

THE RELIGIOUS HUNGER OF INDIA

BY

THE REV. J. F. EDWARDS

English Editor

Dnyanodaya (Rise of Knowledge), 1917-47

THE CHRISTIAN LITERATURE SOCIETY FOR INDIA

(UNITED SOCIETY FOR CHRISTIAN LITERATURE)

MADRAS - BANGALORE - MYSORE - COLOMBO

1948

Price Rs. 4



DEDICATED

I

TO THE METHODIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY, LONDON
AND
THE AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS,
BOSTON, MASS, U.S.A., WITH GRATITUDE FOR MAKING
IT POSSIBLE FOR ME TO WORK AMONG SOME OF
THE LOVELIEST PEOPLE IN THE WORLD;

II

TO INDIA

WHOSE AGELONG PRAYER CAN BE HEARD IN EVER-HAUNTING
ACCENTS 'LEAD ME FROM DARKNESS INTO LIGHT, FROM THE
UNREAL TO THE REAL' (*Brihadāranyaka Upanishad*);

AND

III

TO THE SAVIOUR AND SATISFIER WHO IS THE ANSWER
TO INDIA'S PRAYER:

'I AM THE WAY, THE TRUTH AND THE LIFE; . . . I CAME
THAT THEY MIGHT HAVE LIFE AND THAT THEY MIGHT
HAVE IT MORE ABUNDANTLY' (Jesus in St John xiv. 6; x. 10).

PREFACE

THIS book is the result of thirty years' study of the Maharashtra Poet Saints. Since we wrote the *Epilogue* in our 1941 English book, *Dnyaneshwar, The Out-Caste Brahmin*, and our 1942 Marathi book on the same subject, our estimate of these Poet Saints has in no way diminished concerning their value as a point of contact between the Christian Churches of Maharashtra and the thirty millions of India's Marathi-speaking people. But the writing of the present book would have been impossible had we not come to know so many living saints in India. Thomas Carlyle once said that 'history is the essence of innumerable biographies': and from India's religious biographies we have learned countless lessons of high value. From the writings by India's Poet Saints we have learned how deep is the hunger of India for the true and living God: and from personal friendship with such as Narayan Vaman Tilak, Sadhu Sundar Singh, Pundita Ramabai and many others who, happily, are still with us, we have learned how completely Jesus Christ by the daily fellowship of His Indwelling Spirit is satisfying India's religious hunger. So often have we seen the likeness of Christ Himself reflected in the life, character and work of these His Indian disciples that we feel, as we look over the pages we have written, something like St Thomas Aquinas is reported to have felt. That great and learned man is said to have had such a remarkable experience during Holy Communion that he laid aside his pen and would not write another word in his monumental work the *Summa Theologica*. On being urged to complete it his answer was: 'I have seen that which makes all that I have written and taught look small.'

Before we sailed from India on May 20, 1947, we left with the printers our manuscript for this book except for the last two chapters which were written in England and America. This fact explains our use of the term 'India' as it was used before August 15, 1947, that is, before the partition into India and Pakistan. Shortage of paper and other difficulties made it impossible for the book to be printed before we left India, and we owe a special debt of gratitude to Mr W. H. Warren the Secretary of the Christian Literature Society for India and to Mr V. M. Philip the Manager of the Diocesan Press for their great help in seeing the book through the press. Our friend the Rev. Leslie G. Craze, formerly of Kirkee and Poona and now at Dharapuram in South India, has added to our very many obligations to him by generously correcting the page proofs.

Our *Dnyanodaya* readers will note that we have carried out in part a request made to us occasionally during our thirty years' connection with the paper, that we would republish in book form many of our own articles from those pages. Since our standpoint is so well known we have assumed that the readers of this book have already accepted

the fact of India's religious hunger : hence no need to describe or diagnose that hunger. Our aim has therefore been to use all available space to set forth India's quest after inward peace and power and to show the inadequacy of some of the methods suggested for their attainment.

Those readers of the present book who have our April 1947 Marathi book entitled *The Religious Hunger of Maharashtra* will find the following chapters of this English book summarized in the Marathi book, the Marathi chapter-numbers being in brackets :—Chapters 1-4 (1-4), 10-13 (5-8), 17 (9), 20 (a summary of 12-15), 22 (16), 18 (17), 24 (24).

With thousands of miles separating us from our Printers since May last year (one of the most momentous periods in India's long history), many additions and modifications have been made while the printing was going on. The special attention of the reader is therefore called to the list of corrections shown on the page of *corrigenda*.

Remembering that our great Marathi Christian poet Narayan Vaman Tilak said, 'It was over the bridge of Tukaram's verse that I came to Christ', we commend the study of Maharashtra's Poet Saints to all Marathi-speaking missionaries, Pastors and Indian Christian students, and we pray that in this way and by prayerful study of the New Testament they may learn how to understand and satisfy the deep religious hunger of the many millions in India and Pakistan.

Missionary Home, 138 Hancock St,
Auburndale, Mass, U.S.A.
October 1948

J. F. EDWARDS

CONTENTS

PART ONE

INTRODUCTORY

CHAPTER I

'I THOUGHT THERE WAS NO RELIGION HERE'

	PAGE
1. Complacency and Prejudice	1
2. Abraham's Surprising Discovery	1
3. Rebuked by 'Heathen' Kings	3
4. Religiousness among Pagans So-Called (Malachi i. 10-11)	4
5. 'No Such Faith in Israel' (St Matthew viii. 10 etc.) ..	5
6. 'Other Sheep not of this Fold' (St John x. 20) ..	5
7. Religious Prejudice Revealed and Removed (Acts x-xi) ..	6
8. A Generous Bombay Doctor	7
9. A Devout Indian Statesman	8
10. Conversion of a Communalist	9
11. India's Communal Menace	9
12. Resources of the Eternal Spirit	10
13. POWER: An Individual Responsibility	11
14. An Indian Village Farmer's Spiritual Power	11

CHAPTER II

'YOU ARE A MOST RELIGIOUS PEOPLE'

1. St Paul's Message to the Athens University ..	13
2. A Lesson on Missionary Method	14
3. Recognizing the Sincerity of Idolators	15
4. Appreciating the Religiousness of India	16
5. The Altar 'To an Unknown God'	16
6. 'As Some of Your own Poets Have Said' (Acts xvii. 28) ..	17
7. St Paul's Message At Athens Analyzed	18
8. Results of St Paul's Message to the Athenian Philosophers	19
9. Imperfect Exegesis	21
10. St Paul's Secret of Triumph	21
11. Reconstruction: National And International	22
12. Spirit-Filled Individuals India's Road to Spiritual Power	23

CONTENTS

PART TWO

THE HINDU QUEST OF SPIRITUAL PEACE AND
POWER

CHAPTER III

DR RADHAKRISHNAN'S DIAGNOSIS AND IMPERFECT REMEDY

	PAGE
1. Introductory	25
2. Asia's Place in World-Culture	26
3. Individuals Shape Society	27
4. Religious Frustration	27
5. Philosophical Dogmatism	28
6. Man Needs Power in the Heart	29
7. How the Power is Obtained	30
8. Missionary Studies	31
9. Dynamical Religion Needed	32
10. Are All Religions Equal ?	33
11. Should every Man remain in the Religion in which he was Born ?	34
12. An Advocate of Caste	35
13. The Fruits of Pantheism	36
14. Hindu Words and Christian Meanings	37
15. Religious Ambiguity	38
16. Breakdown of Secular Humanism	39
17. Dr Radhakrishnan's Omissions	41

CHAPTER IV

IDEALIZING HINDUISM

1. Outward Revival and Inward Decay	43
2. Hindu Power of Religious Assimilation	43
3. 'The Hindu View' or 'A Modern Hindu View' ?	44
4. Hindu Claims to Toleration	44
5. Rose-Coloured Views of Caste	45
6. A Brahmin Official's Admission	46
7. Idolatry Defended	46
8. Indian Pantheism and Atheism	47

CHAPTER V

'COUNTER ATTACK FROM THE EAST'

I. 1. A BRILLIANT SKIRMISHER : DR C. E. M. JOAD	48
2. A Threatened 'Attack' that Never Matures	48
3. Useful Suggestions and Sweeping Statements	49

CONTENTS

	PAGE
4. An Indian Philosopher Trained in Christian Thinking	49
5. Christian Truth in an Indian Dress	50
II. 1. DR RADHAKRISHNAN'S NEW 'HINDUISM'	51
2. Radhakrishnan's 'Intuition' Anti-Hindu	52
3. Why Radhakrishnan is not 'A Good Hindu'	52
4. Radhakrishnan's Inconsistency	53
5. Inadequate Defence of Caste and Rebirth	53
6. Hinduism and 'Social Salvation'	54
7. Neo-Hinduism and Spiritual Anarchy	55
8. Exaggerations Against The West	55
9. Hinduism Not as Tolerant as Claimed	56
III. 1. DR JOAD NO LONGER A RATIONALIST	56

CHAPTER VI

THE MAYO HYPERBOLES

1. 'Mother India'	58
2. The Method of Jesus in Exposing Sin	58
3. Incarnate Pity and India's Need	59
4. A Lesson from the 'Mayo' Episode	60
5. Social Service and 'Other Religions'	61

CHAPTER VII

'THINGS AS THEY ARE'

1. Reticence	62
2. 'Neat Rows of Dots' Concealing the Unprintable	62
3. India's Wronged Girlhood	63
4. Deified Sin	63
5. The Chasm between Philosophical and Practical Hinduism	64
6. The Noble and the Ignoble	65
7. The 'Double' Life and Its Drag on India's Progress	65
8. Need for Unsparing Condemnation	66
9. Deliverance by the Spirit of Jesus	67

CHAPTER VIII

THE ARYA SAMAJIST BIBLE

1. Introductory	69
2. A Book Overlooked by the Marathi-speaking Church	69
3. India's Peace Endangered by a Religious Text-Book	70
4. Caricatures of Islam	71
5. Dayanand's Attacks on The Bible	72

CONTENTS

	PAGE
6. The Sin of Idolatry	72
7. Arya Samajists and Social Reform	73
8. Intolerance and Fanaticism	73
9. A Moral Blot on Dayanand's Book	74
10. 'Sindh Bans <i>Satya Prakash</i> '	75
11. Christ's Message Concerning Sin	76
12. A Blackness Unrelieved	76
13. A Message Undiscovered	77
14. <i>Satya Prakash</i> and Caste	77

CHAPTER IX

'THE POET SAINTS OF MAHARASHTRA' SERIES SUMMARIZED

1. Twelve Volumes on Hindu <i>Bhakti</i> Poets	79
2. Vol. 1. Bhānūdās (A.D. 1448-1512)	79
3. Vol. 2. Eknāth (A.D. 1548-1609)	79
4. Vol. 3. 'Bhikshugitā' (The Mendicant's Song)	80
4a. Vol. 4. Dāsopant Digambar	80
5. Why Study the Poet Saints ?	80
6. A Sense of Sin among Hindus	81
7. Vol. 5. Bahinābāi (A.D. 1628-1700)	82
8. The Indian Religious Spirit	82
9. Vol. 6. <i>Stotramala</i> : Garland of Hindu Prayers	83
10. Vol. 7. Tukārām	83
11. Vol. 8. Rāmdās : Unforgettable Fellowship	83
12. <i>Sevā Marg</i> : The Way of Service	84
13. Vol. 9. 'Stories of Indian Saints' (i)	84
14. Vol. 10. 'Stories of Indian Saints' (ii)	85
15. Vol. 11. 'Nectar from Indian Saints'	85
16. Vol. 12. 'Dnyāneshwar the Out-Caste Brahmin'	86

CHAPTER X

NOTABLES AMONG THE POET SAINTS

1. Dnyāneshwar : Founder of Marāthā Nationality	88
2. N. C. Kelkar on the <i>Dnyāneshwarī</i>	88
3. Eknāth who Defied Caste	89
4. Tukārām : Three Definite Religious Stages	91
5. Tukārām's Haunting Sense of Sin	92
6. The Crisis of Tukārām's Conversion	93
7. Tukārām's Third Spiritual Stage : Service	94
8. Sincere Worship Proved in Service	95
9. A Blot on Early Indian Christianity	95
9a. Bahinābāi, <i>Bhakti</i> Saint and Poetess	96

CONTENTS

	PAGE
10. The Tragedy of Being a Woman	97
11. Penitence and Longing of Bahinābāi	98
12. Harbingers of India's Women's Movement	98
13. <i>Sevā Marg</i> (Way of Service) Inspired by Missions	99

CHAPTER XI

SOME BASIC IDEAS AND ASSUMPTIONS OF THE POET SAINTS

1. India Ruled by King Custom	101
2. Karma, Transmigration, Reincarnation	102
3. Caste	104
4. Idolatry and Pantheism : Its Root	107
5. The New Testament Answer to Hindu Assumptions	109

CHAPTER XII

INDIA'S RELIGIOUS CAPACITY AND HOW TO DEVELOP IT

1. India the Key to the East	110
2. Drawbacks and Excellences of <i>Bhakti</i> Literature	111
3. Impure Legends Cannot Represent God the All-Holy	111
4. <i>Bhakti</i> as Seen in Actual Life	112
5. A Hindu <i>Bhakti</i> Prayer-Book	113
6. <i>Mānas Pujā</i> or Mental Prayer	114
7. Hindu Lack of Spiritual Assurance	115
8. The Views of Three Christian Scholars	117
9. Nārāyan Vāman Tilak and 'Tukārām's Bridge'	118
10. Does the Spirit of God Work in India's Own Literature ?	119
11. 'Secret Christians'	120
12. Moral Excellence Outside the Christian Church	120
13. Whence any Moral or Religious Excellence before Christ has been Proclaimed ?	121
14. Christ's 'Other Sheep'	121
15. 'The Light that Lighteth Every Man'	122
16. 'Prevenient Grace'	123
17. 'Unconscious Christianity'	124
18. 'Not Far from the Kingdom'	124
19. 'We Want to See Jesus'	125
20. 'No Man Cometh unto THE FATHER but by Me'	126

CHAPTER XIII

PRINCIPAL VARKI'S MESSAGE ON SPIRITUAL POWER

1. Introductory	128
2. The Riches of Indian Culture	128
3. India's Weakness	129

4. The Distinctive Thing in True Christianity	PAGE
5. What is a Christian ?	129
6. Sādhū Sundar Singh on Christ and Other Systems	130
	131

PART THREE

CHRIST AND MAHARASHTRIAN HINDUS

CHAPTER XIV

THE MAHARASHTRIAN POET SINGS OF THE INCARNATE CHRIST

1. The Passionate Lover of National Freedom	133
2. First Glimpse of the New Testament	134
3. Answer to Prayer	135
4. Difficulties after Baptism	136
5. Misunderstood	136
6. Love for Christ and for India	137
7. Laxmibāi Tilak's Autobiography	138
8. Three Ways in which Christ Helps India	139
9. N. V. Tilak and the Cross	139
10. Union with Christ	140
11. Inspiration by the Holy Spirit	141
12. A Great Christian Patriot	142
13. Indianizing the Presentation of Christ	142
14. N. V. Tilak's Place and Contribution as Poet of the Marāthā Nation	143
15. The Greatest Marāthī Christian Poem	144
16. The Late B. K. Uzgare on the 'Christayan'	146
17. Summary of the 'Christayan': Chapters i-xi...	146
18. 'Christayan': Analysis and Selections	150
19. 'Abhangānjali'	157
20. 'Christ's Durbar'	159

CHAPTER XV

THE MAHARASHTRIAN REFORMER HELPS THE REVOLUTIONARY CHRIST

1. Pandita Ramabai's Dedicated Greatness	161
2. Ramabai's Spiritual Surrender	162
3. Helper of India's Widows	163
4. Righting Wrongs against Child-Wives	163
5. Ramabai's Secret of Social Reform	164
6. Servant of India and Bondservant of Christ	165
7. Reasons for India's Slowness to Realize Pandita's Greatness	166

CHAPTER XVI

THE MAHARASHTRIAN PHILOSOPHER EXPOUNDS THE REVEALING CHRIST

1. Nilkanth Shastri Goreh's Boyhood in Benares	168
2. An Ascetic's Temptation	169
3. Maharashtra Brahmins in Benares	170
4. A Shaivite Becomes a Vaishnavite	170
5. Undisguised Contempt for Christians	171
6. Animus Against the Christian's Bible	172
7. More Doubts about Hinduism than about Jesus Christ	172
8. Crisis : Inward and Domestic	173
9. Hostile 'Friends'	173
10. 'Sorrow's Crown of Sorrow'	174
11. Surrender to Christ : Excommunication by Caste	175
12. Shivrampant Goreh's Vow of Lifelong Silence	175
13. Ellen Lakshmi Goreh and Her Hymn	176
14. An Apostle of Western India	177
15. Goreh's 'Refutation' of Hindu Philosophy	178
16. Tutor of an Indian Prince	178
17. Among Hindu Reformers in Poona	179
18. Creating Indian Christian Leadership in Maharashtra	179
19. Nehemiah Nilkanth Shastri Goreh on Hindu Philosophy	179

PART FOUR

CHRIST AND THE THEOSOPHISTS

CHAPTER XVII

FROM THEOSOPHY TO CHRIST

1. Why the Indian Christian Church cannot Ignore Theosophy	182
2. 'Keep your Eye on India'	182
3. Theosophical Tolerance	183
4. Why Theosophy Fails to Understand Christ	184
5. Theosophic Disillusionment and the Way Out	185
6. Sister Rhoda's Testimony in Life and Death	185
7. Sister Rhoda's Career in Outline	186
8. Theosophy and Spiritual Frustration	187
9. 'The Theosophical Twins'	187
10. Theosophy Known by Its Fruits	188
11. Theosophy in the Law Court	188
12. Conscienceless References to Christ	190

CONTENTS

	PAGE
13. Why Theosophy Attracts Some Indian Minds ..	190
14. Hindu Principles Accepted by Theosophy ..	191
15. Caste, Idolatry and Karma in Theosophy ..	192
16. Theosophy no Gospel for the Sin-Haunted ' Bhakta ' ..	192
17. Christian Theosophy an Impossibility ..	193
17a. Theosophy Refuted by Personal Spiritual Experience ..	193

PART FIVE

CHRIST AND HIS IMPERFECT CHURCH

CHAPTER XVIII

THE CHALLENGE OF THE INDIAN CENSUS

1. Three Views ..	195
2. ' Random Samplings ' ..	195
3. Encouragement ..	196
4. The Indian Church's Pentecost ..	196
5. The Main Hindrance : Insincerity ..	197
6. Urgent Need of Church Discipline ..	198
7. Mass Movements Arrested by Disunion ..	199
8. Un-Christian Europeans ..	200
9. Maharashtra's Mass Movement of Compulsion ..	200
10. Repellent Emotionalism ..	202
11. Imperfect Christian Teaching Weakening Indian Christianity ..	202
12. Value of Regular Bible Instruction ..	203
13. How to Win the Maharashtrian Prize for Christ ..	204
14. ' Evangelism ' and ' Proselytism ' ..	204
a. A Recurring Confusion of Terms ..	205
b. ' Proselytizers ' and ' Evangelizers ' ..	205
c. Christian Doctrine and Ethic Both Essential ..	205
d. Missionary Defeatism and the Remedy ..	206
15. The Maharashtrian Church's Opportunity ..	206
16. Weak Spots in Maharashtrian Christianity ..	207
17. Maharashtra's Need of Corporate and United Effort ..	207

CHAPTER XIX

MISREPRESENTING JESUS CHRIST AMONG MUSLIMS

1. An Invaluable Book ..	209
2. Causes of Failure : Intellectual Cowardice and Untranslated Scriptures ..	206

CONTENTS

	PAGE
3. Veneration of the Virgin Mary ..	210
4. Compromise in Life and Testimony ..	211
5. Worldly Success, A Foreign Church, Disunion ..	212
6. ' Muhammad's Misunderstandings ' of Christian Teaching ..	213
7. Muslim Longing for Christ ; Opportunities Missed ..	214
8. The Tragedy of the Crusades ..	215
9. Islam and Slavery ..	216
10. Christian Influence a Continuing Dynamic ..	217
11. Islam's Lack of Spiritual Power ..	217

CHAPTER XX

IS THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH OVERLOOKING THE PARSEES ?

A. Brief Survey of Forgotten Facts ..	218
B. A New Year Message to Parsees ..	219
1. A Parsee Festival ..	220
2. Parsee Friendship to Christian People ..	220
3. Parsee Generosity ..	221
4. India's Tolerance and Her Need for More of It ..	221
5. Sharing the Blessings Jesus Gives ..	222
6. The Sacred Fire that India Needs ..	222
7. A New Year's New Beginning ..	223

CHAPTER XXI

THE SECRET OF CHRISTIAN UNITY AND VARIETY

1. Indian Christianity : Free Church, Anglican, Romanist ..	225
2. Heart Experience the Basis of Unity Amid Variety ..	225
3. Apostolic Unity ..	227
4. Variety in the New Testament ..	229
5. When will Roman Catholics & Protestants Unite in India ? ..	230
6. Cooperation between Roman Catholics and Other Churches ..	231
7. Political Cooperation Between All Indian Christians ..	232
8. The Theological Difficulty ..	233
9. ' Evangelical Catholicism ' ..	234
10. The Obstacle of Papal Infallibility ..	235
11. ' The Old Catholic Church ' ..	236
12. Note on ' The Immaculate Conception ' ..	236
13. Free Church Convictions ..	238
14. The ' Fruit of the Spirit ' Seen in All the Churches ..	239
15. Christ the Monopoly of No One Church ..	239
16. Dr Stanley Jones' Proposal for Uniting the Churches ..	239

CONTENTS

CHAPTER XXII

HISTORY'S LESSONS ON THE POWER AND UNITY OF THE SPIRIT

	PAGE
1. The Perennial Pentecost	242
2. The Ecumenical Movement of Prayer	242
3. The Atomic Bomb and Religious Powerlessness	243
4. The Need of a Religion of Power	244
5. Bombed into Spiritual Oneness	244
6. The Palestine Problem the Result of Church Disunion	245
7. Muslim Lands Lost Because Churches Could Not Unite	245
8. The Church Fallible—But the Holy Spirit Infallible	246
9. Unity Amid Diversity	246
10. Christian Unity and Controversy	247
11. The Church of Christ in United Action	247
12. The Oxford Provost and the Oxford Group	248
13. Searching Words About the Cross	248
14. The World's Need of Revival	249
15. How to Build a World-Fellowship	249
16. Under the Holy Spirit's Control	250
17. Two Decades of Blessing	250
18. Moral Re-Armament and India	250
19. Organization and Spiritual Power	251

PART SIX

NEW TESTAMENT DYNAMICS

CHAPTER XXIII

THE SPIRITUAL DYNAMICS OF INDIAN CHRISTIANITY

Introductory : On Individual Christian Responsibility ..	253
--	-----

THE MISSIONARY'S PRAYER-LIFE

1. Ordination Service at Benares	254
2. Personal	254
3. The Deepest Thing in Life	254
4. A Missionary's Hardest Battlefield	255
5. The Best Solution of Indian Church Problems	255
6. The Undefended Front	256
7. Help Needed by Eastern Thinkers	257
8. A 'Missionary Theology' Required	257
9. The Gospel of Our Lord's Prayer-Life	258
10. The Prayers and Miracles of Jesus	258
11. Jesus was an Incarnate Prayer	259

CONTENTS

PAGE

12. Snatching Victory Out of Defeat	259
13. Filling up Gaps for God	260
14. Crowned to Die !	260
15. Prayer-Power for Unbearable Loads	261
16. 'My God ! My God ! Why ?'	261
17. The Supernatural Value of Prayerful Actions	262
18. The Holy Spirit's Intercession in the Heart	263
19. The Hidden Spring of Intercessory Prayer	263
20. The Patience of Prayer	264

CHAPTER XXIV

'SUPER-VICTORY' THROUGH THE CROSS

1. The Cross in the New Testament and Today	265
2. Raising the Level of Possibility	265
3. 'More than Conquerors'	266
4. The Post-War Challenge of Christ	266
5. Coming out 'On Top'	267
6. Paul's Universals and Superlatives	267
7. Not Temperament, but Redemption	268
8. The Fallacy of Limited Resources	268
9. The God Who 'Laughs'	268
10. The Secret of Super-Victory	269

CHAPTER XXV

'THE SPIRIT OF GLORY AND OF POWER'

1. A Meditation in I Peter 4. 14	270
2. Source of Power in Preaching	270
3. The Inward Test of Christian Experience	271
4. St Cyril on the Holy Spirit	272
5. 'The Spirit of Truth' at Work in the Orient	272
6. Self-Effacement of the 'Spirit-Filled'	273
7. The Spirit of Glory as Comforter	274

PART SEVEN

FAREWELL

CHAPTER XXVI

TO FELLOW-EDITORS IN INDIA, MISSIONARIES AND PASTORS

1. Retrospect	276
2. Apologia	277

	PAGE
3. Invitation	277
4. The Ideals of the Two Tilaks	279
5. The Opportunity of Editors in India	281
6. 'The Spirit of Truth' as an Editor's Guide	282
7. Responsibility for Satisfying India's Religious Hunger	282
8. The Tonic for Pessimism and Defeatism	284
9. The Antidote Against Complacency	285
10. The Stimulus of Good Books	286
11. Jesus Christ the Key to History	287
12. 'They Found the Church There'	288
13. 'What are the Churches Doing?'	289
14. Social Reconstruction and Religious Ideals	291
15. Minimizing the Spiritual	292
16. Presenting Christ to India's Mind and Heart	295
17. 'In the Secret Place of the Most High'	296
18. True Christian Unity : Its Goal and Method	297
19. The Religious Hunger of India's Women	299
20. The Holy Spirit and Ourselves	300

PART EIGHT

EPILOGUE

CHAPTER XXVII

GANDHIJI AND INDIA'S HEART-HUNGER

I. REMINISCENCES OF GANDHIJI

. Gandhiji and Indian Drink Reform	302
. Gandhiji's Advice to Missionaries	305
. Gandhiji and Sadhu Sundar Singh	306
. Gandhiji and the Prohibition Challenge	307
. An Enigmatic Personality	309

I. THE WORLD'S DEBT TO GANDHIJI

. Gandhiji and World-Peace	310
. Soul-Hunger and Racial Equality	311
. The Place of God in the Indian Republic	313
. Gandhiji's Condemnation of Idolatry	314
. Gandhiji's Remedy for Heart-Hunger : Preach Christ and Don't Dilute His Message	315
. Gandhiji's Personal Relation to Christ	317

III. HOW TRAGEDY MAY TURN TO BLESSING

1. Light on the Value of Suffering	320
2. Indianisation of the Christian Programme	321
3. A Call to Realities	322
4. The Unaccomplished Tasks	324
5. Recovery of Lost Dynamics	326
6. 'Revive Thy Church, Beginning with Me'	329
7. Indian and World-Wide Hunger for Brotherly Love	332
8. Christian Opportunity in India	

ADDITIONAL NOTES

I. The 'Bhagavadgitā' as Text-book of Neo-Hinduism.	335
II. Does the 'Bhagavadgitā' Mention Untouchables?	336
III. India's Historic Revolt Against Religious Compulsion	337
IV. Gandhi Literature and the term 'Mahatma'	339

BIBLIOGRAPHY	341
INDEX	343

CORRIGENDA

Page	Line	For	Read
30	19	indeed,	indeed
32	13	resident	residents
32	20	May 1927	May 1926
34	32	He	'He
37	16	drafting	drifting
39	19-20	issued which, ... Appendix A	issued.
41	26-27	'The Toys'	"The Toys"
43	2 from bottom	Self-existent	Self-Existent
48	foot-note 1	Dnyanodaya	Dnyanodaya
53	foot-note 3	Khallidam	Khaltoidam
53	"	Akasharat	Akashavat
55	19	religion	religion'
55	20	discovering) as	discovering) 'as
58	(sub-title)	Mother India	'Mother India'
58	17	Indian Civil Service Officials do,	Indian Social Reform workers do,
59	6 from bottom	"Let	'Let
61	10 from bottom	'so	"so
61	9 from bottom	religions',	religions,"
61	7 from bottom	'clutches'	"clutches"
62	21	'the Actual'	"the Actual"
62	3 from bottom	understated	understood
63	14	devādāsī	devadāsī
63	29	Issiah	Isaiah
65	21	cling	cling,
66	31	devadasis	devadāsī
67	1	no-one	no one
67	16, 17	'monastery near the temple;'	monastery near the temple;
67	20	No-one	No one
88	39	सर्वस्व	सर्वस्व
96	19	Our later chapter on	Our Additional Note, 'India's Historical Revolt Against Re- ligious Compulsion.'
150	7	'Christāyan':	18. 'Christāyan':
151	foot-note 2	namaa	'I bow'
159	11, 18, 30, 32, 36, 39	Darbar	Durbar
160	12, 17, 21, 23	Darbar	Durbar
177	31	Shadharshana	Shaddharshana

PART ONE INTRODUCTORY

CHAPTER I

'I THOUGHT THERE WAS NO RELIGION HERE'

Genesis xx. 11 (*Moffatt*)

Complacency and Prejudice

(1) It has often been pointed out that the realism of the Bible is strikingly exemplified in its faithful record of the imperfections of some of God's greatest servants; and the unique value of the Bible as a daily guide arises *in part* from its being so true to the facts of life however unpalatable those facts may be. In the undeviating veracity of the Bible narratives we see, indeed, one of many proofs of their complete reliability; and the fearlessness and impartiality which characterize the sacred writers help to establish their uniqueness in the religious literature of the world. All this has been recognized the world over, but it has not been quite as fully recognized that one of the flaws brought to light in some good people by the Bible is a self-complacency regarding their own religion linked with a corresponding depreciation of the religious capacity of other races and peoples. In the very first book of the Bible, for example, we find the inspired narrative reporting and reproving such self-complacency and depreciation on the part of the father of the faithful, even to the point of showing how Abraham had gone to the extreme length of compromising his wife's honour by deliberately concealing the important fact that she was a married woman. When Abraham gives as his excuse for such reprehensible conduct the fact that he 'thought there was no religion there', the Bible narrator tears Abraham's subterfuge to shreds by setting in a more favourable light the contemporary and supposedly heathen king who had ministered the needed rebuke. We shall see that the Bible gives other instances where religious self-complacency in God's children and depreciation of others are condemned, but as the present book aims at combining devotional study with religious research, let us learn a few practical lessons from this first incident before we pass on to others.

