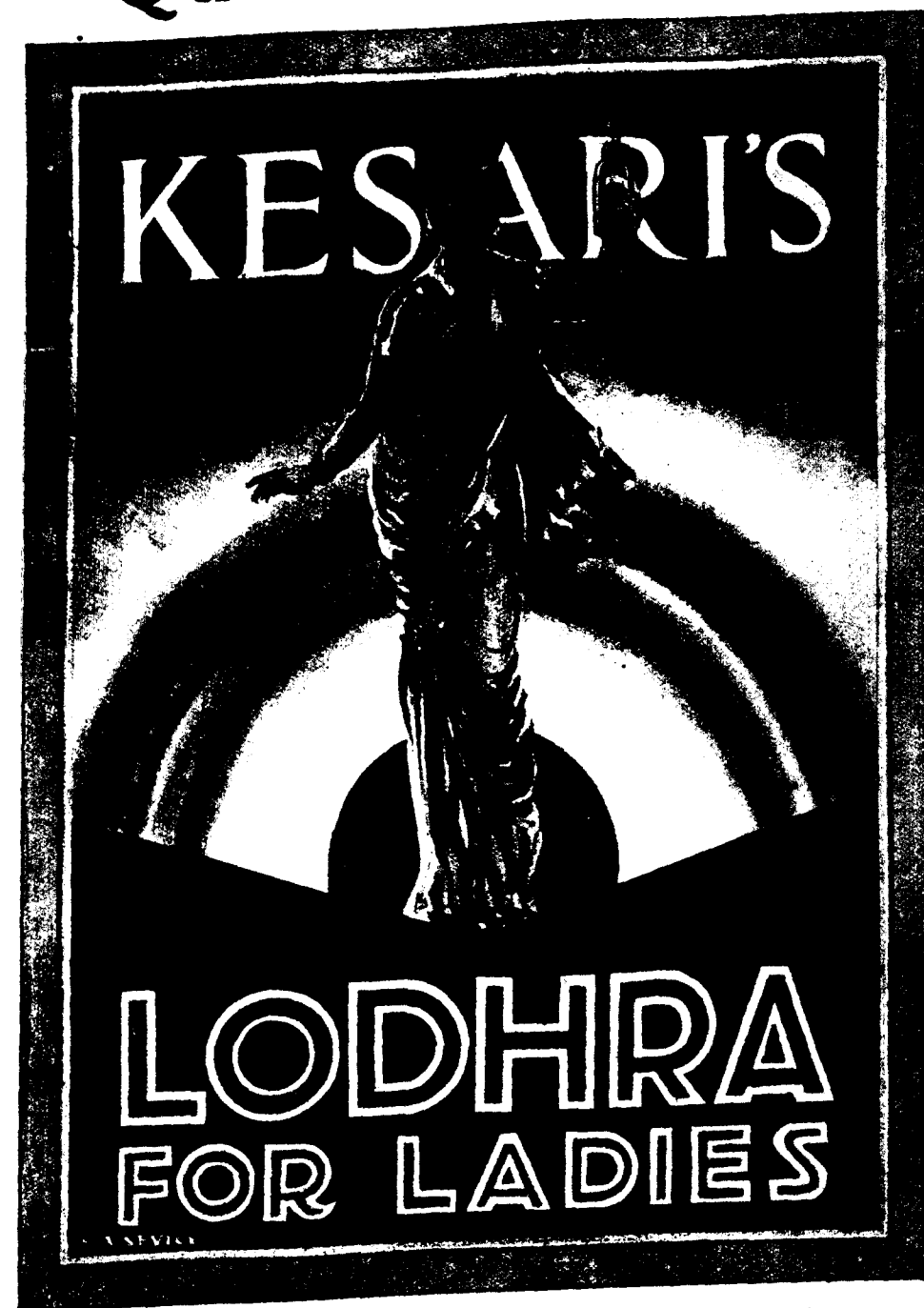
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