Abraham's Surprising Discovery

(2) In the entire range of the Old Testament there is no greater figure than that of Abraham; yet in Genesis xii. 11-20 and in xx. 1-18 we have the sacred historian shrinking not a jot from recording the act that twice over the chosen servant of God was guilty of falling

into sin, the sin of acting a lie by concealing half the truth, and doing it twice over in different lands. The words we have quoted from Genesis xx. 11 are the excuse (no other word is adequate to the offence) given by Abraham to the King of Gerar in Southern Palestine for the indefensible conduct of which he had also been guilty on a previous occasion in Egypt. It has sometimes been suggested that the incident described in Genesis xx is not a separate incident but only a varied account of that in Genesis xii, but the number of the variations in the two accounts and the length of time between them, probably about thirty years, rule out such a theory. On both occasions Abraham suggested that Sarah should say she was his sister instead of his wife. Dr Marcus Dods' exposition of this incident in the *Genesis* volume of 'The Expositor's Bible' series is deeply suggestive. He thinks it possible that 'Abraham may have heard the ugly story, deciphered from an old papyrus, which tells how one of the Pharaohs sent armed men to fetch a beautiful woman and make away with her husband'. To which Dr Dods replies, 'Knowing the risk he ran, why did Abraham go to Egypt at all? Whatever motive Abraham may have had, the 'disguising of his true relationship to Sarah was unjustifiable. And his feelings during those weeks in Egypt must have been far from enviable as he learned that of all virtues the Egyptians set greatest store by truth, and that lying was the vice they held in greatest abhorrence.' As he went about, 'thinking what a fool he had been', he suffered the further mortification of 'the indignant rebuke of the Egyptian monarch. This rebuke indeed did not prevent him from a repetition of the same conduct in another country, conduct which was met with similar indignation' (as described in Genesis xx. 2-18). It was in face of the indignation he encountered on this second occasion that Abraham fell back on the unworthy subterfuge he expressed in the words at the head of this chapter, a subterfuge upon which all too many have fallen back in Oriental lands after having being brought up in Christian surroundings: '*I thought* there was no religion here' (Genesis xx. 11). The Hebrew scholars tell us Abraham's words should be translated: '*I did it because I thought* there was no religion in this place' (G. J. Spurrell, p. 196). In real truth the whole situation was one Abraham should have regarded as all the greater challenge to his integrity, as thousands of Occidentals have, happily, accepted a similar challenge presented by their alien environment. But Abraham was not the only one to have discovered true religion in unexpected places, and 'he would have given up all, could he have blotted from his mind's eye the reproachful face of Pharaoh and nipped out this entire episode from his life. He was humbled both by his falseness and his foolishness. He had told a lie, and told it when truth would have served him better. . . . It was the heathen monarch who taught the father of the faithful his first lesson in God's holiness. What he so painfully learned we must all learn, that God does not need lying for the attainment of His ends, and that double-dealing is always short-sighted. . . . Let lying be called by whatever flattering title men

please, let it pass for diplomacy, smartness, self-defence, policy, or civility, it remains the device of the coward. . . . If we are to know the Living and True God we must ourselves be true, transparent, and living in the light as He *is* the Light. If we are to reach His ends we must adopt His means and abjure all crafty contrivances of our own.' (Dods on Genesis, pp. 100-4.) Who will dare to say that these plain words do not come straight home to 'the business and bosom' of many in the Christian Church of our time, who have been rescued from their entanglements by the Merciful and Forgiving God Who rebuked and rescued His servant Abraham three or four millenniums ago.

Rebuked by 'Heathen' Kings

(3) One of the ablest among the evangelical commentators of our day, Dr W. H. Griffith Thomas, shows how true to life—the imperfect life of every day—this whole account is regarding Abraham's 'half truth' in Genesis xx. 12: 'Verbally it was correct; but really it was a lie. The proposal was clearly actuated by selfishness; there was no regard for Sarah, but only for his own safety. . . . What must have been his thoughts as he sat alone in his tent! He had gained his end, but at a very great cost to Sarah and himself'. One element in his bitter cup was the strong rebuke from the 'heathen' Pharaoh. 'We have touched the depths of spiritual unfaithfulness when a believer has to be openly rebuked by the ungodly.' For 'the child of God is to be straightforward in all his attitude, and to go straight forward in all his actions. The end does *not* justify the means, whatever men may say. Not only must the end we seek be true, the means we use must also be true.' Fearlessly the Bible shows this 'old sin' to have been repeated years later at another stage of Abraham's travels in another land. The old patriarch might try to glose over his grave fault by saying he '*thought* there was no religion there', but his wrong is shown to have been all the more heinous not only because it was an 'old sin' unconquered, but also because of Abraham's threefold and futile effort at self-vindication: (i) 'Because I *thought* there was no religion here'; (ii) because Sarah was his 'half-sister' (xx. 12), in which statement Abraham 'clearly crossed over the boundary between concealment and lying'; and (iii) because of the old compact made with Sarah thirty years before (Genesis xx. 13), a compact in which Sarah had been partner as is clear from what she told the King of Gerar: 'He is my brother' (xx. 5); for what Abraham pleaded as extenuating his guilt, really intensified it, since it revealed as with a searchlight his prevaricating influence upon his wife. 'The character of Abimelech shines out beautifully, and is in marked contrast with Abraham at this point. Men of the world stand out superior at times to the people of God, and . . . it is very sad when a man of God has to be rebuked by a man of the world.' Abraham had really been dominated by 'the fear of man, innate selfishness,

deliberate untruth, distrust of God'. There is something of searching solemnity in the fact recorded in Genesis xxvi. 7-11 that the deceit practised by the father of the faithful was later seen at work in Isaac his son. In case these lines should be read by some 'professing Christian' who has similarly been overcome by compromise, untruth, selfishness and worldly distrust of God, let us emphasize the better part of Abraham's example. His smitten conscience drove him to where every one in a similar plight of soul should go; he went 'to Bethel, to the site of the altar he had erected at first' (xiii. 4). 'Whenever we backslide, there is nothing else to do but to come back by the old gateway of genuine repentance and simple faith' (I John i. 9). 'And if we would be saved from the possibility of an "old sin" persisting in showing its head as it did with Abraham, let us remember for our comfort the divine promise: "Sin shall not have dominion over you" (Romans vi. 14), for God's provision of power is for the soul in union with Christ, and this, by the power of His Spirit, affords the guarantee of perpetual protection and victory. *This provision, must, however, be used.* We are to "live in the Spirit and walk in the Spirit" (Galatians v. 25). "The law of the Spirit of Life in Christ Jesus" is the law of counteraction. Full surrender to the Holy Spirit will keep the inner being sensitive to the approaches of sin. As we continue to yield ourselves to the incoming, full possession, and entire control, of the Spirit of God, the old nature will be kept under, and the new life will have complete power.' That God was able to use so imperfect a man, as Abraham is seen here to have been, should be as encouraging and comforting to us imperfect Christians today as is the similar way the Spirit of Christ used imperfect and penitent Peter on the day of Pentecost.

Religiousness among Pagans so-called (Malachi i. 10-11)

(4) If in the first book of the Old Testament we hear two 'heathen' monarchs reproving the father of the faithful for deviating from the highest standards of truthfulness, in the last book of the Old Testament we hear the Lord God Himself through His prophet Malachi (i. 10-11) reproving His children for insincerity and unreality: 'I will accept no offering you make; for while My Name is being honoured among pagans from sunrise to sunset . . . you are dishonouring it; for among pagans My Name is being honoured, says the Lord of hosts.' In this indictment by God, 'My Name' means God's revealed character, and the indictment is that God's character has been besmirched by His Own children; for 'the root of all sin is the despising of God's Name.' In the entire Bible there is no more outright condemnation of unreality among those claiming to be God's chosen people. Expounding this passage, that great interpreter of the Bible prophets, the late Principal Dr Sir George Adam Smith, in the 'Expositor's Bible' series, wrote: 'This is so novel a statement, and, we may truly say, so startling, that it is not wonderful that the attempt should

have been made to interpret it, not of the prophet's own day, but . . . like our own Authorised Version, which boldly throws the verbs into the future. . . . But such an exegesis is only possible by perverting the text and misreading the whole argument of the prophet. Not only are the verbs of the original in the present tense, but the prophet is obviously contrasting the contempt of God's own people for Himself and His institutions with the reverence paid to His Name among the heathen. . . . Never (before) have we had in prophecy, even the most far-seeing and evangelical, a statement so generous and so catholic as this, . . . the recognition of true piety in men of all religions, . . . an emphatic acknowledgment that the One True God had those who served Him in spirit and in truth all over the world.' Similarly, 'the great Evangelists of the Exile could declare' that the Ideal Servant of the Lord 'quenched not the smoking wicks of the dim heathen faiths' (Isaiah xlii. 3). 'We perceive in this statement a step towards the fuller acknowledgment of Gentile religiousness which we find in the Book of Jonah' where in i. 5 'the scared sailors each cried to his own god', and later (in verse 10) 'discovered that Jonah was flying from the Eternal, because Jonah had told them that', and because of their 'native reverence and piety' (*The Book of The Twelve Prophets*, vol. 2, pp. 358-60). A similar recognition of the reality of the Divine Presence among Indian Christian converts has frequently been made by their Brahmin and other caste-masters who have openly testified to the transfiguring power of the Spirit of Christ at work in the lives of their out-caste menials and have requested that the secret of the same moral and spiritual transfiguration may be imparted to themselves.

'No such faith in Israel' (St Matthew viii. 10, etc.)

(5) A striking illustration of the uplifting and inspiring work of the Spirit of God among those 'outside the pale' is supplied by the candour of Jesus Himself when He exclaimed in St Matthew viii. 10 and St Luke vii. 9: 'I have never met faith like this anywhere in Israel.' On two occasions in the Life of our Lord are we told that 'He marvelled,' once in St Mark vi. 6 where 'He marvelled at the unbelief' of His own Jewish people after all God's wonderful love and care and patience; the other occasion being when Jesus marvelled at the great faith of a Roman centurion supposed by the Jews to be a heathen man but upon whose strong and simple faith Jesus passed the eulogium that He had never met with such powerful faith even among His own Israelite nation. What made this soldier's 'faith' so unusual was the deep sense of sin and unworthiness that lay behind the faith, also his wonderful discernment of the uniqueness of Jesus, and the practical proof of moral and spiritual genuineness which this army captain of Capernaum had given by his generosity to those of another religion, all of which points are worthy of reverent meditation in a land where Jesus has today many secret aspirants and helpers.

'Other Sheep Not of this Fold' (St John x. 16)

(6) An even more tender and compelling word from Jesus on this subject is His word in St John x. 16: 'Other sheep I have which are not of this fold.' No wonder the sworn foes of Jesus said He was 'mad' (x. 20). For when Jesus declared 'God's flock was wider than God's fold' He was cutting at the very root of Pharisaic prejudice and exclusiveness. That inimitable Manchester preacher, Dr Maclaren, who preached from the same pulpit for forty years, saw in these words 'Christ teaching us how to think of the heathen world,' for His 'other sheep' are the sincere and praying people of every land 'whom Christ has received, although they have no connection with His visible Church. . . . There will be many more names in the Lamb's book of life, depend upon it, than ever are written on the roll-calls of our Churches or in missionary statistics. *Them also I must bring.*' By what instrumentality? 'I lay down My life for the sheep,' Jesus had already said in x. 25. Under the blessing of the Spirit of Truth and Power Who inspires the message, 'the Cross of Christ and it alone gathers men into a unity; for it alone draws men to Christ,' by the power of that Spirit Who convinces men of sin (St John xvi. 8). By the grace of His Spirit to touch the heart, 'the magnetism of the Cross alone is mighty enough to overcome the gravitation of the soul to sin'. A mighty Voice longs ever to sound in our ears, 'Other sheep I have', and if we are filled with His Spirit, our hearts will reply, 'Them also, O Lord, will I try to bring'.

Religious Prejudice Revealed and Removed (Acts x-xi)

(7) In the tenth and eleventh chapters of the Acts of the Apostles we learn the far-reaching truth, a truth vital in every type of missionary work in India, that the overcoming of all religious prejudice is one of the rich 'fruits of the Spirit', for in those two chapters we see how the Holy Spirit taught Peter the lesson on religious tolerance which transformed his ideals and methods. In our earlier book, *The Holy Spirit The Christian Dynamic* (chapter xx), we have shown how crucial an incident in the history of the early Church was his sixty-mile journey in obedience to the Holy Spirit's guidance. Let us here note that when Peter was on his way from Joppa to Caesarea he must have been thinking about the Roman military officer's camp to which he was going, 'I thought there was no religion there'. But when he arrived he found quite an audience waiting for him, nothing more or less than a prayer-gathering whose leader told Peter they were simply waiting for God's message through him. It must have been one of the biggest surprises of Peter's life. And to the Spirit-guided Peter the biggest surprise of all was: 'I see quite plainly that God has no favourites, but that he who reverences Him and lives a good life in any nation is welcomed by Him' (Acts x. 34). To admit a Roman soldier, a non-Jew, into the Church of Christ, was a revolution in the Church's ideas. That Peter could tell the critics at Jerusalem

that he was engaged in private prayer when the Spirit's guidance came to him, was a sufficient defence even before the champions of Judaism (Acts xi. 1-5). It became clear to the whole Church that the guiding Spirit of Christ Himself, the Church's Head, had abolished all racial distinctions, and that Peter had turned 'the keys of the kingdom' by the hand of prayer under the impulse of the Holy Spirit. We hope it is clear to each reader that by the Power of the Holy Spirit is *never* meant that censorious temper, that attitude of disparagement, which has ruined much missionary work and has turned so many religious Conferences into warning illustrations of how *not* to do Christian work in any land. Think also of how many problems of Church Union would never have arisen at all, if only 'Peter's willingness to recognize all who manifest the Spirit of Christ, whatever their relation to ecclesiastical regulations, had continued the law and practice of the Church' (Maclaren).

A Generous Bombay Doctor

(8) The prayer-meeting in the home at Caesarea where Cornelius and Peter first met has reminded us that two or three decades ago, one of our pastoral calls in Bombay City took us into the home of one of Bombay's most famous doctors. In common parlance he was described as a 'non-Christian' but before we left him that night two incidents had made an indelible impression on our mind. The first was that the doctor gave us a most cordial invitation to come and be his guest on alternate evenings every week when for forty minutes he conducted 'family devotions' which consisted of his reading aloud to his assembled family and any other visiting friends selected portions from the sacred books of all religions in Western India *including the New Testament*. The second happening of special interest was that at our request the good doctor related in detail a story we had often heard mentioned in general terms. In the closing decade of the last century there laboured at Byculia that man of God, the Rev. E. S. Hume, who had set his heart on securing the vacant plot on which the present Hume Memorial Church came to be erected. To his great consternation one day he learned the site had been sold in the open market and that our friend the doctor was the purchaser. At this point there happened to E. S. Hume something that illustrated for him the beautiful couplet of the eighteenth century poet William Cowper:

'Sometimes a light surprises
The Christian while he sings.'

The doctor had learned just after his purchase of the land that E. S. Hume had been bidding for the plot through a representative who had concealed his identity, through whom the doctor at once made known his desire to meet E. S. Hume personally. E. S. Hume immediately called on the doctor, and poured out his heart's story of how for many a long day he had been longing to get hold of that very site. 'Then,'

said the doctor, 'let me have the pleasure and honour of passing it over to you for the same price I gave for it. I only wanted it for my business; but you want it for the worship and service of Almighty God, so I hand it over to you.' We leave the reader to guess with what deep thoughts we wended our way back that night to our bungalow, on the very spot where the generous doctor had thus made it possible for one of the largest places of Christian worship in Bombay City to be erected. An interesting sequel was that a few years later the doctor's practice had grown to be so extensive that he built in memory of his mother a large hospital which has been a home of mercy to thousands of Bombay sufferers. Our pastoral call that night ministered, as we believe, more to the missionary than to the doctor, for it saved us from the temptation of 'thinking' that there was 'no religion' in that city of sin and need; and ever since the incident we have felt that the term 'non-Christian' is often very unjustly used. Our reflections as we passed along Bombay's crowded roads led us to two conclusions, viz., that our friend the doctor had not been reading the New Testament in vain at his family prayers; and that Jesus had His secret friends and helpers in India just as He had in hostile Jerusalem when He sent Peter and John to arrange the Last Supper in an Upper Room belonging to a man whose name is not given in Matthew xxvi. 18, Mark xi. 2-6, or Luke xxii. 10-12.

A Devout Indian Statesman

(9) Such were the thoughts surging through our soul as we sat spellbound by an address, given in that very church-building in Byculla by another secret friend of Jesus in our Bombay days, the late Hon. Dr Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, at that time the President of the Bombay Legislative Assembly. In the Autumn of 1921 we had gladly given permission to the Salvation Army to use the Hume Memorial church in New Nagpada for a meeting we reported as follows in the *Dnyanodaya* (*Rise Of Knowledge*) for November 17, 1921: 'Not for years have we attended so uplifting a meeting as the "Welcome" given to 120 Salvation Army Officers last Friday (November 11, 1921) evening in the Hume Memorial Church, Byculla, lent for the occasion. The Hon. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar made an ideal chairman and entered into all the proceedings as if he himself were a lifelong Salvationist. He saw the first contingent arrive in India in 1882 and heard General Booth Tucker's appeal in the Bombay High Court. Truly things have changed, for today the Salvation Army is the mightiest social agency in India. And its secret of success lies in the fact that its unshakable assurance regarding personal salvation provides an undying inspiration for social service. A deeper experience of Redeeming Love will be the greatest quickener of the Indian Church's social conscience.' And as Sir Narayan in a heart-warming speech kept referring to Jesus as 'the Master', one felt that here was another

of those 'secret friends' of Jesus in India who, inspired by the example of Jesus, go about doing good.

Conversion of a Communalist

(10) There is something in Luke's narrative about Peter at Joppa and Caesarea that bears very closely on India's present-day Communalism. For Communalism arises from a mentality of religious prejudice. The story of Peter's conversion from Jewish prejudice is the story of a conversion that went so deep that he was willing to enter the house of a Roman soldier and admit him into the newly founded Church; and what this must have meant to prejudiced Peter can be imagined from the fact that every Roman soldier was viewed with deep loathing by every living Jew, not only religiously but also politically because of Jewish subjection to Rome. The story thus narrates the conversion of a rank Communalist who became the messenger of a universal Gospel. Peter's experience in his private prayer-time at Joppa and in the prayer-group at Caesarea therefore shows that Pentecostal Power means a Power that overcomes religious prejudices. In the early days of the Jerusalem Church Peter had seen at work a Spirit-inspired Christian socialism in which Church members shared all things in common, but those members were all Jewish Christians. Now in his housetop devotions at Joppa he is shown that the Gospel and all its blessings are to be shared by non-Jews as well. How startled Peter was by such a discovery is clear from the narrative in Acts x-xi, for when the three men from Caesarea urged him to accompany them to a Roman's residence his whole soul recoiled from the idea as from something 'unclean'. But 'hours of supplication are God's hours of communication' (Maclaren), and when Peter finally agreed to risk such defilement, the needed revolution in his religious ideal had already taken place which prepared him for the staggering surprise that greeted him when he was welcomed by the Caesarean prayer-group awaiting his message. For the sheet with the four corners he had seen in his housetop vision symbolized for Peter the four quarters of God's human family in the North, the South, the East and the West. From that hour he was delivered from all the shackles of Communalism and he became the herald of a universal Saviour for a universal humanity.

India's Communal Menace

(11) These lines are being written in one of the darkest hours of Indian Communalism (November 1946), when Communalism is threatening the very existence of the Indian nation. There can be no leader in India whose national usefulness is more limited by Communalism than was that of Peter—as was shown by Peter's temporary relapse some time later when his brother Paul reminded Peter of the logic of his earlier Pentecost in Christ (see Galatians ii. 11-14). The moving story in Acts x-xi of Peter's deliverance

along with his marvellous letters (which should be read from the standpoint of universal brotherhood), show that every Communalist in India, be he Hindu, Muslim, Parsee, or European, can be similarly cleansed by the Spirit of Christ from this nation-destroying communal taint. The proof of this has been seen on many occasions in India when baptismal services have witnessed former Hindus and Muslims together entering into the loyalty and service of the one Lord and Saviour. There are hundreds of Churches throughout India today where not the slightest difference of loyalty is shown towards superiors whether these be British or American, or converted and consecrated men who formerly were Hindus or Muslims. We therefore plead that the Indian Church shall work and pray for a perennial Pentecost such as shall sweep away from India all those dangers we have referred to in this chapter.

Resources of the Eternal Spirit

(12) In view of the incalculable harm to the cause of Christ arising from these dangers, the major question arises: How shall we best triumph over these dangers both in ourselves and in others? How, but by a ceaseless and prayerful co-operation with the Indwelling Spirit of Christ, Who is also the Spirit of Truth. In view of the palpitating movements in India and the entire East, there never was a deeper necessity to learn how to discern the working of the Divine Spirit in every grade of society. If only we each one jealously guard the inward gift of the Indwelling Spirit of Christ and our obedience to Him, then our very presence in India will itself be a message; and this applies with equal force to every Indian Church member. That Indwelling Spirit will daily teach us *how* 'to carry true religion to the nations', how 'not to crush a broken reed', how 'not to quench a wick that dimly burns', for these are the daily victories of every one 'endowed with My Spirit,' saith the Lord in Isaiah xlii. 1-4; the crowning victory being that of 'not giving in or giving up, till He has settled true religion in the earth'. For our encouragement and reproof alike let us remember that wherever the Divine Spirit is allowed to work He 'initiates a new era in human history', which is exactly what India rightly aspires after in these days. And if we are haunted by our ignorance or intellectual limitations or poor spiritual life, let us learn afresh that 'these factors are relatively unimportant when set besides the eternal forces of the Spirit'. One secret of power for the Church's first missionary was that 'against all hindering weakness and human lethargy, he set the ceaseless intercession of the Spirit' (Romans viii. 26-7). The secret of optimism for Mission and Church alike is in our co-operation with the certainty that the Living Spirit of God is at work in the world. The sure remedy for all defeatism is to go daily 'forward knowing that the Creative Spirit at work within our whole personality' can make each one of us equal to our task. One of the sure principles for revitalizing both India's missionary movement

and the Indian Church's ministry is to realize daily that we are 'called to a life of continuous learning'. All those missionaries, pastors and other workers who have 'a growing knowledge of the Christian revelation as given in the Bible and as continually interpreted by the Eternal Spirit will best' know how to present the message of Christ in a changing India.

In this section we have quoted from *An Introduction To Missionary Service* by the late Miss Gollock and Dr E. G. K. Hewat, a book of 167 pages published for three shillings and sixpence in 1921 by the Oxford University Press, which if brought up to date in the matter of the books recommended would still be an excellent guide, and would also well repay translation into the Indian vernaculars.

POWER: An Individual Responsibility

(13) One of the most treasured memories of the present writer is that of being a missionary collector about sixty years ago, then a Sunday-School boy in Bolton, Lancashire. The prize he received one year is highly valued still, for it was that well known book *The Tongue Of Fire* by William Arthur who gave many years of missionary service to Mysore, his first preface being dated 1856, and his preface to the 18th edition only three years later in 1859. No wonder it was such a success for it still remains one of the best books on the subject. One of William Arthur's main lessons is, that while each one of us is not responsible for success in spiritual work, we *are* quite definitely responsible for receiving and retaining spiritual power by fulfilling the conditions. This great spiritual principle is well illustrated in the latest Report of the British Methodist Missionary Society dated July 1946. Two illustrations will suffice. Take one from China on page 18 and one from India on page 2. 'The work at Wusueh is . . . the result of an old Biblewoman's faithfulness. Through all the trials of the Occupation, when no services were possible, Mrs Hsia carried on her pastoral work amongst the women in Wusueh, holding them together and building them up in the faith, so that in time even the menfolk turned to her for spiritual comfort and guidance. This Church is a sample of what a devoted woman and only *one* woman . . . can do for Christ even in the darkest days.'

An Indian Village Farmer's Spiritual Power

(14) 'Today Power is a word fraught with fear and hope. Through years of war and months of peace we hear it—armed power; Great Powers; Power politics; man-power; atomic power. The question haunts us—"Will mankind use power to blast or to bless the peoples of the world? Where is the power equal to the tasks of peace?"' The Report we quote continues: 'An answer comes from village India. In a Hyderabad village there had been a great deal of trouble about child marriage. The Christians came from the farmer caste

and were most unwilling to give up this particular custom, which they felt made for the security of their children's future. So after the meeting in the church we asked the elders to come to the house where we were spending the night. They came, and sat in the circle of light around a lantern on the verandah. We asked, "Why did you become Christians?" and they consulted together. Then one man spoke for all, leaning forward into the light, and with great earnestness he said, "Don't you know? *There's a Power, and when He lays His hand on you He doesn't let go.*" The others nodded agreement. "Then why," said we, "do you not want to obey Him in the matter of your children's marriage?" Again they consulted, and again the leader spoke, "It is true He is in all of us, but it takes time for Him to help us to be willing to obey in all things. Only give Him time, He will win, for He is very strong." The old man was right when he called the Power not "It" but "He". . . . His is the Power behind the courageous stand of the Church in Norway or Holland; the reality tested and proved in many a prison and internment camp. "They couldn't intern us away from God," said men behind barbed wire. His power was the source of the sincerity and steadfastness of the German Confessional Church, the witness of Papuan stretcher-bearers or Channel Islanders, the sturdy fidelity of Chinese and Burmese Christians. This power has continued to build up the Church, though places of worship were shattered and Christians "scattered like chaff", hated, despised and tormented. Christians of China and Japan, of Britain and Germany and Italy, have their fellowship by this same power. . . . We can look back across the years of war and forward to the years of peace, saying

"*Thine is the Kingdom, the Power, and the Glory.*"

CHAPTER II: INTRODUCTORY

'YOU ARE A MOST RELIGIOUS PEOPLE'

Acts xvii. 22 (Moffatt)

St Paul's Message to the Athens University

(1) Whether St Paul ever heard of the words of Jesus as recorded in St Matthew viii. 10 and St John x. 16 we cannot tell, but his message before the Athens University shows that he had been learning lessons of tolerance, insight and charity in the school where the Spirit of Jesus is ever the chief Teacher. Paul's words in Acts xvii. 22 are rendered by Dr R. F. Weymouth's *New Testament In Modern Speech*: 'Men of Athens, I perceive that you are in every respect remarkably religious.' In his notable work, *St Paul The Traveller And the Roman Empire* (p. 249), Prof. W. M. Ramsay translated: 'Ye men of Athens, in all respects I observe that you are more than others respectful of what is divine.' Dr Adolf Deissman rendered it: 'I perceive that in all things ye are very religious' (*Expository Times*, vol. 18, p. 204). This story about St Paul among the philosophers at Athens is one of the greatest stories in the Bible. It gives us a vivid picture of the Church's great missionary faced with a new situation. He had recently been dealing with Thessalonian bigots and with open-minded Bible students at Berea. Now he is confronted by a situation from which every worker for Jesus Christ in India, Indian and non-Indian alike, may learn much about the right methods of Christian work, such methods as Christ can bless by His mighty Spirit. The first number of *The Oxford And Cambridge Review*, published in 1907, established the fact that research had shown very much more lay behind the story in Acts xvii than appears on the surface. A first century poet named Statius (about A.D. 45-96), in a work of twelve books named *Thebaid* which he took twelve years to compose, shows that in the Greek-speaking world there were remarkable anticipations of the message of Christ 'before He was known of either St Peter or St Paul. For the Greek had discovered that the deepest need of mankind was the need of mercy. There had arisen a sense of the value and the necessity of forgiveness, and so, in the centre of the city of Athens an Altar of Mercy had been erected. . . . When Dante in the thirteenth century read the *Thebaid* he was so impressed with the Christ-likeness of an Altar of Mercy in the centre of Athens that he claimed the author of the *Thebaid* as a Christian.' The author of the 1907 article was a notable scholar named Dr A. W. Verrall whose argument was summarized in *The Expository Times* for August 1907 (vol. xviii, pp. 481-2). 'That gentle doctrine of humanity

had radiated, or was supposed by the world to have radiated, from Mars' Hill,' so that 'when St Paul stood in the midst of the Areopagus, he knew he was standing in the ideal centre of that sorrow for humanity . . . which was the highest attainment' of the religion before Christ; and as St Paul said (here let the reader note Dr Verrall's rendering of the crucial clause) 'Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are exceedingly God-fearing,' he took advantage of 'the very nearness of their approach to offer them, through Christ, that God Whom they already worshipped, though ignorantly.' These remarkable facts of history before St Paul's day, along with the equally remarkable stories that led to the erection of an altar 'to an unknown God' (see below), constituted an impressive Providential preparation for St Paul's message. All this helps to establish the wisdom of the change suggested by the American Revision Committee in the decade between 1870-80 (see the Preface to the English Revised Version dated November 11, 1880), which suggested that in place of the Authorized Version of 1611, 'ye are too superstitious', and of the English Revised Version of 1880, 'somewhat superstitious' (margin 'somewhat religious'), the English translation should be 'ye are very religious'.

A Lesson on Missionary Method

(2) Our forty years' reading since the foregoing argument appeared in 1907 has only served to confirm the soundness of its reasoning. The same year, indeed, saw the publication of *The Acts* volume in the *Expositions of Holy Scriptures* by the Prince of Preachers, Dr Alexander Maclaren of Manchester, rightly described as one of 'the most gigantic feats of sermon-making accomplished in modern times' (*Expository Times*, January, 1911, p. 171, vol. 22). In the *Acts* volume (pp. 138-41) Dr Maclaren in expounding Acts xvii. 22-34 stated: 'The spirit in which Paul approached his difficult audience teaches all Christian missionaries and controversialists a needed and neglected lesson. We should accentuate points of resemblance rather than of difference, to begin with. We should not run a tilt even against errors, and provoke to their defence, but rather find in creeds and practices an ignorant groping after, and so a door of entrance for, the truth which we seek to recommend. "I am become all things to all men," said Paul, and his address at Athens strikingly exemplifies that principle of action. Contrast it with his speech in the synagogue of Pisidian Antioch (Acts xiii. 14-41), . . . or with the remonstrance to the rude Lycaonian peasants (Acts xiv. 15, etc.), which, while handling some of the same thoughts as at Athens, does so in a remarkably different matter. There he appealed to God's gifts of "rain from heaven and fruitful seasons", the things most close to his hearers' experiences; here, speaking to educated "philosophers", he quotes Greek poetry . . . The glories of Greek art were around him; the statues of Pallas and Athene looked down on the little Jew who dared to proclaim their

nullity as representations of the Godhead. Paul's flexibility of mind and power of adapting himself to every circumstance were never more strikingly shown than in the great address to the quick-witted Athenians. It falls into three parts: the conciliatory prelude (verses 22-3); the declaration of the Unknown God (verses 24-9); and the proclamation of the God-ordained Man (verses 30-31). . . . It is common sense for the apostle of a new truth to seek to find some point in the present beliefs of his hearers to which his message may attach itself. . . . A missionary who recognizes the truth which lies under the system which he seeks to overthrow is wise. . . . We may give non-Christian systems of religion credit for all the good in them, but . . . every word of Paul's proclamation strikes full and square at some counter belief of his hearers.' It is therefore important to note that in thus emphasizing the religious spirit of the Athenians, St Paul was speaking in strict accordance with similar testimonies from various quarters, such as the historians Thucydides, Sophocles, Pausanias, Petronius, Chrysostom, etc. (*Expositor's Greek Testament* on Acts, p. 371, where the full references are given, and which continues:) 'There is therefore no reason to suppose that Paul's words were an accommodation to the usual practice of Athenian orators to commence with a mere compliment.'

Recognizing the Sincerity of Idolators

(3) If St Paul had learned needed lessons of tolerance, insight and charity in the school of Jesus, he had also learned from the Spirit of Jesus how to condemn sin and religious compromise. For Paul told these philosophical people, assembled in the greatest university of the age, that to worship idols was unjustifiable. To charge an audience in Athens with 'ignorance', and with 'ignorance about God' (Acts xvii. 23, 30), may be safely described as bold and fearless. But since Paul had started his address by openly acknowledging the religiousness and sincerity of his hearers, he had ensured a fair hearing for his constructive message. Having laid his foundation by tolerance and charity, he could safely tell even Athenian philosophers that they were really ignorant about God. The present writer was told by a religious-minded and sympathetic Collector thirty years ago about having to go and rescue a missionary from an angry Indian crowd. When he arrived on the spot, he found the missionary had been denouncing the Hindu gods openly, hence, the people's retaliation by attacking the missionary. Such a method of preaching had surely not followed St Paul's wise method of recognizing the earnestness and sincerity of worshippers. Verses 16-18 show that although 'his soul was irritated at the sight of the idols that filled the city' (verse 16, Moffatt), yet so wise and successful was he in his individual conversations and 'discussions in the synagogues with the Jews and the other worshippers, and in the market place day after day with those whom he happened to meet there' (verse 17, Weymouth), that it seems

probable it was those who had heard his conversations and discussions who honoured him by taking him ('courteously', adds Weymouth's note) to the most important Council Hall in the city of Athens, to speak in the world-famed Areopagus, where only the leaders of the State gathered, all of whom must previously have been officers of State and over sixty years of age.

Appreciating the Religiousness of India

(4) It is obvious that Paul as the first great missionary had learned what every worker for Christ must learn, viz. how to love the souls of idol-worshippers and enter sympathetically into their deep spiritual need while at the same time intensely disapproving of idolatry. A reasoned basis for such love and sympathy is to be found in a sincere appreciation of India's profound religiousness which has been set forth impressively by Canon W. E. S. Holland in his beautiful book *The Goal of India*: 'The earnestness of the millions of India's pilgrims; the absorption of her mystics in the Unseen but ever-present One; the unmeasured sacrifice of her ascetics, the other-worldliness of her true monks; the contempt for material greatness and the things of sense beside the majesty of the spiritual and the things unseen; the indifference to food and comfort and all things earthly if only the things eternal can be assured; the tireless aspiration away from this world in the search for God; the reverence for religious guide and teacher; above all, India's worship of goodness; her sense of the strength of patience, the grandeur of gentleness, the nobility of meekness, the dignity of submissiveness, the glory of humility; this wealth of spiritual instinct, this fervour for religious passion, purged of all dross and lavished upon Him Who is the Way, the Truth and the Life—what will it not mean for the coming of His Kingdom and of peace on earth?' We will add: Should we not see in all this the stirring of God's Holy Spirit preparing for His Son? Hence the possibility—nay, the imperative duty—of loving every seeker in his earnest quest after God, while not hesitating to disapprove those idolatrous methods which obscure the soul's vision of the All-Father, God of Love and Pity, of Forgiveness and Holy Power.

The Altar 'To an Unknown God'

(5) In what may be called his introduction, Paul illustrates the deep Athenian interest in religious questions by referring to an altar inscribed *To An Unknown God* which he had noted as he 'passed along' the crowded streets of Athens (Acts xvii. 23). A Greek bishop of the tenth century named Oecumenius, in a summary of earlier Greek writers, gives two stories which illustrate how the term 'an unknown god' had come into the Greek language. The first story is to the effect that when the people of Athens sent a warrior named Philippiades to help the Greek forces against the Persian army, the Greek ruler

god called Pan complained that they had forgotten him; but that by his help, says the story, the Greeks won, and so they built a temple and an altar; and in order to prevent themselves from ever neglecting any other God unknown to them they inscribed on their altar the Greek words meaning, 'To An Unknown God'. The other story explaining the origin of this 'altar to an unknown god', is even more touching. It is said that in the year 596 B.C. a severe pestilence visited Athens because an Athenian leader had been murdered. This pestilence continued even after the citizens of Athens had made offerings to all the gods they knew. In their despair they asked the advice of a Cretan poet named Epimenides who was living in Athens. By way of answer Epimenides drove a flock of black and white sheep and let them stray into various parts of the city of Athens wherever they liked; on whatever spot a sheep lay down, it was sacrificed there to a god whose name was not known. The story affirms that this stopped the epidemic, and so this method of dealing with epidemics was adopted all over the Greek-speaking world, and each such altar had inscribed upon it the words: *To An Unknown God*. When therefore Paul saw this altar, his missionary heart saw in it clear evidence of the deep hunger for God in man's soul everywhere, and he proclaimed the message of Christ as alone satisfying that hunger.

'As some of your own Poets have said' (Acts xvii. 28)

(6) Nor did the foregoing considerations exhaust the resourcefulness of this first missionary of the Church of Jesus Christ, whose methods will repay imitation. For in verse 28 we hear Paul quoting the religious poetry of the Greek poets as another point of contact on which to build his message for Christ: 'For God is close to each one of us, for it is in Him that we live and move and have our being; as some of your own poets have said, "We too belong to His (God's) race".' The poet whom Paul quoted in these words was a poet of Paul's own part of the Greek-speaking world, the city of Tarsus, his name being Aratus and his date about the year 272 B.C. Similar words have been found in the writings of another Greek poet, Cleanthes of 300 B.C. The fact that Paul quoted these Greek poets to this audience of Greek scholars in Athens University gathered in a State Assembly shows Paul as honouring the culture of their nation and of his own Greek-speaking race. It illustrates how this first of missionaries adapted himself to each particular audience, and how he started from their own lifelong religious ideas in presenting his message about Christ. The present writer remembers vividly being presented in Bombay City with a very similar problem. The occasion was one of the big religious festivals of the year, and the place the large maidan opposite the Victoria Terminus railway station where an audience of fifty thousand people met our gaze as we stood up to speak. In our first sentence we quoted in Marathi the moving words of Tukaram of Dehu (A.D. 1608-49), the most widely sung poet of the Marathi-

speaking race, where he states: 'Where pardon, pity, peace abide, ~~there~~ God Himself resides.' The vast audience was quiet at once, as we went on to say: 'I agree entirely with Tukaram, that God *does* dwell in whatever heart there is pardon, pity and peace.' A few words on each of these great words prepared the way for saying, 'Now let me try and tell you *how to get* that pardon and peace in your own heart, every one of you.' And as we told them of the way Jesus died in order that each one of us might obtain these blessings, their attention was rapt to the very end. A Bishop who a few years ago passed away after many fruitful years of service in the M. E. Church used to tell of going into an Indian bazar and there preaching about Jesus and His Death on the Cross. A Hindu priest who was listening cried out: 'Get out of India! For we have no such story in our Hindu scriptures. And if you go on telling that story, all India will become disciples of that *Guru* Jesus.'

St Paul's Message at Athens Analysed

(7) As St Paul still has his critics, we may here summarize his message to the Athenian philosophers; and in order to bring out the various points we will give two outlines of that historic address. (i) Starting from the Athenians' own acknowledged heart-longings after God (xvii. 22-23), Paul sets forth God's Personality and Glory as Creator, as Sovereign, as Director, and as Father (vers. 24-28). He then shows the evil of man's debased ideas about God (24-25); and emphasizes man's duty to seek after God until he finds Him (27-28). Quoting from their own acknowledged authorities in proof of his message (28-29), Paul proceeds to proclaim the immediate need of true repentance (30); affirming a final judgement when God's Own appointed One will be Judge of all the world (31); and fearlessly proclaiming the Resurrection of Christ in face of 'some sneers' (31-32). (ii) In view of the fact that critics have overlooked some aspects it is worth while considering from a somewhat different angle what really was St Paul's emphasis. If his words are carefully studied it will be seen that he emphasized the following vital points about God: God's unity, personality, spirituality, self-sufficiency, omniscience, omnipotence, omnipresence, benevolence, righteousness, providence, etc. Those acquainted with village life in India, where people live in dread and terror of what the idol in the village is supposed to be able to inflict on the population, will not need to be told that the foregoing points took Paul's hearers to the very heart of the Gospel of Christ. For Paul's insistence on repentance showed how he proclaimed all men to be sinners and in need of salvation and forgiveness. Think also of what Paul's exposure of idolatry must have meant to his audience of logical philosophers, who heard idolatry exposed as utterly needless (vers. 24-25 because God is Sovereign in heaven and earth); as false also (26-28) and utterly absurd (29), for to make God like wood or stone is to present the Supreme as like our limited selves,

and indeed lower than ourselves, without any life at all (29); moreover idolatry was shown them to be a wicked thing (30-31). Therefore God Himself has appointed a Judge, the proof being in His raising that Judge from death to life (31-32). (iii) It will be seen from the preceding summaries, that Paul began his message at the point where he found his hearers; and that as a Greek he spoke with intelligence to his Greek audience. He therefore adapted the presentation of his message to the religious upbringing of his hearers, but was faithful to Gospel essentials. He thus built on the foundation of what his hearers already knew, and then went on to speak about the God they did *not* know, the great 'Unknown'. His quotation from their own poets was for neither flattery nor controversy but for solid usefulness. In his clear message on repentance, all men were seen as sinners in God's pure sight, and Christ as the impartial Judge of all. The searching question presses: Are we who today represent Christ in India displaying similar wisdom and similar fearlessness? Surely the chief secret of Paul's wise methods and fearless message was in the guidance and help of that Indwelling Spirit whom Paul had received in the first moment of his life in Christ when humble Ananias said to him, 'Brother Saul, . . . be filled with the Holy Spirit' (Acts ix. 17). But 'the Spirit of Truth is no Sanctifier of ignorance; and the preacher who disdains the adaptation of means to ends in the effort to secure persuasion, prevents the Spirit's most effective working and rejects His fullest aid' (*Exp. Times*, vol. ix, p. 291).

Results of St Paul's Message to the Athenian Philosophers

(8) One of the most astonishing things in Christian literature is the number of writers about St Paul who conclude his visit to Athens was a failure. After weighing over all the evidence our own conclusion is that Athens stands out as one of Paul's most remarkable successes. And our chief reason for this conclusion is that St Luke the historian of the Acts says so in Acts xvii. 34 of which we give Prof. W. M. Ramsay's translation: 'Certain men clave unto him *and believed*; among whom also was Dionysius a member of the Council, and a woman named Damaris, and *others* with them.' The repeated plural and the word 'believed' are to be specially noted; the latter meaning that several gave themselves to Christ, one of whom was a member of the highest Council in the City of Athens; for no man could be a Council Member unless he was a retired State Official and over sixty. As for the woman Damaris, it would appear she may have belonged to the other end of the social scale, as Ramsay says no woman of decent society in Athens would have thought of being present with the men in the Council. Therefore Ramsay believes Damaris to have been a real triumph of the saving power of Christ; for Christ not only saved her soul but restored her to a worthy position in Greek society. St Chrysostom (A.D. 345-407) held the view that Damaris may have been the wife of Dionysius;

and some scholars believe Dionysius himself to have been the first Bishop of Athens. Whatever may be said about these identifications, there is need to press the point that those who say Paul failed at Athens are minimizing what really was a wonderful triumph. Is there any missionary living who would not feel exultant at leading to Christ a high dignitary who may have been a High Court Judge, and a needy woman? That rare New Testament scholar the late Dr James Hope Moulton once affirmed the poem entitled *St Paul* by F. W. H. Myers to be perhaps the best exposition of St Paul's life and message in the whole of Christian literature. Here are two verses by F. W. H. Myers on Paul's rejoicing over leading Damaris to Christ:

'Then I preached Christ: and when she heard the story—
Oh, is such triumph possible to men?
Hardly, my King, had I beheld Thy glory,
Hardly had known Thine excellence till then.

Thou in one fold the afraid and the forsaken—
Thou with one shepherding canst soothe and save;
Speak but the word! the Evangel shall awaken
Life in the lost, the hero in the slave.'

Dr David Smith in his beautiful and scholarly work, *The Life And Letters Of St Paul* (p. 148), says it seems probable that St Paul by the help of the Holy Spirit won still another notable convert at Athens, but because that convert was not an actual citizen of Athens, but only a visitor there, his name is not given in Acts xvii. 34, unless indeed he was included in the historian's phrase 'some others'. But in I Corinthians xvi. 15 St Paul refers to 'the household of Stephanas' as 'the first to be reaped in Achaia'. Now St Paul's 'first' work in Achaia was actually in the city of Athens; and though Stephanas appears to have belonged to Corinth, he would seem to have been residing temporarily in Athens at the time when Paul was there; and so it would seem to have happened that Stephanas was led to Christ, possibly the result of Paul's individual work among 'the Jews and the devout proselytes' referred to in Acts xvii. 17. The tribute Paul gives to Stephanas in I Corinthians xvi. 17 is one of the warmest paid in all his letters, and when we recall the difficult situation that confronted Paul in the city of Corinth we realize that Paul succeeded far beyond his best dreams in the philosophical city of Athens.

Listen to the testimony of history. Even before the close of the second century, in A.D. 176-80 the great Christian scholar Origen when defending Christian teaching against the famous attacks of Celsus was able to quote the work and influence of the Christian Church at Athens as supplying widely accepted proof of the fruitfulness of the message of Christ. Dr Campbell Morgan, who has helped multitudes in Britain and America and the whole world over, states in his inspiring exposition of this chapter: 'From Church history we know that there were wonderful results in Athens. In the next century that Church at Athens gave to the Christian Church the

following great leaders: Publius, Quadratus, Aristides, Athenagoras and others, bishops and martyrs; and in the third century the Church there was peaceable and pure. In the fourth century the Christian schools of Athens gave to the Christian Church Basil and Gregory.' All these are great names in the Church's history and it therefore appears that St Paul may have built far better than he knew and that he may have laid the foundations for a great and enduring spiritual Church in the city of Athens.

Imperfect Exegesis

(9) In light of all the foregoing the interpretation that St Paul's work at Athens was a dismal failure is astonishing, a theory which we believe is fully answered by the various factors in the case. Equally astonishing are the reasons given for the theory. When St Paul first went to Corinth just after his work at Athens (see Acts xviii. 1), and when he wrote in I Cor. ii. 2 that he 'had determined to know nothing among them except Jesus Christ and Him crucified', it is held that Paul was so deeply discouraged that he solemnly resolved to preach about nothing but the Cross. We cannot accept this view. First, because we believe this was Paul's aim and ideal in every other place he entered; and, second, that his definite statement of such a resolve in the case of Corinth is fully explained by the special nature of the problems confronting him in that city with its overwhelming sin and vice, and with its divided Church so calculated to weaken its testimony for Christ, a division referred to in the very first chapter (I Cor. i. 10-17), where his solemn resolve not to rob the Cross of its power by any 'fine rhetoric' (verse 17) is quite as impressive as Paul's other resolve in ii. 2; the whole context of i. 17 showing that in Paul's mind there was the very definite possibility that those un-Christlike divisions in the Church of Christ might easily rob the Cross of Christ of its saving 'power'. For the sin and vice of Corinth could only be dealt with successfully by a united Church, a Church united around the one Cross and the one Saviour. When Paul also stated in I Cor. ii. 3 that 'it was in weakness and fear and much trembling that he visited Corinth', we believe a full and adequate explanation is found in his loneliness (Acts xvii. 14-16 and I Thess. iii. 1, etc.), his anxieties about Thessalonica with its bigots (Acts xvii. 5, 13, etc.), its magistrates (verses 6-10) whose intervention had led Paul to leave Thessalonica in order to prevent a breach of the peace and an attack on the infant Church there, a possibility referred to by Paul in I Thess. ii. 18 ('Satan hindered us'), and his imperfect health, a condition which probably was more nearly chronic (II Cor. i. 8-10) than has often been supposed.

Paul's Secret of Triumph

(10) A more practical question (the answer to which will help us today), arising from all the problems Paul had to face at Athens and many another place, is the question as to how he triumphed over all his

difficulties. For remember what those difficulties were: difficulties arising from the pressing problem of how to present to such varied audiences the Christ Who meant so much to him, audiences as varied as philosophic Athens and the peasants of Pisidian Antioch and Iconium and Lystra where he was successful enough to win Timothy one of the best of his gallant helpers (Acts xvi. 1-3; II Tim. iii. 10-11); the difficulties of his fight with imperfect health; and of his unending conflicts with imperfect Christians involved in his 'care for all the Churches'. Careful study of Paul's life and writings establishes the fact that Paul's unflinching insight and undeviating fidelity sprang from his loyalty to 'Jesus as King' which enabled him to 'turn the Roman world upside down' (Acts xvii. 6-8), from his 'keeping the great securities of the faith intact by aid of the Holy Spirit dwelling within' (II Tim. i. 14), and the inspiring and unshakable certainty that his message was 'not one of mere words, but also power and the Holy Spirit and ample conviction' (I Thess. i. 5). Just after Principal Rainy, that great Scot leader, had passed away in 1906 there was discovered the manuscript of a sermon he had delivered fifty-two years before in 1854 in which he had described 'the communion of the Holy Spirit' (II Cor. xiii. 14) as a communion which after leading men to Christ, was a Spirit of *power*, of *knowledge*, and of *rest*. As the Spirit of power He bestows on His servants 'spiritual ability for all the parts of the calling wherewith they are called, saving them from being misled by false lights'. That 'partnership of the Holy Spirit' was Paul's abiding secret of power, of knowledge, and of rest.

Reconstruction : National and International

(11) This unflinching secret of individual influence is equally the secret of social, national and international reconstruction. One of the latest pictures of national reconstruction in Old Testament times reflects the conditions prevailing at the close of the sixth century B.C. when Israel was in wreck and ruin under Persian rule. Following on a tale of disaster in Israel's Church and Nation, there came to the prophet Zechariah a series of inspired and inspiring visions in which he was given a forecast of far-reaching reconstruction in which both statecraft and religion would combine to restore the national fortunes. The secret of the reconstruction in Church and State alike is set forth in moving words: 'Not by fighting, not by force, but by My Spirit, so the Lord of hosts declares. What are you, O mighty mountain (of difficulty)? Be level ground . . . Any who despised the day of small things shall rejoice to behold' the topmost stone of accomplishment (Zechariah iv. 6-7, 10). The same secret of achievement is set forth in the closing book of the New Testament where in the series of seven letters to the Churches recorded in the second and third chapters of the Apocalypse the recurring refrain is in the solemnizing words: 'Let anyone who has an ear listen to what the Spirit says to the Churches'. For the seven Churches there are seven Spirits (Rev. i.4).

If the number seven is held to symbolize the completeness of the Universal Church, assuring the whole Church on earth of the perfection of God's energy to meet its needs; so the similarity of the number applied both to the Church and its Guiding Spirit means that the Church in every land and in every circumstance is assured of a full supply of the Spirit of Jesus to meet its recurring needs; and the condition of receiving Power and Blessing is that of obedience on the part of *every individual member* of the Church: 'Let anyone who has an ear, listen to what the Spirit says': universal blessing is thus based on the individual. This individual obedience to the Voice of the Indwelling Spirit of Christ, an obedience emphasized seven times over in the first three chapters of the last book in the Bible, is the sovereign secret of that victory of national and international righteousness set forth in the shout of the heavenly host: 'Hallelujah! Now the Lord our God Almighty reigns' (Rev. 19. 7).

Spirit-Filled Individuals India's Road to Spiritual Power

(12) Occasionally our contemporary prophets of defeatism give us a glimpse of divine realities. One of them, so recently passed away, H. G. Wells, tells us in his book, *God the Invisible King* (p. 188): 'There is not a nation nor a city in the globe where men are not being urged at this moment by the Spirit of God in them towards the discovery of God. This is not an age of despair but an age of hope in Asia as in all the world besides.' Paul's word of 'power' like that of every other Christ-inspired apostle is that God the Father has all the time been seeking the soul of man, that He has revealed Himself to man in and through His Loving Son, and that He is now seeking to empower and sanctify every surrendered heart by the dynamic of His Indwelling Spirit. This is the *Power* that India needs, as does also every land on earth. The real strength and influence of the Church of Christ in the civilization of every land are determined by the number of individuals who by faith appropriate for themselves and by service impart to others the impetus of that series of creative events set forth in the New Testament, viz. the Birth of Christ (the true Incarnation India has longed for through ages past), His Cross and Resurrection (that principle of victorious sacrifice embodied in so many of India's poetic dreams), and the gift of the Holy Spirit (a dynamical experience of that Union with God aspired after by all India's saints). One of the most wideawake men in the Indian Church today is a retired Judge in South India, Mr P. Chenchiah, who by his editorial contribution to the notable book, *Re-Thinking Christianity In India* (pp. 340, Indian edition Re. 1-4, obtainable from the Indian Christian Book Club, Kilpauk, (Madras), has with his brethren issued a challenge which the Indian Church, and all other Indian religions, will ignore only at their peril. Two of Mr Chenchiah's chief emphases in all his writings are the value of the Living Christ for India and the Power of the Holy Spirit in individual life

and service. In one of his occasional (far too occasional!) articles in journals other than *The Guardian* of Madras where he contributes weekly as *Priyashishya* Mr Chenchiah stated (in the *National Christian Council Review*) that 'although Christ has spread a contagion of soul-fever which has disturbed the deep-seated lethargy and indifference' of India, yet Christians have as yet 'not demonstrated to the Hindu the uniqueness of Christ', our failure being 'due to the fact that the Church itself does not realize the uniqueness of Christ, in spite of its loud assertions to the contrary'; and 'when we are not in a position to state to ourselves where the uniqueness of Christ lies, we cannot hope to impress others with a sense of the supremacy of Christ. In short, there is a deep diversity between the Jesus we proclaim and the Christ that India needs. . . . We preach Jesus of Nazareth, born two thousand years ago; India needs the Living and the Present Lord. . . . We offer to India the Jesus of history. . . . India wants a Universal Spirit. . . . We present Jesus as an exemplar. . . .; India wants Him as the perpetual Life-Giver'. In another article (this in *The Guardian*), Mr Chenchiah affirmed that 'the conspicuous weakness of the Indian Church is the lack of life, of vital energy', such an energy as the Living Christ is waiting to bestow on every member of His Church, and Mr Chenchiah concluded by emphasizing: 'The future of Christianity in India will ultimately depend upon the discovery by the Indian Church of the tremendous importance of the Holy Spirit and of the Indian Church's capacity to communicate that Spirit to the Hindu.' For the Lord Who died for every Indian longs to reign in every human heart by means of His Indwelling Spirit.

PART TWO

THE HINDU QUEST OF SPIRITUAL PEACE AND POWER

CHAPTER III

DR RADHAKRISHNAN'S DIAGNOSIS AND IMPERFECT REMEDY

'We have exalted ideals but not the power to operate them.'

(1) The present book is being written in Maharashtra to whose lovely people the Poet Saints of Maharashtra have been as their mother's milk. There is one unbreakable link between Dr Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan and Maharashtra's Poet Saints. For just as these Poet Saints are rightly regarded as occupying the very summit of Hindu thought and *bhakti*, so Dr Radhakrishnan has established his pre-eminence as the great popularizer of Hindu teaching and philosophy; and he has achieved this pre-eminence by a method highly acceptable to, and prevalent among, Maharashtra's Hindu *bhakti* interpreters, viz., the method of pouring into the obsolete terms of Hindu *bhakti* the richer contents and significance of New Testament teaching, without any explanation of their original difference. How very far from permissible is this method we hope to show later; but this aspect of all Dr Radhakrishnan's writings can never be forgotten, for it supplies the key to his modern interpretation of Hinduism and enables us to understand on the one hand the attractiveness, and on the other hand the misleading character, of that interpretation. It is because his 1939 book of over 400 pages (395, i-xiii) entitled *Eastern Religions And Western Thought* is equally one of the most attractive and one of the most misleading presentations of Hinduism known to us that we briefly summarize and examine such contents as are relevant to our subject. There are four other reasons why we draw attention to Dr Radhakrishnan's book; *first*, because this notable exposition has not received in India the attention it deserves; *secondly*, because we may 'learn from Dr Radhakrishnan how to present Christ to the Hindus as appealingly as he has presented Hinduism to Christians,' as was suggested by Mr P. Chenchiah the former Judge who writes such stimulating articles in the *Madras Guardian* under the *nom-de plume* of *Priyashishya* (see the issue dated November 28, 1946); *thirdly*, because Dr Radhakrishnan's altogether admirable emphasis on the need of *power* in religion is basic in importance; but *fourthly*, because the 'power' he suggests has already in the facts of Indian history proved itself to be so much 'Dead Sea fruit'.

In short, the essence of Dr Radhakrishnan's book is that for a world gone wrong, and gone as far wrong as the world of the past decade has been seen to be, Hinduism is the one remedy, individually, socially, internationally. Every time we read such a thing it is imperative that it be borne in mind that it is a Hinduism using the static terms of the long past, but with a rich and dynamic meaning imported into them from the most dynamic book on earth, the New Testament. 'Religions reform themselves by interpretation,' says our philosopher on page 335, 'while retaining the labels' (p. 336), for 'Brahmanism is one of the greatest assimilants that the world has known,' says Dr F. W. Thomas who is quoted with approval (p. 336). Bearing in mind, then, this cardinal principle of Hindu assimilability, here are Dr Radhakrishnan's attractive chapter titles: The World's Unborn Soul (chap. 1). The Supreme Spiritual Ideal (chap. 2). Mysticism and Ethics In Hindu Thought (chap. 3). India And Western Religious Thought, in three chapters: Greece (chap. 4), Christendom (chaps. 5 and 6). Greece, Palestine And India (chap. 7). The Meeting Of Religions (chap. 8). The Individual And the Social Order In Hinduism (chap. 9). On long stretches of the reader's fascinating journey with Dr Radhakrishnan as guide, the latter gives scores of proofs, most of them unconsciously, of the great extent to which he has come under the sway of New Testament principles, though two of his favourite terms for describing those principles are 'traditionalism' and 'dogmatism.' The influence of the New Testament dynamic terminology upon his broad and receptive mind has, indeed, been so inescapable, and its dynamical conceptions have held such complete sway over him, that again and again he has no resource, in diagnosing the moral problems of our time, but to state those problems in New Testament terminology, debarred though he is by his Hindu philosophical preconceptions from accepting the New Testament's dynamical solutions.

Asia's Place in World-Culture

(2) Those who have sat spellbound under Dr Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan's public eloquence will in no way be surprised to learn that these 1936-38 lectures in England are a joy to read, however large may be the area of disagreement, religiously or philosophically, between the reader and the lecturer. It was no small honour that was conferred upon him by the ancient University of Oxford when he was appointed to the newly founded Spalding Professorship of Eastern Religions And Ethics. The appointment of India's popular philosopher to a professorial chair at Oxford meant that at long last Asia's place in the culture and development of the world was being recognized. His book shows that Dr Radhakrishnan fully merited this unprecedented distinction, which was made possible by the far-sighted generosity of Mr and Mrs Spalding. The learned lecturer was therefore more than justified in regarding their act as being 'motivated by a desire to lift Eastern thought from its sheltered remoteness and indicate

its enduring value as a living force in shaping the soul of the modern man' (p. 20). The loftiness of Dr Radhakrishnan's aim is seen in his Preface where he writes of 'a co-operative commonwealth working for the faith' that 'so long as one man is in prison, I am not free; so long as one community is enslaved I belong to it' (p. viii). Therefore our 'supreme task' must be 'to develop ideals and institutions necessary for the creative expression of the world-soul' (p. viii). Dr Radhakrishnan at once disarms many of his critics by his confession that he is 'not a trained theologian' and that he 'can only speak from the point of view of a student of philosophy' concerning 'the origin and growth of the chief religions of the world' (p. viii), a confession which helps to explain many of the lacunae in his thought and in its fascinating presentation.

Individuals Shape Society

(3) Dr Radhakrishnan's inaugural lecture, delivered at Oxford on October 20, 1936, occupies 34 pages, on the first of which we have the eloquent reminder of Socrates that 'the noblest of all investigation is the study of what man should be and what he should pursue' (p. 1). The standpoint of the entire book is indicated by a reminder that has come down from two centuries past: 'Do you imagine,' asked Plato in his *Republic*, 'that political constitutions spring from a tree or a rock and not from the dispositions of the citizens which turn the scale and draw all else in their direction? The constitutions are as the men are and grow out of their characters' (p. 3). On this basic truth of the Greek philosopher Dr Radhakrishnan builds the far-reaching truth so often forgotten in these days: 'A society can be remade only by changing men's hearts and minds' (p. 3). For 'if the Stoics, with the most pronounced rationalism, still employed the old religious dynamic, it was because they knew the social value of religion' (p. 11). The real meaning of this big word 'religion', or rather, one thing it must *not* be understood to mean, is indicated very clearly by the historical fact that 'Greek civilization came to an end mainly on account of its adherence to the false religion of patriotism' (p. 7). Or as A. J. Toynbee has expressed it: 'State worship was the spiritual disease that Hellenism died of' (p. 7). Now we can add, after learning the fact from the most desolating war in history, that two other national systems died of the same disease, viz., Nazism and Fascism. 'What then is the position today?' asks Dr Radhakrishnan.

Religious Frustration

(4) 'Uncertainty, a fundamental agnosticism, a sense of uneasiness that we are hastening confusedly to unknown ends . . . Today the soul of man no longer rests upon secure foundations. Everything round him is unsteady and contradictory. His soul has become

more complicated, his spirit more bitter, and his outlook more bewildered' (p. 18-19). When we ask the way out of this tragic confusion in which afflicted humanity finds itself, what the way to strength and peace and power, we are told: 'Religion, however, has been the master passion of the Hindu mind, a lamp unto its feet and a light unto its path, the presupposition and basis of its civilization, the driving force of its culture, and the expression—in spite of its tragic failures, inconsistencies, divisions, and degradations—of its life in God' (p. 20). It is worth our while pausing for a moment to note that an eloquent commentary on the Hindu religion as a proposed solution of the problems of human need is supplied by the sad facts of contemporary India, especially the menace of anti-religion throughout the educated India of recent decades; for one of the most arresting facts is that careful observers of the Indian scene trace this alarming development of anti-religion to the growing sense of frustration arising from the utter failure of Hindu beliefs and practices to meet India's moral, social and religious needs. Those who desire a diagnosis of this anti-religion in India, need only turn to the 1931 Report of the Commission On Higher Education in India whose chairman was Dr A. D. Lindsay, Master of Balliol College, Oxford, with distinguished Indian Christian leaders and missionaries as members, who reported Hinduism as 'being replaced by an irreligious materialism', 'the setting in of a strong current among the educated elements of even this traditionally religious people towards what has been called secularism or "anti-religion"', the Youth League of India as 'an organisation to fight religion,' 'a decided movement away from all religion' in 'this growingly irreligious land.' (See *The Christian College In India*, (pp. 46-47, 53-54, 148, etc.). Plainly, India rejects this solution proposed by Dr Radhakrishnan.

Philosophical Dogmatism

(5) It is important to note that in his quest of a solution for the problem of man's need, Dr Radhakrishnan succeeds by devious methods in brushing aside cavalierly the very solution provided by that Christian revelation in the Bible to which he himself owes so much in all his thinking. This philosophical agility is achieved by a deft stroke of that very same unsupportable dogmatism against which he usually reserves his heavy batteries. Here is how our Professor of Philosophy dispenses with man's need of a divine revelation to help him in his darkness and struggles: With Amos in 3. 8 Dr Radhakrishnan asks, 'When the Lord Eternal speaks' (Moffatt's rendering), 'who can but prophesy?' Upon which our author's sole comment is: 'While such a belief gives definiteness, conviction and urgency to the ethical message, which no abstract logic could give, it at the same time shuts the door against all change and progress' (p. 10). This is one of those all too frequent proofs of the self-protecting value of the confession in Dr Radhakrishnan's Preface, already referred to above,

of 'not' being 'a trained theologian'; for it is an accepted conclusion of all Biblical scholarship that in the Old Testament prophets, and in the divine revelation they communicated to the world, we have the very key of all receptivity and 'progress'. *Ipse dixit* of this kind, scattered here and there in this fascinating book, are calculated to disturb the faith of a reader in the author's impartiality and authority. In his quest after a true religious dynamic for the individual soul and for society the world over, the sincere seeker cannot afford to forget that 'eternal vigilance is the price of liberty'. While this great principle finds its most frequent application in the social and international spheres, it is just as truly applicable to the inward spiritual liberty longed for by the individual soul. And since Hinduism is the one remedy suggested by our Hindu philosopher for all the ills of humanity, unsleeping vigilance is imperatively needed to guard against the delusive and self-contradictory significance of this encyclopedic word 'Hinduism'. For Dr Radhakrishnan is honest enough to remind us that 'there are systems of Hindu thought, like the Samkhya and the Jaina which do not admit God' and yet have the temerity to 'affirm the reality of the spiritual consciousness' (p. 21). Despite such facts, however, which mean that Hinduism can give hospitality even to that denial of God which is rightly called 'atheism', our learned author and popular lecturer can offer to the hungry heart of India, and to the equally hungry hearts in an Oxford University audience, the words which Philostratus the Athenian (of about A.D. 170-245) put into the mouth of Apollonius of Tyana the Greek philosopher: 'All wish to live in the nearness of God, but only the Hindus bring it to pass' (p. 21). It is of course worth noting that the words were uttered a few thousand miles away from the land of those same 'Hindus', whose present-day religious condition we have referred to above. To show with what a pitiful lack of success our noble-minded Spalding Professor attempts to reconcile contradictions so harrowing to suffering humanity, and exactly why he so completely fails in the effort, would take us beyond the subject of these pages; suffice to say that an illustration is provided of the profundity of philosophical dreams in the religious realm rather than of the fecundity of practical ideas regarding a remedy for the daily heartache of ordinary mortals.

Man needs Power in the Heart

(6) Our author is much nearer to spiritual realities, and much more likely to give the help he longs to impart, when he quotes St Paul and two of the apostle's great interpreters; we will quote the first in Dr James Moffatt's rendering: 'Work all the more strenuously at your salvation with reverence and trembling, for it is God Who in His goodwill enables you to will this and to achieve it' (Philippians 2. 12-13). 'When a soul truly desires God, it already possesses Him,' says St. Gregory. 'When Pascal uttered the anguish of his soul in the silence of the night, he heard the answer: "Be comforted,

more complicated, his spirit more bitter, and his outlook more bewildered' (p. 18-19). When we ask the way out of this tragic confusion in which afflicted humanity finds itself, what the way to strength and peace and power, we are told: 'Religion, however, has been the master passion of the Hindu mind, a lamp unto its feet and a light unto its path, the presupposition and basis of its civilization, the driving force of its culture, and the expression—in spite of its tragic failures, inconsistencies, divisions, and degradations—of its life in God' (p. 20). It is worth our while pausing for a moment to note that an eloquent commentary on the Hindu religion as a proposed solution of the problems of human need is supplied by the sad facts of contemporary India, especially the menace of anti-religion throughout the educated India of recent decades; for one of the most arresting facts is that careful observers of the Indian scene trace this alarming development of anti-religion to the growing sense of frustration arising from the utter failure of Hindu beliefs and practices to meet India's moral, social and religious needs. Those who desire a diagnosis of this anti-religion in India, need only turn to the 1931 Report of the Commission On Higher Education in India whose chairman was Dr A. D. Lindsay, Master of Balliol College, Oxford, with distinguished Indian Christian leaders and missionaries as members, who reported Hinduism as 'being replaced by an irreligious materialism', 'the setting in of a strong current among the educated elements of even this traditionally religious people towards what has been called secularism or "anti-religion"', the Youth League of India as 'an organisation to fight religion,' 'a decided movement away from all religion' in 'this growingly irreligious land.' (See *The Christian College In India*, (pp. 46-47, 53-54, 148, etc.). Plainly, India rejects this solution proposed by Dr Radhakrishnan.

Philosophical Dogmatism

(5) It is important to note that in his quest of a solution for the problem of man's need, Dr Radhakrishnan succeeds by devious methods in brushing aside cavalierly the very solution provided by that Christian revelation in the Bible to which he himself owes so much in all his thinking. This philosophical agility is achieved by a deft stroke of that very same unsupportable dogmatism against which he usually reserves his heavy batteries. Here is how our Professor of Philosophy dispenses with man's need of a divine revelation to help him in his darkness and struggles: With Amos in 3. 8 Dr Radhakrishnan asks, 'When the Lord Eternal speaks' (Moffatt's rendering), 'who can but prophesy?' Upon which our author's sole comment is: 'While such a belief gives definiteness, conviction and urgency to the ethical message, which no abstract logic could give, it at the same time shuts the door against all change and progress' (p. 10). This is one of those all too frequent proofs of the self-protecting value of the confession in Dr Radhakrishnan's Preface, already referred to above,

of 'not' being 'a trained theologian'; for it is an accepted conclusion of all Biblical scholarship that in the Old Testament prophets, and in the divine revelation they communicated to the world, we have the very key of all receptivity and 'progress'. *Ipse dixit* of this kind, scattered here and there in this fascinating book, are calculated to disturb the faith of a reader in the author's impartiality and authority. In his quest after a true religious dynamic for the individual soul and for society the world over, the sincere seeker cannot afford to forget that 'eternal vigilance is the price of liberty'. While this great principle finds its most frequent application in the social and international spheres, it is just as truly applicable to the inward spiritual liberty longed for by the individual soul. And since Hinduism is the one remedy suggested by our Hindu philosopher for all the ills of humanity, unsleeping vigilance is imperatively needed to guard against the delusive and self-contradictory significance of this encyclopedic word 'Hinduism'. For Dr Radhakrishnan is honest enough to remind us that 'there are systems of Hindu thought, like the Samkhya and the Jaina which do not admit God' and yet have the temerity to 'affirm the reality of the spiritual consciousness' (p. 21). Despite such facts, however, which mean that Hinduism can give hospitality even to that denial of God which is rightly called 'atheism', our learned author and popular lecturer can offer to the hungry heart of India, and to the equally hungry hearts in an Oxford University audience, the words which Philostratus the Athenian (of about A.D. 170-245) put into the mouth of Apollonius of Tyana the Greek philosopher: 'All wish to live in the nearness of God, but only the Hindus bring it to pass' (p. 21). It is of course worth noting that the words were uttered a few thousand miles away from the land of those same 'Hindus', whose present-day religious condition we have referred to above. To show with what a pitiful lack of success our noble-minded Spalding Professor attempts to reconcile contradictions so harrowing to suffering humanity, and exactly why he so completely fails in the effort, would take us beyond the subject of these pages; suffice to say that an illustration is provided of the profundity of philosophical dreams in the religious realm rather than of the fecundity of practical ideas regarding a remedy for the daily heartache of ordinary mortals.

Man needs Power in the Heart

(6) Our author is much nearer to spiritual realities, and much more likely to give the help he longs to impart, when he quotes St Paul and two of the apostle's great interpreters; we will quote the first in Dr James Moffatt's rendering: 'Work all the more strenuously at your salvation with reverence and trembling, for it is God Who in His goodwill enables you to will this and to achieve it' (Philippians 2. 12-13). 'When a soul truly desires God, it already possesses Him,' says St. Gregory. 'When Pascal uttered the anguish of his soul in the silence of the night, he heard the answer: "Be comforted,

thou wouldst not have sought Me unless thou hadst found Me''' (p. 22). On which Dr Radhakrishnan has some of those heart-searching observations which so often enrich his pages: 'A man may know much about theology but yet be lacking in the spirit of religion' (p. 23). 'The truth of spiritual experience does not arise from the mystery of its origin or the delight it causes in us. It is due to the fact that it satisfies our wants, including the intellectual, and thus gives peace of mind to the individual and contributes to the social harmony of the community' (p. 24). 'The truth of a religion is not what is singular and private to it, . . . but that part of it which it is capable of sharing with all others . . . What we require is not professions and programmes but the *power* of Spirit in the hearts of men, a *power* which will help us to discipline our passions of greed and selfishness and organize the world which is at one with us in desire' (p. 34; ours are the italics). With all our desire to be generous in our thinking regarding other faiths and to avoid all forms of censoriousness, we know of no religion but the religion set forth in the New Testament which so completely fulfils the conditions so admirably set forth in these heart-warming sentences; indeed, the New Testament throughout *insists* on these conditions, and points out the hidden resources whereby they may be fulfilled. Wherein lie those hidden resources of peace, power and service is clearly indicated in Dr Radhakrishnan's footnote on page 51 where he quotes that expert guide in dynamical religion, John Wesley, as saying, 'I pretend to no extraordinary revelation or gifts of the Holy Spirit, none but what every Christian may receive, and ought to expect and pray for.' This constructive strain is continued in the following splendid lines which demonstrate to what good purpose Dr Radhakrishnan had sat at the feet of Christ and His apostles in the New Testament pages: 'No one, not at any rate he who has perfected himself, can be at ease when the world cries for help. The well-being of others becomes his deepest concern. He loves his fellows with a tenderness and depth unknown to others. He can no more help loving humanity than a sunflower can help pointing to the sun. To be saved is not to enter a region of blissful ease and unending rest. The saved one becomes an elemental force of nature, a dynamo of spirit, working at a stupendously high velocity' (p. 53).

How the Power is Obtained

(7) How this triumphant 'dynamo' is obtained is indicated in the following priceless examples: 'Moses on the lonely Mount of Sinai, . . . Jesus by the Jordan in the stillness of prayer, . . . Paul in the lonely sojourn in the desert, . . . Francis of Assisi in his prayers in the remote crags of the highlands of Alverno, found the strength and the assurance of the reality of God. Everything that is great, new and creative in religion rises out of the unfathomable depths of the soul in the quiet of prayer, in the solitude of meditation' (p. 53).

But the transfiguration whose secret is discovered on the lonely summits of communion with the Unseen will not fail (if the secret has been truly learned) to impart its benefits to the struggling multitudes. In stirring words which he can only have learned in the school of St John and St Paul, our author tells us in the closing paragraph of his second chapter: 'When the incarnation of God is realized, not only in a few individuals but in the whole of humanity, we will have the new creation, the new race of men and women, mankind transformed, redeemed and reborn, and a world created anew. This is the destiny of the world, the supreme spiritual ideal. It alone can rouse our deepest energies, rescue us from cold reason, inspire us with constructive passion, and unite us mentally, morally and spiritually in a world fellowship' (p. 57). This is a luminous expression of the New Testament message on what personal salvation must always mean in service for others. It is certainly not '*The Hindu View*' (our italics) as is stated at the head of the page in the title summarizing the page's contents; it is rather the view held by a particular 'Hindu' who has been sufficiently open-minded and receptive to welcome light from the most illuminating book in the world on spiritual things.

Missionary Studies

(8) In the opening sentence of the third chapter we alight upon something not quite so inspiring. This chapter contains the Sir George Birdwood Memorial Lecture given at the Royal Society of Arts in London on April 30, 1937 by Dr Radhakrishnan who opened fire on his audience with this sentence: 'Though the British have been in India for many decades, and Christian missionaries from this country (Britain) are to be found there in large numbers, *Indian culture occupies less space in their thoughts and studies* than in those of some other countries of the West' (p. 58). Dr Radhakrishnan has such a good point here that it is to be regretted its value is largely lost by reason of the censorious tone adopted. During our thirty-eight years in India it has been part of our duty to know something about missionary 'studies', for during one decade it fell to us to deal in detail with the study-programme of some four hundred missionaries belonging to nearly thirty missionary societies from various countries. We are therefore quite clear in our own mind that when Dr Radhakrishnan makes the assertion we have italicized, he not only claims to know exactly how Christian missionaries are actually engaged 'in their thoughts and studies', but also that his claim cannot possibly be substantiated. In a Bombay public meeting on May 3, 1926 that notable Indian scholar, Mr K. K. Nariman, paid the following tribute to Christian missionaries:—'Take away the contributions to Orientalia by the Christian missionaries, and modern Eastern linguistic culture will be appreciably poorer. In India, particularly, we know that the modern Bengal literature could not have been moulded into its present condition but for Christian men who have made Bengali their province

(p. 313). The German philosopher of Communistic Socialism, Karl Heinrich Marx (1818-83), joint-author of the 1847 world-famous *Communist Manifesto*, declared religion to be 'the opium of the people.' The heart indwelt by the illuminating Spirit of Christ will know how to answer the theosophical assertion, so often made since Gibbon's day up to the present hour, and in India particularly that 'all religions are equally true.' The heart-experience inspired by the same indwelling Spirit will know Karl Marx's utterance itself to be a most deadly opiate. Such a heart will also realize the force of what Dr Radhakrishnan so well says on page 320: 'One's religiousness is to be measured not by one's theological affirmations, but by the degree to which one brings forth "the fruits of the Spirit"' (p. 320). And again: 'Let us frankly recognize that the efficiency of a religion is to be judged by the development of religious qualities such as quiet confidence, inner calm, gentleness of spirit, love of neighbour, mercy to all creation' (p. 323). This is most excellent, and before passing to other aspects of Dr Radhakrishnan's book, let us note the influence that Gibbon's assertion has had upon many Indian leaders. Gibbon's statement quoted above, that 'all religions were considered by people in the Roman Empire as equally true' is probably the source of that popular but superficial assertion in India today that 'all religions are equal.' One of the most famous of leaders of the Neo-Hinduism adopted by Radhakrishnan was Swami Vivekananda, born in 1862 and died in 1902. He laid much emphasis on the false theory that 'all religions are true and good,' and he added, 'Therefore every man ought to remain in his own religion,' and this view has had wide influence in India, for example among those who accept Theosophy. The Swami's modern disciples in some places in India today are doing useful work and we do not wish to discourage them. But an answer in *The Epiphany* of Calcutta, June 29, 1946 was true enough to be quoted: 'What do you think of Swami Vivekananda?' was the question sent to the editor who replied: 'He was a man of outstanding oratorical powers and great organising ability, who was able to give to his Hindu contemporaries just what they were looking for, a form of religion which combined with a Hindu doctrinal basis those elements of active philanthropy which Christian missions had introduced into the country. He provided a kind of half-way house for those who were not ready to go all the way in accepting the Christian Gospel. We recognise with thankfulness the immense amount of good work the Mission he founded has been able to do.' Of this reply we approve. It sums up what may be said also of Vivekananda's *guru* (Rāmkrishna Paramahansa, A.D. 1834-86) and of his devoted English disciple Miss Margaret Noble who took the name Sister Nivedita (or dedicated) and who died in 1911.

Should every Man remain in the Religion in which he was Born?

(11) Gandhiji has greatly marred the influence of his good example in many directions, by insisting that people ought to remain in the

religion in which they were born. This is one reason Gandhiji gives for objecting to the work of missionary preaching. We have never seen any answer from Gandhiji to the objection that if his view were adopted it would mean allowing idolaters to continue as idol-worshippers. It would mean also those who offer to their idols animal sacrifices continuing much cruelty to the animals; although this would mean their ignoring Gandhiji's principle of *ahimsa*. And this principle would mean cruelty to others besides animals. For example a few years ago a woman in East Africa belonging to the Kikuyu tribe was charged at Nairobi with having buried alive her two children. She committed the deed sobbingly and only under pressure from her kinsfolk in accordance with ancient tribal custom. Facts like these show how foolish is the position of those critics of Missions who maintain that for any people the best religion is their own traditional religion.

An Advocate of Caste

(12) When Dr Radhakrishnan takes in hand his final chapter, his constructive contribution regarding the problems of a suffering and sinning world is limited to the solution indicated by his chapter-title: 'The Individual and the Social Order in Hinduism' (pp. 349-85). His closing section begins on page 383 with the words, 'We are at a gloomy moment in history. Never has the future seemed so incalculable. With a dreary fatality the tragedy moves on.' One cannot resist a comparison of this utterance with the closing words of Another Who, though confronted with a personal tragedy far darker in the immediate prospect, could yet say, 'In the world you have trouble; but courage! I have conquered' (John 16.33 in Moffatt's rendering). 'And I will be with you all the time, to the very end of the world' (Matthew 28.20, Moffatt). Surely one of the gloomiest aspects of the 'gloomy moment' referred to by Dr Radhakrishnan is that in a four hundred page book written in immaculate English, in what has been called 'the language of true liberty,' a book too in which the very ideal of the spiritual liberty set forth in the New Testament has been extolled as life's highest goal, the one road recommended to India and the world for reaching the goal is a system which at this very hour denies to sixty millions of India's own shackled children the 'liberty' of free access to many of its temples and sacred books. For, be it noted, the system our philosopher falls back upon for a solution to life's baffling problems the world over, is the same Hinduism that has produced the frustration and religious despair all over India which we have already indicated. Indeed, on one page of his concluding chapter (p. 358) we are asked to accept at this time of day the following antiquated idea, and that from the Spalding Professor at Oxford University: 'If a Brahmin class was found necessary even in those less organized and complicated times, it is much more necessary today, when there is a widespread tendency

to confuse national interests with objective truth.' Though he disapproves of caste 'in its present form' (p. 378), and though it is described as 'an anachronism' (p. 376), yet the section as a whole is a tragic effort at bolstering up caste, and that inside the cultured halls of Oxford University. Despite his wonderful versatility, we here see the old Hindu clothes still clinging to the modern Professor, though they have now become such a sad misfit. But as our author's lapse has been exposed by an able Indian Christian scholar in far more effective language than our own, let us quote from Dr A. J. Appasamy, who in *The Young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon* shortly after Dr Radhakrishnan's book appeared, castigated Dr Radhakrishnan as follows: 'The caste system, which forms an essential part of the Hindu religion, has destroyed all sense of unity and brotherhood even among its own followers. It has broken up the people of India into a large number of rigid and often factitious castes. Hinduism cannot be said in any way to have fostered a sense of unity . . . It is quite surprising that along with his plea for a new world-order, Sir Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan continues the advocacy of caste. In his *Hindu View of Life* he sought to interpret and defend the caste system on modern lines. In the last chapter of this book on "The Individual and Social Order in Hinduism" he attempts to do the same. He pleads that today a Brahmin class is necessary . . . And he goes on to suggest that this Brahmin class should be determined by birth. It is astonishing that with all his breadth of outlook Radhakrishnan still supports the caste system, though he reinterprets it in modern ways. In India the caste system is disintegrating. All over the country there are movements of revolt against the rigidity of caste . . . What he says about caste would be resented not only in India but all over the world, where leaders are striving after a new order of society in which all men have equal opportunities and in which birth or wealth will not give a man an unattainable advantage over others.' The Rev Dr M. P. Davis in *The N.C.C. Review* (September 1941, p. 436) states: 'Regarding Sir Radhakrishnan's philosophizing about caste, and window-dressing it and sugar-coating it for the modern mind, no one can expose the weakness of this philosopher's argument better than a fellow-countryman. Mr. K. M. Pannikar, Foreign Minister of Patiala, in his book, *Hinduism in the Modern World* (1938) . . . tearing away all idealistic and oratorical dressings, refutes the claims of "the Brahmin apologists of caste" . . . He resents the attitude of "Brahmin sophists, like Sir Radhakrishnan, who discourse on the ideal view of caste," and asks pertinently: "At what stage in the history of caste was it *not* an instrument of oppression and of intolerance?"'

The Fruits of Pantheism

(13) Since Indian students are in danger of being dazzled by the greatness and deserved popularity of Dr Radhakrishnan's name, let us put over against his two other names in the realm of philosophy and literature. Mr Aldous Huxley has been for all moderns in every

land one of the most widely read of English authors, and although Aldous Huxley is far from accepting the Christian point of view it is worth noting what he said after seeing Hinduism at its peak in the great Hindu City of Benares, of whose Hindu University Dr Radhakrishnan is at present the Chancellor. In his book called *Jesting Pilate*, Aldous Huxley writes after the sights and smells of Benares, 'If I were an Indian millionaire I would leave all my money for the endowment of an Atheist Mission.' So if Dr Radhakrishnan's Hindu remedy for human ills is not acceptable to a frustrated and despairing India, as we have already seen, neither is it acceptable to one of the most popular authors of the West. Just exactly *why* the Hindu remedy is not being resorted to by the doctors of the human soul, let the Scot philosopher, the Rev. David Cairns, M.A., explain. He first asks, 'What have been the large-scale ethical consequences of the pantheistic mysticism of India during the last three thousand years? The result has been the drafting out of her more eager and spiritual minds into seclusion from active life in hermit sanctuaries, and the removal of these men from contact with the peoples whom they might have done so much to raise ethically and religiously. The results have been disastrous to the nation . . . But, it will be quite fairly objected, what an indictment of Christianity might be compiled by some writer who would give a broad outline of the history of Europe during the last two thousand years! . . . In answer to this objection it may be illuminating to quote a passage from Rudolf Otto's *Mysticism, East and West*, which contrasts the ethical teaching of Sankara, one of the noblest pantheists, with that of Eckhart, the Christian mystic. Otto says, "It is because the background of Sankara's teaching is not Palestine but India, that his mysticism has no ethic. It is not immoral. It is amoral. The *Mukta*, the redeemed, who has attained unity with the eternal Brahmin . . . leaves all activity, and reposes on eternal oneness." With Eckhart it is entirely different. For him the Divine Being is conceived as essential righteousness, for it has within it the God of the prophets and the Gospels. And thus to attain to unity with God, the soul must act as God acts' (*The Expository Times*, vol. 50, Nov. 1938, p. 59, a).

Hindu Words and Christian Meanings

(14) Another mild caveat we must enter, this time against a method which is common to Dr Radhakrishnan and a certain school of interpreters of Maharashtra's Poet Saints, the fault of reading Christian meanings into Hindu words which have a very different background and history, leading to the highly misleading result of foisting the Christian message upon Hindu terminology. One inevitable result of such a device is to rob the New Testament message of its uniqueness and vitalizing power, because of the very different connotation of words as understood from their agelong Hindu usage. What this means in understanding the aspirations and longings and

prayers of individual poet-saints we showed in our book on Tukaram (page 219) from which we take the following lines : ' It is impossible always to be certain regarding the exact content of the terms Tukaram employs in expressing the yearnings of his soul. . . . That much of his religious terminology bore the Hindu stamp is quite certain. But when we ask how much and how far, our difficulties begin. And yet the question is of the utmost importance when we deal with fundamental terms such as Sin, Salvation, Faith and many others. We are probably safe, however, in concluding that they could not have that full ethical and spiritual significance with which they are invested in the New Testament documents and later Christian literature. For example, we cannot afford to forget the probable chasm between his view of God and that held by most of his modern readers, for even his loftiest flights of religious communion were probably more or less connected in some way with the image of Vithoba at Pandharpur ' (*Life and Teaching of Tukaram*, p. 219). Such a reminder is necessary in reading some of the beautiful English translations from Tukaram in John S. Hoyland's *Village Songs of Western India*. Unfortunate and misleading in the extreme is it when Dr Radhakrishnan reads the deep rich meaning of the New Testament into time-worn Hindu words, without any intimation as to his reasons or processes. The superficial reader of course says he is modernizing Hinduism ; in reality he is misinterpreting both Hinduism and the New Testament, the fault being due once more to his not being ' a trained theologian,' as *per* the confession in his Preface.

Religious Ambiguity

(15) If Dr Radhakrishnan is guilty of ambiguity in the use of Hindu terms, he is similarly ambiguous about a remedy for human sin and other ills of mankind. Ambiguity in this region is the most tragic of all, for men and women in India and the world over are in need of a dynamic and it is here where Dr Radhakrishnan fails most sadly. This is the more unfortunate because his book presents one of the finest analyses we know of the root-defect of religion today, viz., *its lack of power*, and no careful student of religion can read his luminous diagnosis of this aspect without being impressed by the complete absence of any satisfactory statement on the question of an effective remedy. To be concrete in our criticism, there is no mention in Dr Radhakrishnan's pages of the Cross as a redeeming and cleansing power from the sins of the past ; neither does he make any mention of the New Testament's dynamic emphasis on the incoming and indwelling of the Holy Spirit as the abiding secret of power, peace and purity in the inner life of the individual every day. But the sense of moral and religious frustration in India is so universal and challenging that silence on the unique remedy suggested in the New Testament is not allowable on the part of anyone who professes to grapple with the haunting problem of human need at its deepest point, which is the

moral and the spiritual. No such evasion meets us as we read the pages of that great Report of 1931 written by Dr Lindsay of Oxford and his colleagues, in face of the heart-frustration which met them everywhere in India to which we have already referred. Their survey of the student world of India, a survey whose masterly character has been universally acknowledged, led them to the following conclusion : ' The Christians are convinced that they have a message which alone is a solution for the problems of humanity and therefore of India. They believe themselves to be bearers of good news which they wish to share with others. Their hope and desire is that India may become Christian. They can never acquiesce in the position that different religions are good for different communities, that all religions are fundamentally the same, and that it is for each religious community to seek to make the best of the possibilities of its own religion ' (*The Christian College in India*, p. 136). Two world-wars in one generation have driven home to the heart and conscience of the Christian Church itself that religious ambiguity is no remedy for the world's sad condition. This was made clear just after European Peace was declared when the Call to United Prayer was issued which we have placed at the end of this chapter as Appendix A.

Breakdown of Secular Humanism

(16) Writers of the Radhakrishnan school, of whom not a few are found among students and admirers of the Poet Saints of Maharashtra, have a great dislike of the word ' uniqueness ' which we have applied to the New Testament message of a spiritual dynamic. Not a few objections have been raised against this use of the word among British students. It is worth while therefore to note how this use of the word ' uniqueness ' has been vindicated by a British scholar who has won the respect of clear-thinking students everywhere. In a lucid article on ' Incarnation ' in a series on ' Constructive Theology ' Dr Harold Roberts of Wesley College, Leeds, England, has the following : ' The uniqueness of the Christian Revelation has been questioned not only by philosophers but by students who have applied the historical and comparative methods to the study of religion. While it is plain that these methods cannot establish the truth of religion, they have succeeded not only in inducing a reverence for other faiths that was long overdue, but in raising afresh in an acute form the right of Christianity to be acclaimed as a universal religion.' To establish the validity of this claim, Dr Roberts goes on to say : ' The universality of Christianity depends upon its uniqueness, and its uniqueness rests upon the faith that God was personally present in Christ reconciling the world to Himself. . . . There is no justification for propagating the Christian faith except on the basis of the belief that in Jesus Christ there was given to the world a final revelation of God.' Moreover, adds Dr Roberts in words worthy of special note, ' If Christianity is the bearer of the final truth about the character of God and the purpose of life, it can never agree to a conference

convened to establish a better "understanding" between the religions of mankind. It will welcome whatever element of truth resides in other faiths and gratefully recognize that it may be given to their adherents to unveil aspects of Christian truth which Christians themselves have failed to discern. Nevertheless, it must affirm that there is no element of truth in non-Christian faiths which is absent from its own inheritance. A fellowship of faiths is not a fellowship in which Christians can feel at home unless it is made abundantly clear that Christ is the crown and criterion of every revelation given to man... The sacredness of personality will derive its sanction from the fact that Christ, who is of the same substance as the Father, died for all men. It will then become evident that the way of the Cross is not an escape from reality but its gateway, since it was taken by Him Who was the image of the Invisible God Humanism has never faced the fact of sin, and its treatment of human nature suffers from a strange lack of realism. The tragic breakdown of humanism is the opportunity of Christianity. But Christianity ceases to be a practical creed as soon as the saving power of the Incarnate Lord is obscured . . . His advent marks the beginning of a new race, and those who respond to His love become new creatures. They are "in Christ" which means among other things, participating in His nature By His Incarnation, the Son of God has raised human nature to a new level and made it the vehicle of the Divine Will. That is to say, those who lay themselves open to the Love of Christ share the life of Love and take their place in a new society, the Body of Christ, the fellowship of the redeemed There is a call to Christian philosophers to work out a world-view on the basis of the Christian Revelation and to show the relevance and reasonableness of a Christo-centric metaphysic. But, above all, we need men and women who have experienced by faith the power of Christ in their lives and whose nature has been carried up to heaven by Him Who came down from heaven' (*The Expository Times*, vol. 51, November 1939, pp. 74-75). For those students, both in India and elsewhere, who sometimes feel the element of the miraculous to be a difficulty in understanding and presenting the message of Jesus, we suggest that much help can be derived from the method of interpretation adopted by what has aptly been called 'the newer standpoint in Christian Apologetics' as expressed on this particular by R. S. T. Haslehurst of Chichester Cathedral who points out: 'It is not miraculous that the world's great Miracle should have wrought miracles. It would rather have been miraculous had He not done so. Yet He was not miraculous because He did miraculous things: He did miraculous things because He was miraculous' (*The Expository Times*, vol. 50, November 1938, p. 53).

'He wakes desires you never can forget,
He shows you stars you never saw before;
He makes you share with Him for evermore
The burden of the world's Divine regret.'

(*Lysaght*).

Dr Radhakrishnan's Omissions

(17) In assessing the value of any religious teaching to find out how far it is a gospel, or a bringer of good news in offering an adequate remedy for humanity's ills, we need to apply the test of what the message does *not* say as well as that of what it actually says. Here we are confronted by an ominous omission from Dr Radhakrishnan's writings. We have already noted the absence from his book of any dynamical emphasis on either the Cross or the Holy Spirit, and we have now to realize how far-reaching is the complete omission of any reference to the need and assurance of forgiveness. Now if there is one word from Holy God to sinful man which brings comfort it is this word 'forgiveness.' Hence the profound significance of the first word that came to the great anonymous prophet of Israel's exile in Isaiah 40. 1-2: 'Console My people, console them—'tis the Voice of your God—speak ye home to Jerusalem's heart: Cry unto her that her iniquity is pardoned. Cry to her that all is forgiven.' For Israel's God knew that if there is one comfort we need above all else it is the assurance of the forgiving of our sins; until that assurance comes there is no real comfort, nor can the conscience be at peace. The message of the Gospel of Jesus Christ is that God is not only able to forgive, but also that He does forgive the soul in Jesus Christ. This idea of God our Father's pity on His erring children is the context of that tender word in Psalm 103, 13: 'Like as a father pitieth his children, so pitieth the Lord.' Concerning this pity of a forgiving God, that excellent preacher Dr J. S. Stewart has this tender paragraph: 'You will remember a poem of Coventry Patmore's—'The Toys' he calls it—which tells how one day his little son, having been disobedient, was sent to bed unkissed, and how the father, relenting, crept up later that night into his room, and there the child lay asleep, his face still wet with tears; and near his head on a little table he had gathered some of his favourite toys—a box of counters, a few shells, one or two copper coins—to comfort his sad small heart; and as the father kissed those childish tears away and left others of his own, it occurred to him that perhaps God might be feeling towards all His sons and daughters of this world just as he felt that night towards his own sleeping child:

'When thou rememberest of what toys
We made our joys,
How weakly understood
Thy great commanded good,
Then, fatherly not less
Than I whom Thou hast moulded from the clay,
Thou'lt leave Thy wrath, and say,
"I will be sorry for their childishness."'

(*The Expository Times*, November 1938, p. 83).

In the same noble sermon Dr J. S. Stewart has the following moving story about that great Christian, and equally great theologian of

Scotland, Dr James Denny, who has written some of the most illuminating and enduring exegetical and theological books in the English language : ' Principal Denney was listening one day to a friend of his own, a missionary from the New Hebrides, telling the graphic story of how one of the New Hebridean islands had received the comfort of the Gospel, and had been changed from darkness to light. And when the story was over, "I'd rather have done a work like that," said Denny, "than have written all the best books in the library." ' We in India know from our own experience that whenever and wherever the Calvary story is worthily told there is the same joyful response from people who have been waiting all their lives for such a message. As an illustration of this is the incident, which has been told before but will bear repetition, that a Bishop of the Methodist Church of Southern Asia was once telling the Calvary story in a North India bazar when a Hindu priest yelled out, ' Get out of India, for we have no such *guru* in all our sacred books, and if you go on telling that story of the love of Jesus, all our people will go after Him.' When we tell that story, do we always remember the cost of that Love ? In one of her books, Mlle Suzanne de Dietrich, a Student Christian Movement leader, remarks about the baptism of Jesus that Jesus had three baptisms : one of water, a second of the Holy Spirit, and the third of suffering and blood (*Expository Times*, Nov. 1938, p. 67).

CHAPTER IV

IDEALIZING HINDUISM

Outward Revival and Inward Decay

(1) There probably never was a time when religious India presented such a strange medley as at the present moment. It is well nigh impossible to say that this or that is the right clue to a correct understanding of India religiously. But at the risk of making this very blunder, and solely with a view to getting hold of something tangible whereby to understand the trend of present day religion in India, we venture to pick out one strand from India's tangled skein for examination, viz., the current idealizing of Hinduism. Here we are thinking mainly of the educated section of India. This idealizing is marked by a double characteristic : an outward revival of modern Hinduism accompanied by a deepening internal decay. None who studies with care modern Hinduism can have any doubt, either about the external revival as seen in the observing of all festivals with a punctiliousness which only Hindus can show, or about the internal decay which is spreading like a canker to every part of the Hindu system ; to mention only one feature, for example, the foul abomination represented by the system of the *Devadasis* against which Indian reformers are so ceaselessly making their noble and constructive protest. Hinduism may be in external revival by its building of new temples, including temples for the untouchables, but inwardly it is marked either by decay or borrowing from other faiths.

Hindu Power of Religious Assimilation

(2) Another characteristic of what we have called the idealizing going on in present-day Hinduism is the marvellous power of assimilation Hinduism displays, by its being able to absorb Christian principles up to a certain point and shed the remainder like a snake shedding its skin. Indeed, so great is the power of Hinduism to absorb from other faiths and yet to remain Hindu at the core that we need to be on our guard against this particular Hindu tendency which is all the more dangerous because so flattering to those systems from which it borrows. In this connection we wish to call attention to a book written twenty years ago by Dr Radhakrishnan, at that time the Professor of Philosophy in the Calcutta University. The book was entitled *The Hindu View of Life* and contained Dr Radhakrishnan's Upton Lectures at Oxford in the autumn of 1926, and though it contained only 120 pages it was one of the most important books published for many a year. It was widely reviewed at the time but not until

three years later did it receive anything like a satisfactory reply. The special aspect to which we call attention here is that the book was crammed from end to end with what we have called Hinduism idealized. One reason for referring here to Dr Radhakrishnan's book is that it has appeared in Marathi form in the 1935 book entitled *Hindu Dharmachi Mooltatwe* by Balubhai Mehta, published by Govind Vaman Kulkarni, 334 Sadashiv Peth, Poona 2, 147 pages, price rupee one.

'The Hindu View' or 'A Modern Hindu View'?

(3) The answer to Dr Radhakrishnan's book came in a publication of one hundred pages by an able Indian Christian writer named Mr Chunilal Mukerji who had already put forth such excellent Bengali translations of St Mark and St Matthew that Dr Tagore had pronounced them to be 'the best' Bengali renderings of the Christian Scriptures. Mr Mukerji's literary output includes important books both in Bengali and in English, the latter including a work on *Christ and the Brahma Samaj*. It is with Mr Mukerji's able English reply to Dr Radhakrishnan that we are here concerned. Dr Radhakrishnan had called his published Upton Lectures '*The Hindu View of Life*,' and Mr Chunilal Mukerji skilfully called his book in reply, '*A Modern Hindu View of Life*.' To this publication the Metropolitan of India at that time, Dr Foss Westcott, wrote a 'Foreword' and Serampore College recognized its merits by making the book a text-book for the B.D. Course. Dr Westcott rightly stated that 'the restraint and courtesy which mark every page will commend it to those who are only concerned to know the truth, and who recognize that an apologist who refuses to face the facts and substitutes an idealized picture for the less attractive reality is no safe guide to follow.' Mr Mukerji was well qualified on his subject, for before he became a disciple of Jesus Christ, 'whom' (as he said in his Preface) 'despite my heritage of Hindu thought, I confess as my Saviour,' Mr Mukerji was for eighteen years a devoted member of the Brahma Samaj and a Missionary of Brahmoism in different parts of India. In his book entitled *A Modern Hindu View of Life* he showed that when Professor Radhakrishnan wrote of '*The Hindu View of Life*' he presented an idealization of Caste, of Idolatry, of Polygamy and of Toleration which may be attractive and beautiful but is certainly *not* orthodox Hinduism. Bringing each of these cardinal points to the touchstone of Indian history and of the Hindu Scriptures he demonstrated that Professor Radhakrishnan had only succeeded in setting forth '*A Modern Hindu View of Life*.'

Hindu Claims to Toleration

(4) Take toleration for example, on which no religion, the Christian not excepted, has a blameless record. 'Every Hindu takes

pride in the thought that Hinduism is the most tolerant of all religions,' says Mr Mukerji, but he goes on to say: 'I think I am not mistaken in saying that Hindu toleration grew out of the proud exclusiveness of the Brahmins. They kept the secret of religious culture strictly to themselves, and it mattered little to them whether the ungenerate mass knew any sound doctrine or not. If India has been religiously tolerant from an early period of her civilization it is because she has never been notably solicitous about the spiritual condition of the bulk of her population Toleration bred of apathy is never a genuine thing in itself It was the scornful toleration of arrogant aristocracy.' But when Professor Radhakrishnan affirms, 'Heresy hunting, the favourite game of many religions, is singularly absent from Hinduism,' he gets an irrefutable answer from Mr Mukerji who points out: 'In an authentic Sanskrit work we learn that Kumaril Bhatta, a learned Brahmin, by permission of the reigning Hindu King of the day, cut off the heads of a large number of Buddhists and Jains, men, women and children, and the severed heads were later crushed to pieces. Numbers of victims were also thrown into huge caldrons of boiling oil ! . . . The Emperor, Pushyamitra, the sixth in succession to Asoka, not only rooted out the religion of Buddha and destroyed the monasteries, but issued a proclamation that whoever would bring him the head of a Buddhist monk should receive a reward.'

Rose-Coloured Views of Caste

(5) Equally rose-coloured are Professor Radhakrishnan's views of caste. According to him, caste has been the 'instrument by which Hinduism civilised the different tribes it took in, since the system of caste insists that the law of social life should not be cold and cruel competition, but harmony and co-operation.' Each of these statements by Professor Radhakrishnan is shown to be a mere dictum entirely unsupported by facts. Over against this rose-coloured view of one of India's greatest curses Mr Mukerji brings to bear the sledge hammer blows of historic fact:—'It cannot be gainsaid that the Sudras were held in great abhorrence by the people of superior castes, and that the treatment they received is without a parallel in the annals of the race. It is a well known fact that Ram Chandra the King of Ayodhya (Oudh), who is regarded by the Hindus as one of the great Incarnations of God, cut off the head of a Sudra whom he found practising religious austerities like a Brahmin.' This whole point is made clear by the following quotations from Manu the law-giver of Hinduism:—'A Brahmin may confidently seize the goods of (his) Sudra (slave) for, as that (slave) can have no property, his master may take his possessions. A Sudra whether bought or unbought, he (the Brahmin) may compel to do servile work; for he was created by the Self-existent to be the slave of a Brahmin.' 'With whatever limb a man of a low caste hurts a man of the three high castes, even that

limb shall be cut off.' 'A low-caste man, who tries to place himself on the same seat with a man of a high caste, shall be branded on his hip and be banished, or the king shall cause his buttock to be gashed.' 'The *Smritis* teach the same: The ears of the Sudra who hears the Vedas should be filled with molten lead.' 'Since the Sudra is like a cemetery, therefore never read the Veda in his presence.'

A Brahmin Official's Admissions

(6) 'It can easily be proved from Hindu Scriptures that caste is a religious institution, and Hinduism, unless it is radically changed, lives or dies with it,' says Mr Mukerji who continues: 'In a conversation some years ago between the Rev T. Walker of Tinnevely and a Brahmin official, a man of rare intellectual attainments and holding a position of great authority, the talk turned on the claims of our Lord Jesus Christ' when the official remarked 'with something of proud complacency' that all the best Christian doctrines had been obtained from Hinduism, adding, 'we have the higher wisdom and philosophy.' When he was asked again, 'But what about the Love which is revealed in the Gospel?' he replied at once, 'Ah! I confess you beat us there.' And the Brahmin official added that 'if the festival car were to catch up a child in its huge wheels, there is not a Brahmin in the whole place who would defile himself by taking hold of it to try to save it.'

Idolatry Defended

(7) Equally misleading is Dr Radhakrishnan's idealization and defence of idolatry. Over against the different theistic systems exalted by the great philosopher, his Indian Christian critic noted 'the apotheosis of the passion of lust,' and he added, 'It is a noteworthy fact that Hinduism has never been, in the whole of its chequered career, absolutely free from gross references to carnal matters. Hence it is that we find the Upanishads in the midst of their lofty teaching suddenly descend to the religion of the indecent and the famous horse-sacrifice (*ashvamedha yajna*) and encourage rites which are shocking to our moral sense.' Those who know the details of this 'immoral story' (to quote a non-Christian Indian scholar) will appreciate the wise restraint in the reference to this 'horse-sacrifice.' Mr Mukerji further remarks: 'It is painful to observe that with the growth of enlightenment, Hinduism has not yet outgrown such unholy obsession . . . Pictures of Radha and Krishna, in fascinating postures of passionate friendship, which were unknown fifteen or twenty years ago, are now put up for sale in the streets of Calcutta. This injurious religion, which benumbs the conceptions of morality, takes its rise in the *Bhagavat*, the most honoured of all the *Puranas*. I believe I am no unjust critic if I say the ideas which Vaishnavism, in the main, inculcates have in a variety of forms produced their disastrous effects on the general temperament of my countrymen.'

A full description of Krishna's illicit love with Radha (she is called Radha in a later *Purana* which is horridly obscene through and through with none of the redeeming features of the *Bhagavat*) and the other young women of Brindavan is found in the tenth *skanda* or section of the sacred *Bhagavat*. There is hardly anything in literature which can surpass the base carnality of the tenth *skanda* of this otherwise wonderful book.' Mr Mukerji comments: 'The mysteries of this amorous enjoyment, which is known as *rashlila*, give such an outrageously detailed account of Krishna's amours that any attempt to interpret them spiritually is only wasted effort.' 'But it is not Vaishnavism alone which is a prey to sexual impurity. The exalted religion of Buddha is a prey to sexual aberrations. It is sad to reflect that even so noble a religion as Buddhism underwent most revolting modifications in India.' Dr Rajendralal Mitra says of one Buddhist sect: 'Theories are indulged in, and practices enjoyed which are at once the most revolting and horrible that human depravity could think of.'

Indian Pantheism and Atheism

(8) Mr Mukerji asks some searching questions and reaches this far-reaching conclusion: 'Has not Hinduism presented the treacherous light of the will-o'-the-wisp to millions of men and women? Has not erotic Vaishnavism brought spiritual death to many of its votaries? Has not *advaitavad* or monism also led astray countless individuals ever since it got a foothold in India? . . . What is this obnoxious element which mars the work of Hindu saints? The answer is: It is Hindu Pantheism. Hindu Pantheism is such a subtle and insidious foe that even the Hindu saints are not always immune from it. The bane which incurably infects Hinduism is this *Pantheism*, which is as old as the Upanishads, *blinds us to the true character of God, and effectually obliterates our individual sense of morality also.*' We have printed in italics Mr Mukerji's comment on Pantheism, since it suggests a vital connection between the current Hindu idealizations of Pantheism and India's atheistic revolt against all idea of God. We would ask in conclusion: In view of what the late Baron Von Hugel described as 'the almost universal Pantheism of our time' may there be here one explanation of the dominant secularism and materialism in India and other lands?

CHAPTER V

COUNTER ATTACK FROM THE EAST¹

(i)

A Brilliant Skirmisher : Dr C. E. M. Joad

(1) There is a militant note in the title which is not very dominant in the text of the book entitled *Counter Attack from the East* by Dr C. E. M. Joad, published at seven shillings and sixpence by George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., Museum St., London. Such a title might lead the unwary reader to conjure up haunting visions of gunboats, submarines and fighting airships on their way from the East for a night attack on the West. Happily no such sinister scheme is in the mind of the author whose theme is that the West has largely lost its religion and who feels that the best man to help the West in such a situation is the Hindu philosopher, Dr Radhakrishnan who by his lectures in London, Manchester and Oxford in recent years has established himself in the affections of many British people. And since we may have dispelled the nightmare of an imaginary military 'attack' only by raising another sort of nightmare in the minds of some readers, let us hasten to add that the method of the book is all too pacific to justify such militant language. Fortunately we can also lay to rest the other nightmare, for we have accompanied the gentle writer all over the battlefield of his book and we think we are quite safe in affirming that not one single weapon from the New Testament armoury did we discover lying discarded or rusty as the result of his warfare. What ghosts he had succeeded in laying were ghosts he himself had raised, for like many another philosopher Dr Joad frequently writes about the weakness and failure of so-called 'Christian' society and nations as if there had never been suggested the New Testament remedy. The aberrations from New Testament teaching occupy the picture, while the New Testament is almost ignored. To use again our author's militant terminology, had he not so astutely managed his controversial tactics that he remains outside the range of the biggest guns of the other side, he would have found his entire position blown to atoms. Therefore the exceedingly attractive writer named Dr Joad must be pronounced a merely successful skirmisher who cleverly evades the greatest forces arrayed against him.

A Threatened 'Attack' That Never Matures

(2) Dr C. E. M. Joad is a British writer on philosophical subjects who appeared shortly after the 1914-18 war was over and we think it is in no way unjust to him to say that he has shown himself one of the cheaper critics of Christianity, doubting the value of religion as such

because of the frequent departures from it in Western lands, but basing his conclusions upon a somewhat superficial analysis of its principles. In his previous ethical writings he has shown himself to be an unreliable guide as far as the deeper aspects of ethics are concerned, so that no one who understands his position will quake in their shoes about anything he describes as an 'attack,' especially when they find the 'attack' is 'from the East' which on his own confession he has never visited. That fact of itself is sufficient to disqualify him for pronouncing on the question whether Doctor Radhakrishnan is a typical expounder of either historic or contemporary Hinduism. And if Dr Joad cannot be accepted as a thoroughly safe guide regarding the best Hindu authorities, neither can he be altogether trusted concerning his diagnosis of religion in the West, for he describes himself as 'an avowed agnostic' and the religious pronouncements of an agnostic can never be accepted as final, however attractive they may appear. Hence we may say that the 'attack' threatened in the title never really develops.

Useful Suggestions and Sweeping Statements

(3) Nevertheless there is much in Dr Joad's book which is exceedingly profitable, both by way of warning the West regarding its sad drifting from spiritual religion and also by way of helpful religious counsel. He has a striking picture on one page of a young student sitting at home studying the philosophy of Hegel while the radio phones were in his ears and he was thereby following a jazz band. On other pages he describes many men in the West who have lost the ability to use the leisure they have earned in years of business, these last being in contrast with those at a similar age in India who after going through the stages of life, first as youth and then as householder, retire and complete their old age in ascetic solitude. But while his book is an eloquent condemnation of the absence of meditation among large sections of people in the West, he is far too sweeping in his statements and he completely ignores the existence of many quiet praying souls connected with all the Churches who are the very salt of the earth. But in this connection Dr Joad has some beautiful utterances. For example: 'To refine the spirit by discipline and meditation is to increase our ethical sensitiveness.' Take another one. He quotes from Radhakrishnan: 'The moral hero follows an inner rhythm which goads him on; for him the spiritual obligation is of more consequence than social tradition.' And again Radhakrishnan says: 'Though morality commands conformity, all moral progress is due to Non-conformists.'

An Indian Philosopher Trained in Christian Thinking

(4) Though we have found Dr Joad's book one of the most interesting we have read for many a day on the subject of the irreligiousness of much of our modern life and the various possible remedies,

¹ From Dnyanodaya May 24, 1934 by the author.

yet he must be pronounced to be very misleading on his main topic which is that the philosophy of Radhakrishnan supplies the sovereign remedy for the guidelessness and purposelessness of present-day Western people. This is not the place to examine that philosophy itself, but the misleading part of Joad's book is that while he hails Radhakrishnan as an Eastern teacher who has something to teach the West, yet Dr. Joad never appears to realize that in praising Radhakrishnan he is praising one who in point of fact is an extensive borrower from that very West which Joad himself so deprecates from the religious point of view. There is much to be said in favour of Joad's position that in Radhakrishnan's idealism and intuitive mysticism there is a remedy for much of Western materialism and worldliness, but what Joad overlooks is the fact that Radhakrishnan's mysticism and idealism wear so many borrowed plumes; for this debt of the Indian philosopher to Western interpreters and especially to the New Testament is a debt that stares a careful reader in the face on almost every page of Radhakrishnan's books. That this is characteristic of all the Calcutta Professor's works is illustrated by a book published early this year entitled *East And West In Religion* concerning which a London reviewer states: 'Sir S. Radhakrishnan is a well-known exponent of Indian philosophy, and has lately been the subject of a book by an English writer. Those, however, who hail him as an example of Eastern culture and religion might do well to ask how much of Radhakrishnan's philosophy could have existed in a mind that had not been trained in Christian ways of thinking. Radhakrishnan remains outwardly a Hindu, but there is far more of the New Testament than of the Vedas in this book. That is an advantage to one who sets out to contrast East and West in religion, but it remains that Radhakrishnan does not represent the East untouched by the West.'

Christian Truth in an Indian Dress

(5) We would emphasize another sentence, the closing one, from the review we have just quoted: 'If the West has any mind at all to learn from the East, it can find no better teacher than Radhakrishnan.' But we would also ask: In all Dr Radhakrishnan's worthy books where is the *Indian* philosophy or the *Indian* mysticism or the *Indian* religion? Joad rightly emphasizes in more than one place that Radhakrishnan is a rebel: 'I have come very near to presenting Radhakrishnan as a moral rebel decrying traditions, violating codes, making light of conventions He is an innovator . . . Sir Herbert Samuel and others have pointed out that the reader is sometimes not as clear as he would like to be whether Radhakrishnan is speaking his own mind or revealing the mind of others.' When therefore we find that the one who is put forward as 'spokesman for the East' is in reality presenting us with Christian principles in an Eastern garb, we cannot sit quietly by when we are told a 'counter attack from the East' is developing. For what, after all, is developing before our

eyes is what Christendom has longed for during many decades, that some great son of India would arise to present Christian truth to us in an Indian dress. That he prefers to call it Hinduism rather than Christianity should not concern any who long that Jesus shall come to dwell in India's heart, for a teacher who seeks to incorporate the ideas of the New Testament in an Eastern frame, as Radhakrishnan does so ably in many of his pages, is sure to help on the desired end. That Radhakrishnan uses his sledge-hammer against the unrealities and hypocrisies of many so-called 'Christian' people is all to the good. To anyone who would like to see these delightful processes going on, though in very different language from that we have here employed, we warmly commend Dr Joad's book. There is the less need for us to enter into the religious and philosophical implications of Dr Radhakrishnan's whole position, because in our next issue we hope to publish a careful examination of that position from an able contributor who will show that Hinduism is neither the free-thinking nor intuitive scheme that Doctor Radhakrishnan makes out, but is the most highly developed system of philosophy in the world from whose misleading premises and priestly authorities Radhakrishnan is compelled to depart as a great 'innovator' in order to establish his helpful idealism and intuitional mysticism.

N.B.—In view of the foregoing, the reader will not be surprised that when in April 1934 we circulated this book among the members of a Missionary Book Club in India, we remarked that we personally regarded Joad's book as one of the most astonishing illustrations of the influence of Christian teaching on the best Indian thought of the day.

Dr RADHAKRISHNAN'S NEW 'HINDUISM'

(ii)

(1) I have been asked to review Dr Joad's *Counter Attack from the East* which is an able defence and exposition of Dr Sir S. Radhakrishnan's philosophy. But as I am advised to write it briefly I directly address myself to the task. Dr Sir Radhakrishnan is by Dr Joad presented to the Western public as bringing to the West a new outlook which is fundamentally that of Hinduism. But, in fact, his system is not compatible with Hinduism for the following reasons: (1) Sir Radhakrishnan is an intuitionist (*C. A. E.* pp. 54, 111, 124). (2) Sir Radhakrishnan is a disbeliever in Scripture (pp. 54, 159, 170). (3) Dr Sir Radhakrishnan is not a consistent thinker (pp. 204, 207). Besides all this, Sir Radhakrishnan is sceptical of the spiritual life of the Western people (p. 163); he believes that the caste-system, which was originally a wholesome institution, is 'a degradation today' (p. 168), that the doctrine of re-birth is valid and that institutional religions serve no useful purpose.

* By Mr Chunilal Mukerji in *Theology* (a monthly review in London) for April 1934, and in the weekly *Dnyanodaya* May 31, and June 7, 1934.

Radhakrishnan's 'Intuition' Anti-Hindu

(2) Intuition has never been the ground-work of religious life in India, and Sir Radhakrishnan's teaching in this connection makes against the spirit of Hinduism. It was the sacred duty—a duty the infringement of which entailed great punishment—of the Brahman to study the Vedas from day to day. Hence another name of the Vedas is *Swadhya* or daily reading.¹ Again, teachers like Janak, Yajñavalkya, Svetasvatara, Pravahan Jaibali, Saunak, Ajatsatru, Chitra and others as mentioned in the Upanishads go to prove that religion was systematically inculcated in ancient India. We learn from the Upanishads that pupils desiring *Brahmajñāna* (knowledge of Brahma or God) were made to undergo a long preparation. Krishna also enjoins rigid spiritual discipline in the *Gita* and insists on the need of a *Guru* or teacher. In fact, there is not a single accredited religious book in Hinduism but dwells eloquently on the importance of an elaborate discipleship. The religious teacher, therefore, came to be regarded and is still regarded in orthodox circles as next to God.² It is also a well-known fact that no one was considered duly qualified to receive philosophical training until he had thoroughly mastered the Vedas which are held as Divine Revelation. The first aphorism in the *Brahma Sūtras* is an indisputable proof of it.³ Indeed, so great is the reverence of the Hindus for *Shruti* (revelation) that the philosophical systems, however divergent, invariably pretend to conform to it. No philosophical system receives due recognition in India until it acknowledges the authority of *Shruti*. Such allegiance to *Shruti* is, of course, sometimes very artificial, as the philosopher must anyhow read his own doctrines into it, but it cannot be dispensed with. I see Das Gupta (quoted by Dr Joad on p. 169) criticises this procedure of the Hindu philosophers. Das Gupta is a sound student of Hinduism, and I here take occasion to record my sincere regard for his attainments.

Why Radhakrishnan is not 'A Good Hindu'

(3) But Das Gupta evidently forgets that the philosophical systems that had arisen independently of *Shruti* in the pre-Vedantic age had been frankly atheistic or agnostic in their outlook. It cannot be gainsaid that the spiritual life of the Hindu race was considerably impaired under their influence. Be that as it may, Sir Radhakrishnan seems to be oblivious of the fact that Sankara maintained that Brahma (God) can be known through *Shruti* only.⁴ In fact, in the whole mass of his immense writings Sankara constantly refers to *Shruti*

¹ See *Laws of Manu* (Chap. 2 : 165, 166, 167).

² 'Yasya deva para bhakti yatha deva tatha gurau' (*Svetasvatara Upanishad*).

³ 'Dharmajijnyasa Purvavrittam Vedadhyanam niyamenapekshate' (Sankara).

⁴ 'Yasmat siddham Brahmanah Shastrapramanahattam' (Sankara).

(Revelation) as the final authority which should silence all opposition. The *Shruti* or Scripture, according to him, is that which reveals the unrevealed.¹ But, strangely enough, 'the good Hindu' Sir Radhakrishnan (to use Dr Joad's own phrase about him) completely ignores *Shruti* and evermore extols intuition. His whole teaching is based on it. Moreover, Sir Radhakrishnan is a disbeliever in Hindu Scripture. He is represented as having no faith in 'rules and formulae, prescriptions and prohibitions' (*C. A. E.* p. 159). What I have already said sufficiently demonstrates that Sir Radhakrishnan's position is untenable as representing the orthodox traditions of Hinduism. Let me hope he would not be so unwise as to declare that Sankara took a wrong view of Scripture when he pronounced it as indispensable to the performance of good works and abandonment of evil deeds, that is to say, to the leading of a righteous life.²

Radhakrishnan's Inconsistency

(4) The learned lecturer is betrayed into a lamentable inconsistency of thought in affirming that 'God can be present in varying degrees' in creation. Dr Joad's comment on it, in spite of his great admiration for Sir Radhakrishnan, is significant. He says that by it Radhakrishnan 'impairs the unity of his Monism by the introduction of a "something other"; it is, in fact, to postulate a duality' (*C. A. E.* p. 204). In face of his own tacit recognition of a 'something other' how would Sir Radhakrishnan support the Vedantic doctrine of immanence? Sankara grows wonderfully eloquent as he expounds the immanence of the Supreme Spirit which eventually led to Pantheism. He preached this doctrine in a marvellously original way at a time when Indian thought had been under the destructive sway of Sankhya and other atheistic systems for centuries together.³ Besides, the conception of *shorshakalam Brahma* in the Vedanta rules out a 'something other'. Even the Brahmā (not Brahma) of the dualistic school is—at any rate that is the classical view—identified with the whole creation. So according to dualism also there is no scope for 'varying degrees'. But let it be remembered that Sir Radhakrishnan is an avowed Monist.

Inadequate Defence of Caste and Rebirth

(5) The Hindu apologist's defence of caste is puerile. Caste is not only 'a degradation today,' but has always been so. The horrible laws of Manu against the Sudras (non-Brahmans of a low type) are an indelible stain on our national life. The vast millions of 'untouchables' in India are untouchables by inviolable *Shastric* (Scriptural) injunctions. I wonder why the learned apologist ignores this fact.

¹ 'Ajñatājnāpakam shastram.'

² 'Pravrittirvrittirprayojanatwat shastraryā.'

³ 'Sarvam khalidam Brahma. Akasharat sarvagatasha sukshma' (*Shruti*).

Also the doctrine of re-birth as expounded by Sir Radhakrishnan is rather fantastic. Re-birth is only a hypothesis in Hinduism; and even Krishna, the greatest Hindu incarnation of God, does not run the risk of proving it. (See the *Gita* Chap. IV: 5). Hinduism most dogmatically affirms that evil-doers are born as vile brutes. Dr Joad would, indeed, have been shocked to hear Sir Radhakrishnan declare that a human soul—depraved, of course—could be born as *vitvaraha*, i.e. a dung-eating pig. But Sir Radhakrishnan, who addressed European audiences in England, was discreetly silent about it.

Hinduism and 'Social Salvation'

(6) Dr Sir Radhakrishnan professes to be a Monist and withal a believer in what he calls social salvation. With his characteristic banter, he criticises in this connection the idea of 'the perpetuation of individuality' as inculcated by Christianity. But is the Doctor's doctrine of social salvation tenable in the face of his avowed Monism? 'So long,' he says, 'as some individuals are unredeemed, the other freed souls have work to do and so retain their individuality' (quoted in *C. A. E.* p. 208). What a monstrous distortion of the accredited Monism of India! *Moksha* or salvation, according to the Vedanta, absolutely precludes the idea of separate individuality and consequently of work or action. I could cite numberless verses from Hindu Scriptures also from the great Sankara's writings to prove the absurdity of Sir Radhakrishnan's standpoint, if space permitted. But I think one quotation at least is needed: 'Release is nothing but being Brahma (God). Therefore Release is not something to be purified (i.e. by work or action). And as nobody is able to show any other way in which Release could be connected with action (work), it is impossible that it should stand in any, even the slightest, relation to any action (work) excepting Knowledge.'¹ I have purposely given Dr Thibaut's translation here. Then Sankara goes on to prove in a masterly way that knowledge is not work. Now arises the question, 'Is this beautiful doctrine un-Hindu?' No, it is not. The doctrine of the so-called social salvation is found in the *Bhagawat Purana* which belongs to the *Bhakti* school and the *Bhakti* school upholds dualism. It is also traceable to Buddhism, to Mahayan Buddhism, if I am not mistaken. Dr Sir Radhakrishnan as a Monist has no right to preach and advocate it. Let me, however, add here that this really great doctrine is scarcely known to the Hindus except the very cultured few and does not at all influence their practical lives. Hinduism is notoriously individualistic. The altruistic activities that are now observable in some parts of India are mainly due to Christian influence—an instance of the emulation of

1. 'Brahmabhabashesha moksha. Tasmanna sanskaryopi moksha. Atanyat mokshang prati krianupraveshadwaram na shakyam kenachit-darshyitum. Tasmait jnanamekam muktwa kryaya gandhamatrasya-pyanupravesha iha napadyata' (Sankara).

Christian ministering to the sick and poor as carried on by Christian missionaries all over India.

Neo-Hinduism and Spiritual Anarchy

(7) The question which ultimately arises is this, 'Why does Sir Radhakrishnan, who is a cultured man, uphold views so directly subversive of Hinduism?' The answer is, that Hinduism includes endless ramifications. There have been Hindu mystics of a very high order, denounced and persecuted in their lifetime, who kept clear of *Shruti* (revelation) and solely relied on intuition. But, as days went on, their followers made *Shruti* of the teachings of their masters. So the 'authority', which had been virtually discarded by these remarkable men, reasserted its power before long. Sir Rabindranath Tagore is a freethinker and is an ardent admirer of these religious geniuses. Tagore, though a very unsystematic religious thinker, displays, nevertheless, brilliant flashes of insight as an expounder of Hinduism. But I regret to say Sir Radhakrishnan has none of them. That the distinguished preacher of neo-Hinduism is a moral rebel, a spiritual anarchist, is proved by his own words. 'Nothing,' he writes, 'is so hostile to religion (he means evidently the religion of his own discovering) as other religions.' Again, 'the world would be a much better place if all the religions were removed from it' (quoted in *C. A. E.* p. 213). Sir Radhakrishnan evidently forgets that religion has three great aspects: the historical, the institutional and the mystical. An exaggerated emphasis on the mystical element ends in sentimentalism. The religion of the Upanishads is profoundly mystical, but it could not be perpetuated in its precise form, as by its very nature, it refused to be institutional. So when, in subsequent times, the need of institutional religion was realised by the Hindu sages, the *Puranas*, which are mythical and, as a whole, immoral, came into existence. The Hebrew religion is on an immensely superior plane in this matter. Divine Revelation came to the Hebrews through the crises of their national life, and the entire revelation from Abraham to the latest prophet culminating eventually in Jesus Christ had an organic unity and exercised an unquestionably elevating moral influence. In the absence of such Revelation through national life the Hindu sages, to meet the requirements of the masses, fell back upon imagination, and so sprang up the *Puranas* with their uncontrolled phallic license. But Sir Radhakrishnan loses sight of this fact. And I do not wonder that his overwrought love of mysticism has made him rise in insurrection against institutional religion. In the economic sphere the man who will do no work until he has a princely salary becomes a vagabond. In the domain of the spirit, one who would be nothing short of a mystic becomes an anarchist.

Exaggerations against the West

(8) As to the scepticism of Sir Radhakrishnan about the spiritual attainments of European races—a scepticism fully shared by Dr

Joad—I beg to say that the immense outpourings of serious literature in Europe year after year is a phenomenon pointing to a very different conclusion. Besides, the number of men and women who go abroad every year to minister to suffering humanity in a variety of ways is an unmistakable proof of the spiritual greatness of Europe. Sir Radhakrishnan complains of the want of 'retirement' in the West and Dr Joad also echoes his sentiments. But Sir Radhakrishnan perhaps does not know that the religious communities in Europe observe long hours of silence every day. But if it is contended that the belligerent spirit of the European nations is a standing disproof of their spiritual greatness, in justice let me say that at no time in the past has India been free from war. India had waged most sanguinary wars before the famous Kurukshetra which finally brought about her collapse. The Indian sages also, we learn from the *Mahabharata*, zealously shared this passion for blood. But my words must not be construed into a vindication of war or of aught leading to war. What I mean is that civilisation has always had its darker aspects.

Hinduism not as Tolerant as Claimed

(9) My distinguished countryman maintains that Hinduism is a tolerant religion and, by way of contrast, casts aspersions on Christianity. I wonder if there could be a worse misreading of Indian history. Hinduism has most relentlessly persecuted all new sects—Jainism, Buddhism, Vaishnavism, etc. Even in recent times the Brahmo Samaj people and the Indian Christian converts have not escaped persecution. I have finished. Dr Joad is 'an avowed agnostic' and a bitter opponent of 'official religions' (*C. A. E.* p. 212). He says that he has in his book, *The Present and Future of Religion*, criticised 'the Christianity as practised by the Anglican Churches' (*C. A. E.* p. 212). Sir Radhakrishnan, catching contagion from my Bengalee fellow-countrymen, is also out with his bombs and revolvers to destroy all religions that he may have the *swaraj* of intuition. The alliance of these two brilliant rationalists is ideal, indeed. 'Grove nods to grove, each alley has its brother.'

C. M.

Dr JOAD NO LONGER A RATIONALIST¹

(iii)

In the October 31, 1946 issue of *Dnyanodaya* we showed how Mr H. G. Wells, whose fertile mind had produced more than one plan for Utopia, died a disappointed man, because his Rationalism had led him to explain away the supernatural by treating reason as the final authority in religion; H. G. Wells had therefore 'scorned to take any account of the Spirit of God', and so he died a disappointed man.

¹ From our Notes in the *Dnyanodaya* of Nov. 7, 1946.

There are so many thoughtful people in India today who are in danger of pursuing the same course on religious questions that it gives us great joy to tell them of another British thinker who has long been famous as a Rationalist but who has seen the error of his ways. In *The Rationalist Annual* of December, 1945, Dr C. E. M. Joad wrote an article entitled 'On Being No Longer A Rationalist' in which he gave his reasons for abandoning his rationalist position on religion. As we ourselves have not seen Dr Joad's article we here give a luminous paragraph on the subject by that excellent writer, Mr F. J. Rae, which appeared in the July 1946 issue of *The Expository Times*:—'For many years Dr Joad has not believed in a Personal God. But he was neither a materialist nor a determinist. He believed in free will and also in spiritual values like truth and beauty. So far as his metaphysical outlook was concerned he believed (like Bernard Shaw) in a Life Force. Experience of life, however, seemed to him to reveal three weaknesses in his philosophy. *First*, the moral life it revealed was not of the highest order. It was utilitarian and self-inspired was not of the highest order. It was utilitarian and self-regarding. *Secondly*, this philosophy failed to satisfy him rationally. The *third* weakness was revealed by the dark side of the Second World War. In other words he could not help facing the fact of sin and the helplessness of his philosophy to afford a radical cure. And as a consequence of his changed estimate of human nature, Dr Joad was converted to a belief in the need of Divine Grace, without which man could not achieve salvation. This conviction led him to entertain the hope and faith that a Personal God can and will supply such grace if humbly sought and thankfully received. In July, 1943, Dr Joad had come to the conclusion that evil in man was not due to bad social conditions but to *sin*. It is encouraging to people who are not so clever as Dr. Joad to see a man of his philosophical acumen reaching out to what is the heart of the gospel.'

CHAPTER VI

THE MAYO HYPERBOLES

Mother India

(1) We wish to say a few things about the ignoble methods of Miss Mayo in her 1927 book, *Mother India*. One of the most despicable was her method of totally ignoring the magnificent uplift efforts made by those noble-minded Indian men and women of the Indian Social Reform School who for many years had been working selflessly on Indian Social Reform problems in village and city alike. Nor did she recognize the value of what Government was doing. One example out of many was supplied by an Indian member representing Bombay City in the Bombay Legislative Assembly as far back as 1927 who asked Government to state how many persons in Bombay City had been prosecuted under the Prostitution Act of Bombay. The number given was 239 (see *Dnyanodaya*, August 25, 1927, p. 266). Had Miss Mayo known India in its noble as well as its unworthy aspects, as missionaries and Indian Civil Service officials do, she would have fulfilled her self-imposed task in a very different way. Mistakes of date appear with consequent confusion in her story, but these are trifling errors compared with what one doctor-friend of ours, who had been doing medical work in India for 25 years, described to us as 'Miss Mayo's sex-obsession which had misled her considerably'. So considerably had it misled her that her book was rightly regarded by many Indian leaders as an insult both to India's womanhood and to India's manhood. Another great cause of her being led astray in her estimates was that she had done the very thing the India Office in London warned her against doing, viz., she had 'generalized', and she had 'generalized' on particular matters of a most delicate character. The book was therefore most unfair both to Indian ability and to Indian morality. It is therefore of the utmost importance that all those whose work lies almost exclusively among the poorer classes in India should watch themselves against repeating Miss Mayo's sweeping generalizations in her book, *Mother India*, for it is quite certain that those generalizations were incorrect and entirely misleading. In one place Miss Mayo called our Western India Marāthās 'the low caste peasantry of the Deccan'. How does that description compare with the account of Ranade, the historian of the Marāthās, when he shows that many reigning Peshwas of the Marāthā Empire were Brāhmins who paid but little heed to caste, and that the power of the Moguls was broken by fighting Marāthās who were of high caste extraction? Many other blunders appeared which we have no space to point out.

The Method of Jesus in exposing Sin

(2) In relation to sin and the true method of denouncing and exposing it, Jesus is our Example as He is in all else, and we never

find Him drawing a picture of human life of unrelieved blackness. Indeed, one of the most characteristic stories told of Jesus is that in which He is said to have discovered something to praise even in a dead dog on the street. When all others were either kicking it or reviling it, He exclaimed, 'Even pearls could not equal the whiteness of its teeth.' And yet Jesus never covered up sin with any kind of veneer. He disclosed it and in the end died that it might be overcome. What would Jesus have us do in relation to India's evils? This question is already answered in the Gospels, as most other difficulties are. The example of Jesus on the true method of condemning sin is vividly illustrated in the moving story of what Jesus actually did when the adulterous woman was brought into His presence. The whole incident in St John vii. 53-viii 11 should be read most carefully. Readers will note that in the English Revised Version this incident is put within brackets with much wider paragraph-spacing than usual both before and after the incident. The reason for this is that the incident is not found in the earliest manuscripts of the Gospels, the judgment of reverent scholarship being that the later manuscripts containing it have preserved a true story, some of these manuscripts, indeed, putting the incident after St Luke xxi, thus making it part of the narrative of our Lord's last week before His Death.

Lest a certain type of worker in India, by which term we mean Indian and non-Indian alike, may get the impression that Miss Mayo's scathing method is the one India needs, we will also venture to ask if the book *Mother India* may not have repeated the very same brutal indelicacy of those heartless Scribes and Pharisees who brought that woman to Jesus, 'Caught in the very act,' they added with frankness. 'Here are the facts' said Miss Mayo; 'what have you got to say about them?' What we ourselves say about them is this: If the action of those Scribes and Pharisees was regarded by Jesus as 'a wanton outrage' both on the woman found in the act of sin and 'on all generous and modest spectators', as one fine interpreter has said, may it not be an equally wanton outrage that our American visitor perpetrated against India's sinning and suffering ones, against those also who are striving so hard in the task of rescuing these suffering and sinning ones, many of these latter being noble-hearted Indians whose efforts Miss Mayo most inadequately recognized.

Incarnate Pity and India's Need

(3) We must leave our readers to follow and apply the details of that matchless story. Dr David Smith says: 'They (the Scribes and Pharisees) came as accusers, and He arraigned them before that stern tribunal which holds its assize in every human breast.' "Let him that is without sin cast the first stone"; and on hearing what Jesus said, 'they went away one by one.' St Augustine adds: 'Jesus was left alone with the culprit, incarnate Pity with that pitiable one; of the actors in the scene only two were left, she who needed compassion and He Who could bestow it.' One deep lesson to learn is the attitude

of Jesus: 'Neither do I condemn thee; go and sin no more.' And we may learn also the need of looking into our own hearts individually, and of remembering that there is no nation on earth that has the right as yet to 'cast the first stone' at India. In this connection it is worth noting that additional and significant details have been found about this story as recorded in later manuscripts discovered at Athens, Mount Athos and Dessau, making of this particular event in St John a dramatic scene in which the conscience of every accuser was searched. These manuscripts add that when Jesus stooped and wrote on the ground He was writing 'the sins of each one' of the woman's accusers and that 'when they read' what Jesus had written they 'went out one by one.' Some interpreters of these manuscripts think Jesus may have written on the ground some Scripture passage that brought personal conviction of sin to each one present, while other manuscripts go even further and imaginatively fill in what Jesus actually wrote. Here is their detail: 'Eldad slew his comrade Modar in the desert.' No human eye had witnessed the crime which after forty years is brought to light. But now Eldad's past deed rushes back upon him; he saw the staff flash again in the sun as he brought it down on his friend's shoulder when there was no eye to see; conscience-stricken, he disappeared among the crowd without a word. Again Jesus writes: 'Horan devoured the house of Bunan's widow'; and as soon as Horan reads it he silently departs. Doubtless these are imaginative details of secondary manuscripts, but they illustrate the power of Jesus in searching the conscience alike of the individual and of the whole company. And Britain and America need to let themselves be searched through and through by 'those eyes which are as a flame of fire.' When people in Western lands read such indictments of India, they need to remember that there are also dark places and dens of sin in London and Manchester, in New York and Chicago, and that the searchlight of Jesus shows up the sins of the West as well as of the East. Western lands have great need to pray that their sins may not discount the value of the Gospel their missionaries preach. They need also to pray that Jesus Himself may speak to the bruised and broken heart of India as only Jesus can. Above all else, those of us who work in India must enter so deeply into a self-identification with India's sufferings and sins that we shall join in the Christ-like words of the great humanitarian who said: 'While there is a lower class, I am in it; while there is a criminal element, I am of it; while there is a soul in prison, I am not free.'¹

A Lesson from the 'Mayo' Episode

(4) Some Christian people appear to forget that one of the first examples Jesus of Nazareth set for His Church by His Life on earth was that He went through no less than *thirty years of preparation for His work* among men. We forget too that when He did come forth

¹ See *Dnyanodaya*, Sep. 29, 1927, vol. 86, pp. 305-7.

to declare His message and fulfil His mission He crowned both message and mission by dying to save the people from the sins He had condemned. The 'Mayo' method is as far removed as can be from that of Jesus. After a few fleeting months in the land she hurled her denunciatory message against India's people, and then *left* them in their want and misery. If we Christian people are to help India we must seriously set ourselves the task of really understanding India, which means prolonged study of it and intimate fellowship with it; and then having understood India we must more closely identify ourselves with its suffering and sinning people, so closely identifying ourselves with them as to give our very selves on their behalf. No wonder those Indian leaders who for thirty or forty years past have been exposing some of the evils of which Miss Mayo had written so blunderingly should have been even more deeply enraged than others by the method of her book. If from Miss Mayo we who are connected with the Christian movement in India can but learn how *not* to do the work of Jesus, and learn how *not* to declare His message, then the sad tragedy of that book will not have been in vain. In saying these things we have in mind the Churches and Mission Boards in the West who have the task of selecting and training missionaries for the field, as much as we have in mind those who are already at work here. India is not the place either for superficial methods or for superficial people. India is the greatest problem of the Universal Church of Christ.

Social Service and 'Other Religions'

(5) There is something to be done also by India's own public men. What that duty is was well set forth in 1927 by that representative of India, *The Servant of India*. Writing about 'The Hindu Sabha and Hindu Social Tyranny' our Poona friend fearlessly indicated what Hindu reformers need to do before India can be delivered from its innumerable evils: 'From reading the resolutions passed by the Hindu Mahasabha in its 1927 session at Patna one gets the impression that the leaders of the Sabha are far more concerned to prevent transfer of the untouchables and the widows to the fold of other religions than uprooting the evils of untouchability and child widowhood. The untouchables are to be treated humanely 'so that they may not be compelled to become converts to other religions', and widows should be shown some consideration for no superior reason than to save them from the 'clutches' of other religions. The same arithmetical obsession accounts for the resolutions requesting the Government to enter the aborigines as Hindus in the Census. This attitude of looking at the tyrannies of the Hindu society appears to us to be wholly wrong and immoral. The fact seems to us to be that the inherent injustice of certain social customs has not yet sunk deeply enough in the mind of the Hindu Sabha'¹

¹ See *Dnyanodaya*, Dec. 29, 1927, vol. 86, p. 410.

CHAPTER VII

'THINGS AS THEY ARE'

Reticence

(1) In her 1927 book Miss Mayo complained that Christian books and reports about India were 'much too reticent,' Miss Amy Wilson-Carmichael's books being mentioned as examples of this excessive reticence, her book entitled *Things As they Are* being singled out for this charge. Having examined for ourselves Miss Mayo's hyperboles and compared her methods with those of Miss Carmichael, we have concluded this book is one of those that never grow old and that Indian Christian leaders as well as Indian reformers will find it a great inspiration. Miss Carmichael herself and Eugene Stock who wrote a Preface to the book, both anticipated the very objection Miss Mayo launched, Eugene Stock using these words: 'The picture is drawn without prejudice, with all sympathy, with full recognition of good, and yet with an unswerving determination to tell the truth and let the facts be known, that is, so far as she dares to tell them. What she says is the truth, and nothing but the truth; but it is not the whole truth—that she could not tell. If she wrote it, it could not be printed. If it were printed, it could not be read. But if we read between the lines, we do just catch glimpses of what she calls 'the Actual.' Miss Carmichael herself says: 'What we have seen and tried to describe is only an indication of something undescribed, and is as nothing in comparison with it.' She closes her first chapter with Charles Kingsley's words: 'Be earnest, earnest, earnest; mad if thou wilt.'

'Neat Rows of Dots' Concealing the Unprintable

(2) In contrast with the method of Miss Mayo, which meant little if any cost to herself as she denounced India's wrongs, note the costly method indicated in the following lines of Miss Carmichael who has identified herself with India's sorrows and sins: 'Leave this chapter (entitled *Married To The God*) if you want "something interesting to read"; hold your finger in the flame of a candle if you want to know what it is like to write it. If you do this, then you will know something of the burning at heart every missionary goes through who has to see the sort of thing I have to write about. But perhaps one cares too much; it is only about a little girl. Those who know nothing of the facts will be sure to criticise. But those who know the truth of these things well know that we have understated it, carefully toned it down perforce, because it cannot be written in full. It could neither be published nor read. . . . But what you may

not even hear, must be endured by little girls. There are child-wives in India today, of twelve, ten, nine, and even eight years old.' Then Miss Carmichael lets a medical worker speak, several 'neat rows of dots' being necessary to throw a kindly veil over bestial details, concerning which Miss Carmichael says: 'Where the dotted lines come, there was written what cannot be printed. But it had to be lived through, every bit of it, by a "scrap of a creature of ten or eleven."' She adds: 'Hundreds and thousands of little wives are going through what we have described.'

India's Wronged Girlhood

(3) Thank God that India's own reformers are today condemning more loudly than any foreigner such brutalities in Hindu home-life as are to be found in the book *Things as They are*. Even as we prepare this section there comes the good news that the evil of the *devādāsīs* is to be dealt with by legislative action. Let us hope all India's legislators will have a baptism of the needed courage. For India's villages know all too well about stories of little girls who have been drugged and poisoned, and even worse, in order that their rescuers might not realize their heart's desire of saving them from a life of shame; stories of girl-widows becoming mentally deranged by reason of the nature of the penalty meted out to them for showing any inclination to go to the friends of the Gentle Jesus; stories of little Indian widows 'tied up in a sack'; stories of 'a hidden wrong' best described by the Indian proverb: 'Let her weep, though she weeps, will a widow's sorrow pass?' Amid it all Miss Carmichael has to say: 'There are times in the heart-histories of all who look far enough down to see what goes on under the surface of things, when the sorrow takes shape in the Prophet's cry, "We have not wrought any deliverance in the earth" (Isaiah 26: 18). It is true. We have not. . . . But we believe to see Him work.' Of one of these infants we read that 'she heard the Brahmins whisper together about her; . . . she was to be "married to the god, tied to a stone." Terrified, she flew to the temple, slipped past the Brahmins, crossed the court, stood before the god in the dim half-darkness of the shrine, clasped her hands,—she showed us how,—prayed to it, pleaded, "Let me die! Oh let me die!" Barely seven years old, and she prayed, "Oh let me die."' All of which statements have been confirmed by discussions on this and kindred topics in the Legislative Councils of India and during the noble campaign by Indian reformers in and around Poona many years ago.

Deified Sin

(4) At the heading of one of her chapters Miss Carmichael has put the title, 'Deified Devilry,' and the chapter is made to begin with the following from another great-hearted woman who pleaded the wrongs of Indian womanhood, viz., Mrs Fuller, a consecrated woman who worked in Maharashtra half a century ago and who

wrote as follows : ' Next to the sacrificers, they (the temple-women) are the most important persons about the temple. That a temple intended as a place of worship, and attended by hundreds of simple-hearted men and women, should be so polluted, and that in the name of religion, is almost beyond belief ; and that Indian boys should grow up to manhood, accustomed to see immorality shielded in these temples with a divine cloak, makes our hearts grow sick and faint.' Of a girl who had been ' betrothed as a baby of four to a lad considerably older ' Miss Carmichael writes that later ' the coils of that snake of deified sin had twisted round the boy As the little innocent girls are never married, " except to the god who never dies," they can never become widows.' Thank God that an increasing army of India's own sons and daughters are resolved that they will take no rest until such religious reform is initiated in connection with India's temples of religion as shall sweep these enormities from beloved India. The aim of Indian Christian leaders must be to fortify the convictions of all Indian champions of temple-reform, and to urge recognition of the fact that only He Who assures a complete inward regeneration can achieve for India this and other reforms. ' Ye must born again, born of the Spirit of God ' : this must be the motto of all India's social workers.

The Chasm Between Philosophical and Practical Hinduism

(5) One of the most important factors to be remembered by all who would understand Hinduism and help India out of the morass of its idolatry is the unbridgeable chasm between the philosophical Hinduism of the scholars and the everyday Hinduism as practised in India's three quarters of a million villages. This yawning chasm between Hinduism in theory and in practice is strikingly illustrated in the contrast presented by the scheme of thought set forth in Professor Radhakrishnan's books, *The Hindu View of Life* and his later volumes, and in revolting scenes our own eyes have witnessed around Hindu temples, scenes which abundantly justify all those expletives and explosions of anger seen in such Indian journals as are anxious for religious reform in connection with India's temples and caste-practices. If Hindu philosophers, or Theosophical ones either, wish to help India's broken-down humanity upward and Godward, they must cease to bewilder men by their ' fog-wreaths of doubt, in blinding eddies drifted,' and must strive to show the relation between their well-spun theories and those brutalities inflicted in the name of Hinduism within the shadow of so many of its temples. No wonder Gandhiji has denounced many of these temples as homes of sin. Here let us emphasize that though in the interests of truth we have extolled the virtues of Maharashtra's Poet Saints, that does not mean we are blind to the fact that while these Poet Saints number their followers by thousands, the devotees of the village gods are numbered by their millions, with cruelty, terror and vice resulting.

The Noble and the Ignoble

(6) This distinction between Hindu theory and Hindu practice, needs to be borne in mind by no one more constantly than by the Christian worker, whether in district, educational, medical, or any other kind of work. The *Dnyanodaya*, during our three decades of editing, has not been backward in reminding its readers of that noble element in some Hindu poets which offers a point of contact for the Christian message, and if we have not always drawn attention to India's wrongs in as scalding terminology as some readers would wish, it has been because an increasing number of India's own devoted workers of every creed are doing this themselves today as never before, and because we interpret the mission of the Christian Church to be that of directing the Indian mind to a remedy rather than that of dilating upon India's sins. (For no true missionary can ever forget the sins of the West.) Nevertheless, both these factors, the noble and the ignoble, are ever to be kept in view if we are to minister to India the truly soul-saving and nation-building remedy. It is, indeed, the mingling of the noble and the ignoble that makes Hinduism such a baffling problem to all who would sympathetically understand its place in India's future. In the same Tamil Hindu country where one of its poets sings,

*Cling thou to that which He to Whom nought clings hath bid thee cling
Cling to that bond, to get thee free from every clinging thing*

—in that same Tamil Hindu country, things have taken place in this enlightened age which would be unbelievable were they not happenings of every day. Hence the deep impatience of India's progressive journals with the British Government in India for the cautious methods so often advocated on needed social reforms. Let all Indian Christian workers learn therefore from Walker of Tinnevely the spirit in which to face a difficulty: ' If the magnitude of a force can be estimated in any sense by the resistance which it has to overcome, then verily there is no land under the sun more calculated than India to display the Grand Forces of God's Omnipotent Grace. For here it has to face and overcome the combined resistances of the Caste system, and deeply subtle philosophies. Praise God ! it can and will be done. Thou, Who alone doest wondrous things, work on.'

The ' Double ' Life and Its Drag on India's Progress

(7) There are not a few encouraging signs among Indian leaders of an increasing realisation of the need for a complete cessation of the double moral life so many leaders have lived, and against which no more earnest protests have been made than by those three lamented Indian leaders, Justice Ranade, Sir Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, and Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, not to mention the names of living men of note in India. Upon this need, the Indian Christian Church must insist at all cost, in season and out of season, if we are to

help in fortifying Indian fellow-workers in their lonely fight for worthy ideals. One supreme need of religious and social reform in every land is that reformers themselves must set a worthy example both in their own personal lives and in their own domestic and religious practices. It needs plainly to be pointed out again and again, as certain fearless Indian journals are already pointing out, that for lack of such exemplary life and practice some of India's greatest movements lag behind. Because of the continuance of this double life, and the continuance of the sad gap between conviction and action, not a few in India today are sinning against their consciences in the matter of personal religion and, what is more, in the important matter of their own personal relation to Jesus Christ. Hence, surely because of this double life, we have the ludicrous incongruity of some thinkers affirming philosophically that there is only one God, and yet themselves and their followers worshipping several gods, without seeing anything contradictory in such a position. Thank God India has travelled some distance since 1903 when Miss Carmichael could write: 'Government officials, English-speaking graduates, educated Hindus would all admit in private that to take a child to the temple and "marry her" there was wrong, but very few have much desire to right the shameful wrong.' The 'very few' would need considerable modification now, but otherwise the sentence is all too true in substance, and that is why leaders like Gandhiji so often lash their fellow-countrymen for their 'apathy' regarding India's social wrongs, too often perpetrated in the name of religion. One of the ablest arguments we ever heard in favour of Indian independence was a speech in the All-India Legislative Assembly by a speaker who argued that an Indian National Government will make short work of what has been too frequently the official appeal for delay in the form of circulating to Provincial Governments, in that particular case the urgent need of reform in the matter of the *devadasis* or temple-women.

Need for Unsparing Condemnation

(8) All Christian workers in India need to go yet one step further if they are to fulfil their highest mission to India. They must condemn unsparingly, and persuade those who have India's ear to join them in such a crusade against everything pertaining to idolatry and other religious practices which have been the cause of India's degeneration. One advantage of the 'Hindu view of life' being put forth nowadays is that on the basis of such a 'view' every worthy Hindu can join in a crusade for religious reform long overdue. Inspired by such a view they will themselves remove, though in no iconoclastic spirit, from India's temple surroundings those 'piles of old dead gods' which are to be seen up and down India, 'bundled away behind the central shrine—stone gods, mere headless stumps; wooden gods with limbs lopped off; clay gods, mere lumps of mud; mutilated and neglected, worn-out old gods.' The words are those

of Miss Carmichael, than whom no-one has worked harder or more sympathetically for India's uplift these past fifty years; and then she quotes:

Gods bereaved, gods belated,
With your purples rent asunder!
Gods discrowned and desecrated,
Disinherited of thunder!

It is matter for rich encouragement that there is many an Indian journal today that could appropriate as its own these words as part of its campaign of religious reform and social reconstruction in India's idol-ridden villages. And the earnest concern of India's Church must increasingly be that such Indian reformers shall not lose their faith in Hinduism without coming to have a soul-transfiguring faith in Christ. Such men would heartily agree with one of Miss Carmichael's most scalding sentences, used in relation to a Hindu 'holy man' who was making a 'devil's toy' of 'a beautiful child of five' in the 'monastery near the temple'; of him she says: 'Safer far a tiger's den than that man's monastery.'

Deliverance by the Spirit of Jesus

(9) No-one who has followed the *Dnyanodaya* columns in recent decades will suspect us of being unsympathetic towards Indian religious literature, for it has been one of our axioms that the saving message of Jesus must, *as far as possible* (note the saving clause!) be conveyed to India in the language of its own poets and singers. But we would repeat what we have so often insisted upon, viz., that there is a definite limit to the usefulness of this method. One of the great truths of the New Testament, for example, that of the Christian's inward union with Christ, is easily comprehended by the Indian mind in view of so much in India's own religious books about union with God, and hence the New Testament phrase, 'Christ in me,' can without difficulty be illumined by the use of India's own terminology, adding the needed new moral and spiritual content which Jesus and His apostles set forth. That other wonderful New Testament truth concerning the Indwelling of the Spirit of Christ in the soul, is rightly regarded as being analogous, within certain limits, to the remarkable Indian phrase, 'the indwelling of the Deity in the lotus of the heart.' At the same time we have always need to bear in mind what those limitations are, e.g., the nature of 'the Deity' referred to, in the last example by any particular Indian writer who may be quoting the phrase. And there is need ever to be watchful against another danger, that of creating unhelpful confusion, especially in certain immature types of mind in the Indian Church. Miss Amy Wilson-Carmichael expressed it well when she said: 'Put the truth of God's relation to the soul subjectively—"He that hath the Son hath life"—before thoughtful Hindus and they will be perfectly enchanted; and perhaps, to your sudden surprise and joy, they will say, that is exactly what they are

prepared to believe.....But probably by trading on words and expressions which are already part of the Hindu terminology, and which suggest to them materialistic ideas, we may seriously mislead and be misled. *We need to understand not only what the Hindu says, but also what his words mean to himself, a very different thing.* We have italicised the last sentence as being of special importance to all who in these days would really understand and help India. And in view of the emphasis in Hinduism on *future* salvation by the various devious routes suggested, the Christian worker must insist upon the essential contrast of the Christian message which offers deliverance *now*. 'Sin shall not have dominion over you.' At the Cross of Jesus we have the guarantee of such a promise being fulfilled in daily personal experience, for 'Christ ransomed us.....so that by faith we might received the promised Spirit' (*Galatians 3: 13-14*). The Christian message emphatically teaches that none but the Spirit of Christ can effect within the soul present and permanent deliverance from sin's power and pollution.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ARYA SAMAJIST BIBLE

(1) In *The Indian Social Reformer* of November 30, 1946, readers were informed that 'three great religious reform movements during the last one hundred and fifty years have transformed Hinduism,' and that 'the *first* in order was the Brahmo Samaj.' Many of the Brahmo Samaj principles we have reviewed in our sections dealing with Dr. Radhakrishnan, and further instalments of those principles, though under Prarthana Samaj guise, will come before us in our later sections on Maharashtra's poet saints. In what was to appear in history as the *third* of the Hindu reform movements, 'Swami Vivekananda himself called his mission one of dynamic Hinduism,' seen at work today in many beneficent activities of the Ramakrishna Mission both in India and America. The Advaita Ashram in Calcutta has brought out a neat little book under the title *Thoughts of Power* by Swami Vivekananda (price eight annas), from which the *Reformer* quoted some *Thoughts*, among them the following:—'I accept all religions that were in the past, and worship with them all.....the mosque of the Mahomedan,.....the Christian Church and kneel before the crucifix; I shall enter the Buddhistic temple.' We wonder if as he knelt 'before the crucifix' he learned to 'never mind failures;... they are the beauty of life.' In such a trifling view of sin, the 'great religious reform' would appear to be seen mainly in dissolution, a process helped on by what comes to light in our next quotation: 'Mother India. Let all other vain gods disappear.....This is the only god that is awake.' By this time of course there would seem to have disappeared from the religious horizon that great Commandment which has become one of the foundation stones of a stable civilization: 'Thou shalt have no other gods in front of Me' (*Exodus xx. 3*). At least it can be said with safety that any religion sinning against God's unique Personality and forgetting the spirituality of God's Nature has said good-bye to the possibility of being 'dynamic,' and to the permanent likelihood of 'doing good to others' about which the Swami beautifully said, 'this is my religion.' Of the 'three great religious reform movements' the *second* in historical order was the Arya Samaj said to be 'a reversion to the sacrificial religion of the Vedas' and 'designed to counteract Islamic influence.' Some of the methods of 'counteracting' we shall see below.

A Book Overlooked by the Marathi-Speaking Church

(2) (i) Our own personal conviction is that in Maharashtra there is little or no spirit of anti-Christ. We emphasize this latter term, although it would be equally true to say that there are many criticisms of what is loosely described as 'Churchianity' (by which is meant

unworthy aspects of Church life and work), and even against 'Christianity' (imperfect presentations of Christian truths or over-emphasis of Church dogmas). Against Jesus Himself we ourselves have found no animosity; on the contrary the likeness of Jesus and the principles of Jesus are always admired. (ii) One force at work in the minds of those Hindu leaders who oppose the organized work of the Churches as mere proselytizing (or mere zeal to show increases in Church or Mission statistics) is due to a Hindu book which until a Marathi translation appeared in recent years has been almost utterly neglected by the Christian forces at work in Maharashtra's more than 22,000 villages. That book is called the *Satyarth Prakash*. Our proof of its being overlooked was the almost complete ignorance concerning the book on the part of those who came for theological training between 1930 and 1946 in Poona. It is with a view to calling the attention of Churches and Missions in Maharashtra to the *Satyarth Prakash* that we include a chapter on the subject. (iii) Christian workers in every part of India, especially in those parts of India where the *bhakti* type of Hinduism is dominant, as in Maharashtra, can never afford to forget the reminder given by that great scholar Professor F. C. Burkitt in his 1904 London book on *Early Eastern Christianity*, that one cause of the failure to lead the peoples of Eastern lands to Christ was intellectual cowardice on the part of Christian leaders in those lands. (iv) The book called *Satyarth Prakash* is important for at least three reasons: *First*, it sets forth the most militant type of Hinduism (or perhaps of any religion) known in India; it has been one real cause of the Hindu-Muslim conflict which is so gravely hindering India's progress in several directions. *Secondly*, it maintains positions on idolatry, caste and intolerance which are probably far more widely accepted in India than the Indian Christian Church has yet realized. *Thirdly*, from its attitude to, and its misunderstanding of, Jesus Christ and the New Testament, Christian missionaries and Indian Christian workers may learn valuable lessons on the imperative need of rightly presenting Jesus Christ and the truth concerning the gift of His Holy Spirit to India's four hundred million people. (v) We need to learn from Dr. Coomaraswamy, who some years ago stated in *The International Review of Missions*, 'Jesus Christ came not to destroy but to fulfil, and God Who at sundry times and in divers places spake to His children in India, does not desire that His word to our fathers should be made of none effect'. In so far as the Indian Church is true to her calling, then, 'in the same manner as the ancient philosophy of the Greeks was consecrated to Christ, the Indian Church will make an effort to present her thought to the world sanctified and made complete by the power of the Living Christ.'

India's Peace Endangered By a Religious Text-Book

(3) The banning since November 1944 by the Sind Government, of the Hindu publication called *Satyarth Prakash* unless chapter 14

(which attacks Mohammed and Islam) is eliminated, illumines as by a flash of lightning one religious cause of India's political unrest. Therein lay the gravity of the Sind Government's decision, and an explanation why the Central All-India Assembly at Delhi on Nov. 7, 1944, refused by 55 votes to 15 even to discuss so delicate a question. There can be no doubt that the religious bitterness engendered all over India by the controversy about this nearly 70-year-old Hindu book has been one of the serious factors underlying the disastrous feud between Hindus and Muslims in the Indian political sphere; and since this political animosity is one of the biggest obstacles to India's progress in every direction it is worth while our examining briefly the religious value of this book. *Satyarth Prakash* is the name of the book which translated into English is called *Light of Truth*. It extends, with prefatory matter and index, to seven hundred pages. The author was Swami Dayanand Saraswati (1824-1883) the founder of the Arya Samaj who was born in Morvi State in Kathiawar as Mula Shankar in 1824, his father being a Shaivite Hindu named Amba Shankar. The first edition had ten chapters only and was published in 1875, the second edition now in use added new chapters attacking other faiths and was published in 1884, Dayanand having completed it in 1882. Our references are based on the English translation, the 1927 third edition; and we regret to have to add that this is defaced by hundreds of misprints and grammatical errors. There is also a Marathi edition, though abbreviated, which we believe to be read in villages all over Western India. Our aim in this article is to present a few facts illustrating both aspects of the matter, viz., those wherein the author may have contributed something to the 'Light of Truth' and those wherein he has turned that light into darkness. For there *are* facts on both sides.

Caricatures of Islam

(4) It is a tragedy that Dayanand did not limit his book to the religion and philosophy of his own Hindu people; though even here we cannot afford to forget the words of Dr. H. C. E. Zacharias in his *Renascent India* (p. 37), that Dayanand's arguments 'were those of a semi-educated person' and the Arya Samaj 'doctrine borders on the grotesque,' being 'a curious amalgam of rationalism, utilitarianism, nationalism and Hindu traditional ideology' (p. 37). When we come to Dayanand's sections dealing with Muslims and Christians, the case is even worse, for as Dr. Zacharias points out, 'If Dayanand is capable of such puerilities in the case of Hindu scriptures, one can imagine what treatment the Bible and the Koran (both of which he only knew in Hindu translations) received at his hands' (p. 38). The chapter on what Dayanand calls 'Mohammadanism' (a title which very many Muslims resent because of its description of their religion by mention of a man's name, whereas Muslims regard their religion as a vindication and exaltation of God's sole sovereignty), this chapter

is rank with bitter poison from beginning to end, and its references to Mohammed are calculated to infuriate all devout Muslims. So much indeed is this the case that we do not know which is the more amazing, the Hindu insistence on the retention of such a poisonous chapter, or the importance that the Muslims attach to such prejudice and passion as this chapter shows.

Dayanand's Attacks on the Bible

(5) The same indecencies, trivialities and literalisms so mar Dayanand's 27 pages of attack on the New Testament that we do not propose to give them any further publicity by dealing with them. It is a great tribute to the tolerant spirit of Jews in India that they have borne in silence the 27 pages of insult and indecency concerning their sacred book, the Old Testament. As long ago as 1892 Dr. Griswold of Lahore said of Dayanand's pages on Islam and Christianity: 'For extreme unfairness, for inability to state the position of opponents without caricature, and for general crudeness, these sections can hardly be matched in the whole literature of religious controversy.'¹ So true is this that we believe any worthy influence of Dayanand's book, *Satyarth Prakash*, would be helped by the elimination of the last four chapters added in the second edition.

The Sin of Idolatry

(6) One great constructive contribution by Dayanand Saraswati, and one which some would regard as his most enduring, is his unyielding emphasis on the position that 'idolatry is a sin.' Dayanand's revolt against idolatry dates back to one of the most interesting incidents in the recorded history of Hinduism. At the age of 14 during the ceremony of his initiation into the mysteries of Shaivite Hinduism, Dayanand saw mice running over the image of Shiva, thereby defiling it; whereupon Dayanand told his father: 'I feel it impossible to reconcile the idea of an omnipotent, living God, with this idol, which allows the mice to run upon its body, and thus suffers its image to be polluted without the slightest protest.'² His unsparing condemnation of idolatry Dayanand maintained in face of all orthodox Hindu arguments. Here are some of his sentences: 'God, being Formless and Omnipresent, cannot have an image' (p. 351). 'The Formless Supreme Spirit that pervades the universe can have no material representation, likeness or image.' *Yajur Veda* 32-3 (p. 355). 'Offer thy worship to the Being that cannot be seen with eyes, and yet He it is from whom the power of sight is derived' (p. 355). 'He

¹ From Dayanand's *Autobiography* first published in the *Theosophist* in October and December 1879 and November 1880, and now in the Introduction (pp. 2-3) to the English translation of the *Satyarth Prakash* by Durga Prasad. ² *Indian Evangelical Review*, January, 1892, quoted by Dr. Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, p. 113.

is indivisible. Hence idol-worship is a sin' (p. 358). 'Free and promiscuous mixing together of the sexes in the temples leads to adultery' (p. 359). 'Money is given away to wicked priests who spend it on debauchery and the gratification of the bestial appetites' (p. 359). The foregoing excerpts summarize ten long pages of Dayanand's condemnation of idolatry which Christian preachers will find most useful. And yet on page 361 we read: 'No form of idol-worship is permissible, *but the worship of the five living gods is our duty*;' and by the 'five gods' Dayanand means '(1) mother, (2) father, (3) the teacher who bestows knowledge, (4) the altruistic teacher of humanity..... thereby making people happy, and (5) the husband for the wife and the wife for the husband.' Our space-limits forbid detailed discussion, except to point out that in emphasizing Dayanand's opposition to idol-worship, many people *appear* to overlook his allowance of '*the worship of the five gods*': this is his own phrase and it is printed in italics.

Arya Samajists and Social Reform

(7) Yet, notwithstanding the truth of the foregoing facts, impartiality and fairness to Dayanand Saraswati and to the Arya Samaj he founded demand that we emphasize their encouragement of Indian Social Reform. One of the most striking proofs of this is supplied by the author of the well known Sarda Act the full title of which is 'the Child Marriage Restraint Act of 1929,' the law which forbids the marriage of Indian girls below 14 and of Indian boys below 18. Sir Har Bilas Sarda who introduced this beneficent Bill is himself an Arya Samajist, whose principles led him to bring in the Bill raising the marriage age in India. So drastic indeed was Dayanand's criticism of certain Hindu customs that in one place he says: 'The horoscope should be called the sorrowscope.' And so very far-reaching has been the influence of Dayanand in the social reform sphere that it is all the more regrettable there are so many facts supporting those who hold the view that Dayanand's movement to reform caste *can* be explained from nationalistic motives or as a counterblast to Islam and the Christian message.

Intolerance and Fanaticism

(8) This book around which the Indian battle rages all over the land is described by certain Hindus as 'a sacred book of liberal Hinduism and Hindu culture.' The following facts (chosen out of many) will suffice to indicate not only the anger roused alike in the Hindu Mahasabha and in the Muslim League, but also something of the history that lies behind the continued banning of the book by the Sind Government, at least up to the time of our writing, in January 1947. (i) In December 1943 the Muslim League passed a unanimous and strongly worded resolution demanding that the Indian Central

Government should have the last three chapters of the *Satyarth Prakash* expunged: chapter 12 on Buddhism and Jainism, chapter 13 on Christianity and chapter 14 on Islam. This resolution was recommended to the Muslim League by Mr. Jinnah himself. (ii) The violence of the Hindu resentment against this Muslim resolution was shown at a Hindu Mahasabha meeting when Mr. Chand Karan Sharda Rajasthan, alluding to the Muslim threat to make every sacrifice for the proscription of the book, declared that if the Muslims adopted the attitude of Aurangzeb (A.D. 1618-1707), the Hindus would have to play the role of Shivaji (A.D. 1630-1680); they would offer *satyagraha* and fight with all their might. (iii) A long statement of nearly three thousand words issued early in 1944 over the signature of the President of the International Aryan League in Delhi disclosed among other things that a certain Moulvi of Sind had warned the Sind Government that if they failed to proscribe the book, the Muslims throughout India would be compelled to start *satyagraha*; that the Muslim Home Minister of the Sind Government had said that the Sind Government after taking the opinion of their legal advisers had referred the matter to the Government of India since it was an all India question, and that he had expressed the view that since *Satyarth Prakash* was not a scriptural book it *could be proscribed*. (iv) An outbreak of *religious fanaticism* took place at Lahore in the last week of May 1944 when some carts laden with unbound copies of *Satyarth Prakash* were set on fire and the Hindu in charge of the carts (who was to marry within a week's time) was stabbed while attempting to extinguish the fire and died from his injuries later. (v) Most deeply regrettable of all was the fact that Gandhiji advised individual *satyagraha* against the banning of this book.

A Moral Blot on Dayanand's Book

(9) The gravest blot on Dayanand Saraswati's *Satyarth Prakash*, and it is a blot that besmirches the book from beginning to end, is the flagrant way the sexual factor obtrudes upon its pages. This alone makes it impossible to discuss the book openly here. One example must suffice and we give it in the words of the most trusted scholars. Says Dr. Farquhar: 'A careful reading of the *Satyarth Prakash* shows that the ethical system of the (Arya) Samaj is crude in the extreme.... It is in its marriage laws that the book goes farthest astray..... The law of *niyoga* is laid down. *Niyoga* is simply sexual relationship without marriage. The details are too horrible to transcribe. They may be seen in the book. In 1892 some Aryas brought a law suit against a Hindu who wrote against *niyoga* calling it adultery, but the case was dismissed. One is glad to hear that many members of the Samaj would now like to repudiate this most immoral legislation which is equally repulsive to the Hindu and Christian'.¹ From the

¹ Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, p. 122.

impartial and restrained pages of the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (Vol. 2, p. 60) we take the following:—'Ethically, there is one doctrine of the Arya Samaj which is most objectionable. This is the doctrine of *Niyoga*, which may be described as a virtual recognition of the principle of free love, sanctified by a temporary arrangement. Thus, in the English translation of the *Satyarth Prakash* (ch. iv, p. 150), we read: "A man may also contract *Niyoga* with eleven women (one after the other) just as a woman may enter into a relation of *Niyoga* with eleven men (one after the other)." . . . The motives which underlie this concession are twofold: (1) the duty of perpetuating the male line of a family, and (2) the desirability of legitimizing an errant passion and so preventing adultery and illicit intimacies.' Does not Gandhiji overlook this moral blot on this book when he writes in the *Harijan*, as shown below?

'Sindh Bans Satyarth Prakash'. By M. K. Gandhi

(10) 'One had thought that the ban on *Satyarth Prakash* had lapsed, never to be renewed. But the hope was a dupe. Here is the renewed ban: "Whereas it appears to the Government of Sindh that Chapter xiv of the book in Sindhi entitled *Satyarth Prakash* contains matter which promotes feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subjects: Now, therefore in exercise of the powers conferred by Section 99-A of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, the Government of Sindh hereby declares to be forfeited to His Majesty every copy wherever found of the book in Sindhi entitled *Satyarth Prakash* written by Swami Dayanand Saraswati and published by Professor Tarachand D. Gajra, M.A., on behalf of the Pratinidhi Sabha, Sindh, Karachi, and all other documents containing copies, reprints or translations of, or extracts from, Chapter xiv of the said book on the grounds that in the said chapter the author, (a) ridicules some of the religious beliefs of the Muslims; (b) misrepresents and reviles the teachings of the *Quran*; (c) attacks and belittles the authority of the Prophet Mohammed; and (d) generally contains matter calculated to hurt and which hurts, the religious susceptibilities of Muslims." It is wider in application than before. The lapsed ban made it criminal to print or publish the book containing Chapter xiv. The renewed ban makes the possession of such a copy a crime. I cannot help feeling that the ban is senseless and is calculated to wound the susceptibilities of the Arya Samajists all the world over. *Satyarth Prakash* enjoys the same status for the Arya Samajists as the *Quran* for the Muslims and the Bible for the Christians. It is possible to understand a ban on contemporaneous controversial literature, though at this time of the day popular Governments are reluctant even then to use their power. But it seems to be mischievous to ban a scriptural book. I would, therefore, urge the Sindh Government to withdraw the ban in question. The Sindhi translation of *Satyarth Prakash* is not a new publication. Is it to be contended that a book that has passed through

so many editions and has been translated in most of the languages of the world has been now found to contain matter "which promotes feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subjects"? The virtue of toleration is never strained, especially in matters of religion. Differences of religious opinion will persist to the end of time; toleration is the only thing that will enable persons belonging to different religions to live as good neighbours and friends. Religion never suffers by reason of the criticism fair or foul of critics; it always suffers from the laxity or indifference of its followers. *New Delhi*, 26-10-'46. (From *Harijan*, Nov. 3, 1946, p. 383).

Christ's Message concerning Sin

(11) Objectionable and dangerous is the fact that in denouncing many of the indescribably unclean practices of many of his countrymen, Dayanand has yet so flaunted these practices that the moral effect of his well meant denunciations is largely lost. A sufficient illustration of this is his condemnation of the eighteen Hindu *Puranas* by means of far too detailed references to their unclean stories. If Dayanand had put himself to school with the sinless Christ, Whom we regret to say he ridicules, he would have learned that one of the most effective ways to denounce evil is *never* to flaunt it before the gaze of an irreverent world. This indeed is one imperfect method that all Christian workers in India may learn from Dayanand *not* to imitate. And there are other lessons also. One of them is to avoid as far as possible the controversial method in all work for Christ, and another is that whenever the controversial method is forced upon us we ought to avoid putting the worst possible construction on statements of the other side. On the other hand we can never make a mistake if we imitate the method of Jesus: 'Repent' was the emphasis He gave (Mark 1. 14). It was also the emphasis of the message inspired by the Holy Spirit (Acts 2. 38). For we are all sinners in God's pure sight, whether we be Christians or Jews, Hindus or Muslims, and despite Dayanand's vehement dogmatism that God does *not* forgive sins,¹ there are millions of those who were once Muslims or Hindus or Jews who say there *is* forgiveness with God through His loving Son, a forgiveness assured to us by the Indwelling Spirit of the Lord Himself, 'the Spirit of Truth.'

A Blackness Unrelieved

(12) Three observations remain: one based on many things Dayanand's book says; another on what it fails to say; and a third on caste. On the *first*, in recent years missionaries and Indian Christian leaders have sometimes been charged with painting the

¹ 'Forgiveness is for ever impossible' is Dr. Farquhar's putting of Dayanand's position on this vital question. (Farquhar, *M.R.M.I.*, p. 114.)

religious life of popular Hinduism of India's villages too dark and they have occasionally been charged with prejudice. But those who will compare the picture drawn by Christian writers with that drawn by Dayanand Saraswati will feel that the latter's description of popular Hinduism, and in particular his account of the influence of the eighteen *Puranas* (the *Bhagwat Puran* especially) is far more sombre as showing the degrading teaching on which Indian villages are daily fed.

A Message Undiscovered

(13) On our second remaining point, if leaders of the Christian Movement in India need an illustration of how far a Hindu *Swami* can be from understanding the real message and work of Jesus, let them read the *Satyarth Prakash* from this point of view. They will not find one single reference in the book to the Saviour's gift of His Holy Spirit, *that inward dynamic power imparted by Jesus as the secret of daily transfiguration into His own likeness*. That so dynamic a message should have remained undiscovered is a tragedy. The few references to the Cross, and all of them so mistaken, show how far a professed teacher of men, indeed the founder of what many regard as a new religious creed (as the Arya Samaj is sometimes regarded), can be from understanding the most overwhelming manifestation the world has ever had of the Love and Holiness of God. These omissions help to explain how it is that at least one reader feels one result of the historic book called *Satyarth Prakash* has been to darken the 'Light of Truth' for India's needy millions. That same reader is deeply moved as he recalls the fact that at the close of a long Himalayan pilgrimage in quest of peace Dayanand Saraswati had to record that he had not found what he was looking for. Of what he *did* find he says: 'It was not what I sought for.'

'Satyarth Prakash' and Caste

(14) Finally, despite Swami Dayanand Saraswati's polemic against caste, so very impartial a work as *The Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* can say (in vol. 2, p. 61) that 'comparatively few members of the Arya Samaj have broken caste.' Indeed the incident is on record that 'a low-caste man wanted to send his son to the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College at Lahore, but there was so much opposition that the authorities kept him out.'¹ It is even affirmed 'that although Dayanand received large numbers of Muslims into Hinduism by the *Shuddhi* (or purification) ceremony, there is no case on record of his having accepted any member of the Depressed or Untouchable Classes.' Nor can Dayanand be freed from blame for the inconsistencies of those Arya Samajists who are still bound by caste, when we remember his 'interpretation of the Vedas which is not recognized as legitimate

¹ Farquhar, *M. R. M. I.*, p. 127.

by a single Sanskrit scholar, either Indian or European, outside of the Arya Samaj' (*E. R. E.*, vol. 2, p. 59); and when we remember his 'retention of the doctrine of Transmigration and Karma' in the Vedas; for as Dr. Farquhar has said, 'so long as that remains, a healthy Monotheism is impossible and caste cannot be rooted out.'¹ Nor, in view of Dayanand's teaching, can he be absolved from blame for what has been called 'the broth in the witches' cauldron' in connection with the militant campaign of Hindu *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* seen in the re-Hinduizing of whole castes lapsed into Islam, a movement that is sometimes described euphoniously as one for 'a casteless Hinduism.' It was in connection with this movement that the fanatic's knife ended the life of Shraddhanandaji in December 1927. No wonder the powers-that-be 'have never been quite happy about the Arya Samaj' (as Lala Lajpat Rai once said); for although Dayanand 'wanted to eliminate the differences of caste and class' yet it was largely because of the *Shuddhi* movement he initiated, that 'rowdyism entered Indian public life.' So said Dr. H. C. E. Zacharias, who still paid the Arya Samaj the tribute of being 'a religious force working for social reform.' The history of the past few decades demonstrates the fact that the work of *Shuddhi*, whereby a Muslim is 'purified' so as to become a Hindu, has gravely hindered the sacred cause of Indian *Swaraj*, because of the disrupting influence of *Shuddhi* on Hindu-Muslim relations.

¹ *M. R. M. I.*, p. 127.

CHAPTER IX

'THE POET SAINTS OF MAHARASHTRA' SERIES SUMMARIZED

Twelve Volumes on Hindu 'Bhakti' Poets

(1) In the twelfth volume of the *Poet Saints of Maharashtra* Series, the volume entitled *Dnyāneshwar the Out-Caste Brāhmin*, on pages 503-4, we have already told the story of how this series had its beginning in fifteen articles we secured from Dr. Justin Abbott for the weekly *Dnyanodaya* in 1921 setting forth the *bhakti* (devotional) spirit of the Maratha people and their leading poets. Half the series, consisting of 1,616 pages, had been published, and the draft of the basic translation from Marathi into English had been prepared, before the task fell into the hands of the present writer whose task it was to prepare for the press the 2,973 pages of the remaining six volumes. Concerning the literary and spiritual beauty of the Poet Saints and their defective aspects these dozen volumes with their introductions speak for themselves. They are an abiding monument to the scholarship and Christlike character of Dr. Justin Abbott who brought out the first volumes in quick succession in 1926-28, Dr. Nicol Macnicol being the skilful Poona proof-reader.

Volume 1. Bhānudās (A.D. 1448-1512)

(2) The first volume, which bears the title of *Bhānudās*, a poet who lived from A.D. 1448 to 1512, sets forth this earnest *bhakta* as intensely devoted to the idol Vitthal or Vithoba of Pandharpur. He was a Vedantist and a strict monotheist who emphasized God's moral character and impartiality. He regarded a clean personal moral life as obligatory. That anyone devoted to an image should hold such an ethical ideal is one of the many surprises we meet with in the Poet Saints of Western India.

Volume 2. Eknāth (A.D. 1548-1609)

(3) The life-story of the noble Eknāth in the sixteenth century, the great grandson of Bhānudās, is the subject of the second volume. A whole set of surprises greets us in Eknāth, for while 'his strong conviction was that there is no deity superior to the Brahmin' (p. 73), yet Eknāth could also say: 'Though a Brahmin may be adorned with the twelve noble qualities, yet an out-caste can be superior to him' (p. 142). The remarkable way Eknāth transcended such contradictions and defied current opinion we shall see later. Suffice to say here that 'Eknāth's writings are specially emphatic on the importance of internal and external moral purity' (p. 276).

Volume 3. 'Bhikshugītā' (The Mendicant's Song)

(4) This *third* volume tells the tender story of a converted miser in 1,004 Marathi verses based on 63 verses from chapter 23 of the *Bhāgavata Purāna* the most popular of the 18 Hindu *Purānas* and probably dated about A.D. 900. In parabolic form Eknāth describes 'the life of a miser, his methods of gaining wealth, his penuriousness, his eventual loss of all, his disgrace, his dire poverty, and then his conversion, followed by insults and persecution Eknāth has also developed in this *Song* his thoughts on the evil results of the lust for wealth, how rightly to use wealth' (p. 14). It is thought possible that Eknāth is here telling the story of his own religious aspiration.

Volume 4. Dāsopant Digambar

The fourth book is called *Dāsopant Digambar* (A.D. 1551-1615) which illustrates two leading principles of the Hindu *bhakti* school. *First*, 'the *bhakti* school of thought has always represented God as very near to His *bhaktas*, ready at any moment to rush to their rescue ;' *second*, 'all the Maratha saints, and all their biographers, have believed without any question in the quality of the *Puranic* stories such as are found in *Dāsopant*' (pp. v-vi), despite impure aspects. Let it be noted that the latter part of each of the first four volumes on the Poet Saints (except the *Eknāth* volume) consists of the Marathi text which supplies the basis of the English translation, thus supplying an excellent study-book for all foreign students of the subject. The extensive materials in the *Eknāth* volume made it impossible to add the Marathi text.

Why Study the Poet Saints ?

(5) We have already said enough to show why on November 22, 1928 we wrote showing the value of these volumes about the Poet Saints to all educated Indian Christian and missionary workers, though at that time we had not the slightest idea that it was in the divine plan that we should later become responsible for this series in any way. In the *Dnyanodaya* issue No. 47 of volume 87 (on the date mentioned above) we stated in our review of the first four volumes of the *Poet Saints* Series: 'Every student of the Marathi language should have all the volumes in this series on the Poet Saints, for they offer an ideal method not only of understanding the thought and religion of the people among whom we labour, but also of keeping up our study of the Marathi language with its literary treasures such as these volumes reveal So valuable do we regard these books that we trust the day is not far distant when it will be regarded as necessary to know their contents as it is to receive a certificate of having passed an examination in the Marathi language. For if it is all-important that we missionaries should be able to speak the language of the people to whom we are sent, and to speak it a great deal better than we do, it is also important that we know the contents of those

sacred books that are being read and sung in the thousands of Deccan villages by the poorest of the poor as well as by the educated among them. We know we are in grave danger of being misunderstood on this matter but that we cannot help, for we yield to no one in our insistence on the necessity to preach the verities of the Gospel as we have ourselves experienced them in Jesus Christ, and if we do not share with others the blessings Christ has given us we are untrue to Him. Yet at the same time it is our duty to find out all we can about the religion and experience of those to whom we preach if we would indeed couch our message in words they will understand. Those of us who are working among the Marathi people are privileged to work among those whose type of *bhakti* Hinduism is probably the purest in India and probably the nearest approach India provides to the Christian faith. This has been made very clear by the publications of recent years on the Maratha saints. How great, then, the help for our work in Christ's name if we know just exactly what are the ideas held in the minds, and what are the songs found so constantly on the lips, of those among whom it is our privilege to work. And it is because this volume of Eknāth's *Mendicant's Song* will open up such a new world of understanding in relation to the religion of Western India that we recommend all missionaries and Indian Christian leaders to procure a copy *and to read it*. We can now add to our words of 1928 the encouraging fact that this method of evangelistic approach has been found to be a soul-winning method.

A Sense of Sin among Hindus

(6) How distinct a help these books may be to educated Christian workers, as providing a preparation for the message of the Saviour Christ, will be clear also from the following considerations. It had often been affirmed until very recent years that there is no sense of sin in the heart of the Hindu, but this view, still held by some Western authorities, receives a full answer when we hear the poignant cries, as we went on to say in our 1928 article, coming from the earnest Hindu *bhaktas* in these volumes. *Dāsopant Digambar*, for example, shows not only how deep and haunting a sense of sin possessed his soul, but also how real a preparation for the message of Christ as Saviour from sin is to be found in that same spiritual condition in *Dāsopant's* fellow countrymen in these days. One or two examples will suffice: 'I am a sinner among sinners, the most fallen among all those fallen into sin. . . . I am a very great sinner. . . . Passions, anger and the other enemies of the soul again and again torment me' (pp. 72-4). Similarly with *Bhānudas*: 'I am a fallen, fallen sinner. . . . My heart is so fickle. I cannot restrain it. It is pestered by sensual desires. The power of wrong thought has become tremendous' (pp. 9-10). On the other hand, some of the *Puranic* stories included in the works of these *bhakti* poets, give such crude and unworthy misrepresentations of God's purity as to rob them of any possible

message of salvation from the sin that haunted them; as, for example, the *Purāṇic* story about Anusaya prominent in *Dāsopant's* biography (p. 46) on which see a later section. By reading these books the Christian messenger comes to know what is in the minds of the people to whom he preaches and is enabled, from his own experience of Christ's saving power, to apply the needed corrective concerning God and salvation. On the message of salvation, for example, Eknāth says concerning *Dāsopant* (p. 76) that it was only after he had 'for twenty years carried on austerities' that he attained the *bhakti* goal, just as Gandhiji has said 'it may take ages for him to meet the *Guru* he needs'. An acquaintance with these facts set forth in books by these Poet Saints, considered in light of the very opposite personal experience of God's pardoning love, qualifies the Christian worker authoritatively to point to the men and women of today the simpler way of salvation as an experience to be obtained *here and now*; that is, not after 'twenty years', still less 'ages'.

Volume 5. *Bahinā Bāī* (A.D. 1628-1700)

(7) With the publication in 1929 of volume 5, *Bahinā Bāī* (born A.D. 1628, died 1700), Dr. Abbott generously linked our own name with that of the learned Pundit he had discovered in Poona to help him by correspondence (preface p. ii). Concerning Pundit Godbole, to whom we owe a debt immeasurable, our earliest memory is of his first visit to us in Bombay in late 1928 and of his having to retire for a rest after several continuous hours of wrestling with problems concerning *Bahinā Bāī*, about which the preface (pp. i-ii) speaks of 'many unusual difficulties in translating her language and thought. Her style is exceedingly elliptical. Her vocabulary and grammatical constructions create many difficulties. . . . Her allusions require a wide reading to prevent mistranslations. . . . Her allusions to *Purāṇic* stories, customs, philosophic thought, religious observances and the like are outside the Westerner's ken.' For *Bahinā Bāī's* value to present-day workers see our later section about her 'penitence and aspiration'. No foreigner needs a better study-book, the basic Marathi being supplied with the English.

The Indian Religious Spirit

(8) The profound impression made upon all Western students by the study of the Poet Saints is illustrated by what Dr W. S. Deming wrote on October 31, 1929, in reviewing the *Bahinā Bāī* volume during his acting editorship of the *Dnyanodaya* while we were away for our 1929-30 furlough. Dr Deming wrote: 'What is the Indian religious spirit? In asking such a question we immediately think of Tagore or Sadhu Sundar Singh or Gandhiji or Narayan Vaman Tilak or Panditā Ramabāī. We perceive in them certain spiritual qualities which distinguish them from those of other nations or races. It is difficult

to state in exact terms just how they differ from Americans or Europeans but we recognize that there is such a difference We cannot truly understand the Indian religious spirit without coming to know at first hand some of India's religious poetry These books should be in the possession of missionaries, Indian Christian leaders and all others who desire to know Hinduism as it existed in Western India during the seventeenth century.'

Volume 6. 'Stotramāla : Garland of Hindu Prayers'

(9) Dr Deming was proof-reader for volume 6 in the Poet Saints series: *Stotramāla: A Garland of Hindu Prayers*, or a 'Marathi Hindu Prayer Book' as some would prefer to call it. The impressions left by this book on Dr Deming are conveyed by his review dated April 3, 1930, where he stated that Christian workers could 'not afford to be ignorant of this "Indian religion of grace," to quote Prof. Otto, if they desire to preach Christ effectively in Western India. We commend this volume to our readers and urge them to study it. . . . This book is a touching revelation of the spiritual hunger which produced the *bhakti* movement of Western India. . . . To understand these prayers we must realize the mental and spiritual background of these saints. As a rule they thought of worldly cares and temptations as something to escape from, including family responsibilities. Most of them centred their worship at Pandharpur, although the Rāmdās is worshipped Rāma. These prayers reveal a sense of sin, a yearning for forgiveness, a realization of human helplessness, and a longing for spiritual fellowship with God. They are the cry of the sinner seeking divine help. . . . Rāmdās pleads thus for mercy:

"O Thou, supremely merciful to the lowly,

Dispel my temptations.

I cannot hold in restraint this fickle heart of mine."

Volume 7. *Tukaram*

(10) Concerning the subject of the seventh volume, *Tukaram*, also edited by Dr Deming, there is no need to add anything to the conclusions we published in our own 1922 volume of 323 pages (C.L.S., Madras), *The Life and Teaching of Tukaram* (for which the lamented Prof. Nelson Fraser had left much material) and in the Marathi first edition, *The Religion of Tukaram*, and second edition, *Tukaram's Bridge* (204 pages), especially as in a later section of the present book we have summarized some of the latest conclusions of Indian scholars found in a deeply suggestive 1935 Marathi book by Madhavrao Sadashiv Kelkar.

Volume 8. 'Rāmdās': Unforgettable Fellowship

(11) On volume 8 in the series, *Rāmdās* (A.D. 1608-81), Dr Abbott and the present writer worked together several hours most mornings

in January 1930 during a month's unforgettable fellowship in his home at Summit, New Jersey, U.S.A., one of the high lights of our five months' furlough. Little did we dream into what a world of rewarding work we were being led step by step by the Hand Unseen; and still less did we ever dream that by June 19, 1932, the learned Doctor, and by February 16, 1934, the learned Pundit, would shuffle off this mortal coil and leave to us the sole responsibility for continuing the series. When Dr Abbott's last will and testament brought this surprising request we were fortified in the decision to bow to it by the memory of scores of detailed discussions with him on these high matters. As events turned out, the writing of the Foreword to the 8th volume and the editing fell to the present writer, helped in innumerable points by the ever accessible Pundit Godbole.

'Sevā Marg' : The Way of Service

(12) A favourite expression of the founder of the *Poet Saints* series had been 'the *Sevā Marg* (the Way of Service)' as contrasted with the threefold Hindu Way of *Dnyān*, *Karma* and *Bhakti* (knowledge, works and devotion); and on retiring from missionary work in 1910 his farewell message said: 'Christ is the most complete revelation of the moral character of God.' As we corrected the proofs of the *Rāmdās* volume we were amazed at the wealth of Marathi information translated from the original sources of Mahipati's *Santavijaya* (A.D. 1790) about *Rāmdās* in the 25 chapters of the book, published in mid-December 1932, with the details of Dr Abbott's generous benefactions to India.

Volume 9. 'Stories of Indian Saints' (i)

(13) Most of the basic work for volume 9 had been previously prepared at Summit, New Jersey, in the faultless English of the scholar who had lived there. His manuscript revealed a wealth of information which he had brought to light from Mahipati's great Marathi work the *Bhaktavijaya* completed about 1762 or 1763. To this volume and its successor we gave the title, *Stories of Indian Saints*. The first of these two volumes (507 pages) gives the Lives wholly or in part of Jayadev, Tulsidās, Nāmdev, Kabīr, Dnyāndev, Kurmadās the Cripple, Rāka and Gora the Potters, Jagamitra Nāga, Joga Paramānand, Naraharī the Goldsmith, Janabāī, Matsyendranāth, Gorakhnāth, Chāngdev, Chokhamelā, Jīva and Tatva, Padmanabh, Rohida the Shoemaker, King Pipaji, Narsi Mehta and his son and daughter. Connected with these personalities of centuries ago, and the movements they directed, many problems present themselves, and out of these we selected the following for special paragraphs in our thirteen pages of Foreword to volume 9:—'How the *Bhaktavijaya* was translated; Mahipati's place in Marathi literature; how to understand the Indian heart; India's insurrection against religion; the nationalizing and

democratizing value of *bhakti*; Untouchability still in Vithoba worship; India's yearning for a personal God; mysticism in Maharashtra; the heart a safer guide than the head.' This first book of *Stories* (vol. 9 in the series) was published in December 1933, and a valuable appendix gives the original Marathi with an English translation of 103 extra verses of Mahipati's great work hitherto unpublished.

Volume 10. 'Stories of Indian Saints' (ii)

(14) Whilst the second volume of the *Stories* (vol. 10 in the series) was in preparation, the resourceful Pundit Godbole passed away after a brief illness on February 16, 1934, leaving the formidable task of this and remaining volumes to the present writer. After recovering from this second stunning blow, we wrote paragraphs in the 27-page Introduction on the following points arising out of the 28 chapters of the English translation of Mahipati's *Bhaktavijaya*:—'The best edition of Mahipati's *Bhaktavijaya*; the idea of sin in India; the "empire of the spirit" in India's religious quest; India's "incorrigible religiousness", religion the backbone of India; the Maratha epic fight for religious liberty; richness and variety of meanings of the word *dharma*; Maratha pre-eminence in Indian history; when religion is perverted; why Indian religious literature is unattractive; the biographical method of studying Indian religion; religious value of Mahipati's biographies; India's "religion of grace" (Prof. Rudolf Otto); India's battle against Pantheism; India's struggle for God; Purānic atmosphere of much *bhakti* literature; *bhakti* and Pantheism often found together; *advaitic* strain in much Marathi *bhakti*; pioneers of Indian religious reform; political India's need of religion; helping "things human" by "things divine".'

Volume 11. 'Nectar from Indian Saints'

(15) This was published in December 1935, the English translation from Mahipati's *Bhaktiśīlāmrit* having been completed by the American scholar and the Poona pundit before their decease, except for a final revision in which the present writer had the reliable help of Pundit Narayanrao L. Harshe. Mahipati's *Bhaktiśīlāmrit* is nectar indeed to all who would learn the facts about India's *bhaktas* and the movements they led centuries ago, and the 25 chapters are crammed with fascinating English narrative concerning no less than sixty-two of Maharashtra's saints. About almost every name in the list highly fascinating tales are told, and the volume closes with the usual Notes on special Marathi words, 36 pages of them and a 27 page index. It was inevitable that such a galaxy of 'saints', known and unknown, should give rise to many questions and our 66 pages of Introduction deal with the following:—Humility and undogmatic temper of Mahipati's saints; Mahipati's imperfect defence of the saints; ugly features of Hindu and other literature; paganism in current fiction; Hinduism 150

years ago and today; the golden age of *bhakti* and the threat of the Harijans; the *Bhāgwat Purān* as one of Mahipati's chief sources; light on the Hindu view of God; *avatars* 'partial' and 'special'; Narayan Vaman Tilak on Incarnation and 'partial *avatars*'; idolatry in Mahipati's books; India's noble protest against idolatry; idolatrous conditions in nationalist India; the modern 'scientific' defence of idolatry; is idolatry an 'easy' way to God? a 'mysticism' that leads to immorality; evils resulting from idolatry; temple-entry (with its idol-worship) for Harijans not desirable; temple entry to a more galling slavery; two Indian denunciations of idolatry; idolatry 'Hindu and Romanist'; idols idealized as mere symbols; significance of broken idols; why idol-worship is sin; the one satisfying image of God; some Christian 'superstitions hard to distinguish from idolatry'; tonsure of the Hindu widow in Mahipati's day and ours; famous test case at Pandharpur; Hindu authorities on a widow's hair; the widow's tonsure compulsory; 'spring-cleaning' for Hinduism; the *guru* in Hindu *bhakti*; abusing the *guru's* privilege; 'bogus sadhus'; the social evil of 'gurus'; Indian politicians who retire for meditation; Indian honey for the Christian hive; studying Hinduism as it is lived; the self-denial of steeping the mind in the world of the East.

Volume 12. 'Dnyaneshwar the Out-Caste Brahmin'

(16) In preparing the twelfth and final volume of the *Poet Saints* series, *Dnyaneshwar the Out-Caste Brahmin*, we were accepting a challenge with which that teacher of teachers, Dr J. N. Farquhar, had confronted us twenty years before, during which years we had been collecting material, and some of the best material was that we received from the two scholars whose detailed help we missed at every stage. In more senses than one the book represented 'iron dug from central gloom,' for within a week of receiving the first printed copy (September 1941) after we had joined a Commission in the Benares area we found ourselves fighting 'the battle of Azamgarh' which proved to be a battle for life in the home of the Rev. and Mrs David W. James to whom under the skilful guidance of Dr E. W. Gault (now at Vellore) we owe a debt that cannot be measured. But the trouble was more than worthwhile, for while the English book (525 pages and xxxii introductory pages) has become a text-book for the Serampore theological diploma (like our earlier *Tukārām* book), the 199 page Marathi book, *Dnyāneshwar*, is read and pondered by Indian pilgrims on the pilgrim routes. May God bless its imperfect message. The scheme of the English book is one of five Parts and twenty-six chapters. *Part One* gives the 'historical and religious background' of Dnyaneshwar, with a hitherto unpublished essay of the late N. V. Tilak on the galaxy of Maharashtra poets. *Part Two* is 'biographical': the modern film on the subject; traditions, facts and sources; and, 'Were Dnyaneshwar and Dnyandev two different persons?' *Part*

Three deals with 'the message of Dnyaneshwar', his unique poem the *Dnyaneshwari* being examined and an English translation of 132 pages supplied of the final chapter (18). *Part Four* is 'Appraisal', including the appraisal by the notable scholar Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Indian Christian views, especially that of Pandit Narayanrao L. Harshe, a lifelong Dnyaneshwar student. *Part Five* is 'Application' in nine chapters under the leading question: Is Dnyaneshwar's religion adequate for today? The concluding chapter is entitled: 'Where Dnyaneshwar's Teaching finds Its Crown.' Appendixes on *Samadhi*, the fourteenth century out-caste saint Chokhamelā, and 'the Unscaled Everest', are followed by sixteen pages of indexes.

CHAPTER X

NOTABLES AMONG THE POET SAINTS

Dnyaneshwar : Founder of Maratha Nationality

(1) Dnyaneshwar has long been accepted as the founder of the Maratha Nation. As for his poetic message there is no higher authority than the late Justice M. G. Ranade who affirmed that 'Dnyaneshwar's influence has been greater than that of any other Maratha Sadhu except Tukārām.' For did not Dnyaneshwar bestow on the Maratha people the nine thousand Marathi verses of his great poem, the *Dnyaneshwari*, expounding in the language of the common people the message contained in the seven hundred Sanskrit slokas of the *Bhagavadgita*? And of all the notable things in Marathi literature, one of the most notable is Dnyaneshwar's Dedicatory Prayer which closes his unique poem:—'And may God, the Soul of the universe, be pleased with this my offering of words, and being pleased may He give me this blessing: that the wicked may forsake their faults, that their love of good deeds may grow, and that between all beings there may be lasting goodwill. May the darkness of sin disappear; may the sun of righteousness illumine the universe; and may all the desires of living beings be realized. May the multitude of those devoted to God, and who rain blessings incessantly, come close to men. Such saints are, as it were, wandering groves of Wishing Trees, communities of living Wishing Stones, speaking Oceans of Nectar. And like the pure moonlight, like the sun when its heat has gone, may these saints be the comfort of all. In short, may the inhabitants of the three worlds, becoming complete in happiness, worship for ever the Supreme Being. And especially may those who live by this book, be victorious in this visible world, and in the world invisible. Here the God of the universe said (to me), "This blessing will I give thee." And with this promise, I, Dnyaneshwar, became happy.' (See pages 69-72 of our book, *Dnyaneshwar the Out-Caste Brahmin*.)

N. C. Kelkar on the 'Dnyaneshwari'

(2) Those of our readers who wish to read the latest Marathi book on that greatest of Marathi poems, the *Dnyaneshwari*, written six and a half centuries ago by Dnyaneshwar whose generally accepted date is A.D. 1275-1296, should buy and read a five-rupee book of 382 Marathi pages by that doyen of Marathi editors, Mr Narasinha Chintaman Kelkar, of *Kesari* fame. It is available at the Manohar Granthamala, Tilak Road, Poona 2. Its title is **ज्ञानेश्वरी सर्वस्व** (The Essence of the *Dnyaneshwari*). Should the title seem very high-sounding, let it be remembered that this twelfth century Marathi

poem of about nine thousand verses is regarded as the foundation of both the Marathi people and of their literature, since it gives the first Marathi exposition of the *Bhagavadgita*, previously known only in Sanskrit, hence the unique place of the *Dnyaneshwari* in India's esteem and affection. The first half of Mr Kelkar's able book is given up to a prose summary of each of the eighteen chapters of Dnyaneshwar's great poem, with a dictionary of selected words. The latter half discusses such important topics as Dnyaneshwar's greatness, language, poetic power, philosophy, a biographical summary and other relevant topics. Both by its quantity and quality the book shows how busy Mr Kelkar must have been on non-political matters during the past four tempestuous years in India. It will make easier for many the study of this profoundest of Marathi poets. We wish a few more Indian leaders, especially Indian Christian leaders, would follow Mr Kelkar's industrious example. The foregoing facts may be added to page 292 in our own English book entitled *Dnyaneshwar the Out-Caste Brahmin* and to page 59 of our Marathi book. On our English pages 142-274 we have given an English translation of the last chapter in the *Dnyaneshwari* and a careful study of Dnyaneshwar's life and work, with discreet quotations in preaching, will ensure for every Christian worker, Indian and non-Indian alike, the deep respect and love of the Marathi people and will provide a useful point of contact with the Christian message in every part of Maharashtra. Dnyaneshwar's lofty poetry has convinced us of the spiritual possibilities of the Maratha people: and when the day dawns on which they accept, as a nation, the still more enriching message of Christ, they will become His message-bearers to the whole of India's people. Maharashtra once led India politically, and it is our conviction, that it will one of these days lead India spiritually.¹

Eknāth Who Defied Caste

(3) How completely many of these Maharashtra Poet Saints cut across all our usual methods of moral and spiritual classification can be illustrated from such an individual as Eknāth (1548-1609). This Hindu saint of Paithan or Pratishthāna on the Godāvari about 56 miles East of Ahmednagar, can best be summed up in the following apparently contradictory words of the *Eknāth* volume: 'Eknāth believed in the Indian social system of caste, placing the Brahmin first. . . . He was an idolater. . . . Eknāth was not a reformer; he had no new doctrines to preach; but what especially marks his *Bhagavata* and makes it unique in Marathi literature is its emphasis on universal moral truths. Did he believe in *Knowledge* as a way of salvation? Yes, but it must be sincere without hypocrisy. Did he believe in *bhakti* as a way of salvation? Yes, but it must be true love of God, and sincere. Did he believe the Brahmin held

¹ *Dnyanodaya*, August 1, 1946.

the first place in the social system? Yes, but a Brahmin, without true devotion to God, would go to hell, and the Shudra with true devotion would be found in heaven. Did he believe in Caste? Yes, but his firm conception that God was in all men, Brahmin or Shudra, and even in *Mlencha* (foreigners), made him, if the traditional stories of him can be believed, disregard the rules of caste when the needs of humanity demanded it; as for example, the carrying of a Mahar boy on his shoulder; feeding Mahars at his own home; and even dining at the house of a pious Mahar couple to whom he had preached the oneness of mankind, God being in all.' No wonder that all subsequent Poet Saints, Tukārām among them, owed much of their inspiration and many of their ideas to Eknāth. In writing about Eknāth, one has to restrain himself, lest his eulogy goes to extremes. The following must suffice for our purpose here. Eknāth wrote, according to one of his editors, Tryambak Hari Avata, 4,001 *abhangs*, in one of which Eknāth said concerning purity of heart (and let our readers remember this was in the sixteenth century before any Christian teaching had reached Maharashtra): 'Why go on pilgrimages to sacred places? One's mind should first be pure. Can one's mind be made pure by going to sacred places? Retire to some quiet spot. If the heart is pure, God is there in your own home. You can see Him where you are sitting, if your trust is in Him' (see *Eknāth*, vol. 2 in *Poet Saints* series, pp. 245-6). What the message of Christ did when it came to Maharashtra was to point out *how this purity of heart was to be obtained*; and any preacher in Maharashtra preaching on the words of Jesus, 'Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God' (Matthew 5. 8) will get beautiful help for his sermon by quoting and expounding each clause in this *abhang* of Eknāth. Whenever a preacher in Maharashtra is preaching on the message and example of Jesus concerning non-resistance, non-resentment, or the spirit of true meekness as set forth by Jesus in St Matthew 5, 39, 'I tell you, you are not to resist an injury, whoever strikes you on the right cheek, turn the other to him as well,' the preacher will be able to give the following illustration from the Life of Eknāth which every congregation in Maharashtra will understand. The story is told that one morning in Paithan on the Godāvarī river, when Eknāth was returning from his morning bath in the sacred stream, a Muslim spat on Eknāth. Without saying a single word, Eknāth turned round and went and bathed again in the river. When he was returning the second time, the Muslim met Eknāth and repeated the insult. When Eknāth turned round quietly without saying anything, a bystander who had witnessed the whole affair asked Eknāth why he did not pronounce a curse upon such a Muslim wretch. To this appeal the noble reply of Eknāth was: 'Why should I curse my benefactor? But for him, I should have bathed only once in the sacred stream. Now I have bathed twice, and I must needs go and bathe again.' One of the ten books every *Warkari* (recognized regular pilgrim to *Bhakti* shrines) must read is Eknāth's book called *Bhavartha Ramāyana* from which

the missionary *muni* (sage) of Poona, Dr Macnicol translated the following beautiful poem for his *Psalms of Maratha Saints* (p. 53):

Who praises and who scorns me too,
Both are my mother. Ay, I view
My scorers as my mother true.

For such are kind to me. They say
Hard words that wash my soil away,
As does a mother's bathing. They

Are friends indeed and strength supply
To me. Were I to blame them, why,
The guilty one would then be I.

O sweet is scorning, setting free
From bondage of duality.
A gracious benefactor he.

Before the scorner bow we low.
Blest be his mother; for I know
Who suffer scorn to Freedom go.

We recommend the preceding two items, Eknāth's patience with the insulting Muslim at Paithan, and his moving poem to which Dr Macnicol gives the fitting title *The Scorer*, to all pastors and missionaries in Maharashtra when they have to settle a quarrel, and then crown it all with a New Testament example. For we have found that the higher the spiritual ground on which one appeals to Indian Christian workers, the more prompt and complete is their response. In early December, 1914, after five or six years in English chaplaincy work in Bombay, and after passing the necessary Marathi examinations, we found ourselves arriving for our first charge in vernacular work, which was at Sirur (commonly called Ghodnadi) 42 miles north of Poona. We were being introduced by the veteran missionary Dr R. A. Hume who whispered to us during tea that he was grieved to tell us that on the day of our arrival, there was a quarrel going on between the two leading Indian Christian laymen there. Before the meeting was over we asked our veteran friend to point out these two, to whom we then addressed our appeal. The sun was just about to set behind the hills surrounding Ghodnadi. So quoting the Marathi rendering of St Paul's words in Ephesians 4. 27, 'Let not the sun go down upon your wrath,' we pleaded that the two brethren would shake hands and forgive each other. To our delight they both rose and shook hands before the assembled company.

Tukārām : Three Definite Religious Stages

(4) An Indian scholar, Mr Madhavrao Sadashiv Kelkar, in a notable Marathi book published in July 1935 entitled *The Spiritual*

Life and Teaching of Saint Tukārām, has emphasized several new aspects. Among these new features is the interesting question of Tukārām's caste. Mr M. S. Kelkar holds all ancient and modern writers are in error in regarding Tukārām as a Shudra; Tukārām's own description of himself as a *Shudra* being explained by Mr Kelkar as due to the custom under Muslim rule in those days of classifying the entire non-Muslim population into the two divisions of Brāhmin and non-Brāhmin, the alternative term for the latter being the term *Shudra* as a synonym for non-Brahmin. He also insists that the marriage records of Tukārām's descendants, particularly of his son Narāyan born some months after Tukārām's final disappearance, show Tukārām to have been a *Kshatriya*, lifting him at once from the fourth, the *Shudra* or Servile, division of the Hindus to the second, the *Kshatriya*, the warrior or governing, class. Among the new views Mr Kelkar offers us, is a theory Mr Kelkar works out setting forth Tukārām's religious life in three definite stages, viz., the first stage he calls 'Before Tukārām's Religious Awakening'; the second stage he calls 'On the Way to Spiritual Progress'; and the third, Tukārām's decisive 'Conversion from Pantheism to Devotion'. In another place Kelkar says the three stages in Tukārām's spiritual life were: 'worshipping Vitthal's idol; psychical visions while practising *Yoga*; and seeing God everywhere as he worshipped Him by serving man as well as beast.' And in expounding this 'conversion' of the poet of Dehu, let us make clear that this exposition would have been quite impossible had not Mr Kelkar generously let us read his own English translation of his Marathi book, a translation so excellent that we urged him to print it.

Tukārām's Haunting Sense of Sin

(5) Careful students of Tukārām's autobiographical poetry have been deeply impressed by the fact that the *abhangs* in which Tukārām expresses a deep sense of sin run into hundreds. On this topic Mr Kelkar holds it 'highly probable that during his early youth Tukārām had fallen a prey to bad company,' one reason for this conclusion being Tukārām's lines, 'Censuring, hating and ruining people, I also committed adultery.' This is distinctly a new line for *Indian* biographers of the saint of Dehu and it is worthy of careful study by many among Tukārām's present-day followers who go to the length of deifying him. Here, on the other hand, is a useful illustration for the Christian worker on the need of a change of heart, where Tukārām observes: 'Just as a piece of cloth does not receive another dye unless the former dye and dirt are first washed away, so the scul cannot think aright of God unless the effects of worldly pleasure have been removed;' and in another poem he breathes the moving prayer: 'Oh dye me with *Thy* purity.' Such words supply a final answer to those who still affirm Hindus have no sense of sin. Yet their thoughts are never far from their beloved idols. 'If any saint,' says Tukārām,

'comes to our house, while we are engaged in worshipping idols, we would set aside the idols, and offer the same worship to the saints.' At this point Mr Kelkar gives one of those thrusts that makes his book so practical. He points out that the majority of the *Warkari* sect (see the index on this word in our English book on Tukārām), usually regarded as Tukārām's most devoted followers, are illiterate and superstitious; and he affirms that even Prarthanā Samājists, who pride themselves on their education and learning, and on being 'the theistic *bhakti* school,' yet greatly suffer from an admixture of atheistic Pantheism on the one hand and from carnal devotion in the name of Krishna on the other. Mr Kelkar fearlessly points out that since idol-worship has been current in India for two thousand years or more, it has come to be considered so essential to Hinduism that even great Hindu philosophers cannot think of religion without idolatry. (Let us add here: e.g., Dr Radhakrishnan who does not hesitate to interpret idol-worship as the infant stage of the soul's Godward progress.) But Mr Kelkar, on the other hand, does not forget to remind his readers that the nobler side of Hinduism emphasizes *mānaspuja* (mental worship or prayer), as Tukārām himself says in one place, 'Meditation by the heart is the true worship.'

The Crisis of Tukārām's Conversion

(6) Probably Mr Kelkar would regard the pivot of his interpretation as being found in the episode when Tukārām's Brahmin critics compelled him to throw his bundle of precious poems into the river Indrāyanī at Dehu. For the whole story see pages 97-8 in our *Life and Teaching of Tukārām*. To the despairing poet the recovery of his poems from the river all unharmed several days later was a miracle of divine intervention; though nearly three centuries later in 1917 an interesting parallel occurred when Archdeacon Dennis' boat got sunk by a submarine on his way from the Niger Mission to England; his bulky typescript and linguistic notes for an English-Ibo dictionary went down with the ship and were washed up some time after on the Welsh coast and are now at the London headquarters of his Mission. But Tukārām knew nothing of such possibilities. He only knew that Brahmin hatred had made him throw away his years of toil into the river. Mr Kelkar makes the recovery of the entire manuscript the great turning point in Tukārām's religious life. For at the time of pleading with God to save his precious hymns, Tukārām *thought* he had reached the pinnacle of devotion, but after the restoration of his hymns he came to see that he really needed to begin his religious life all over again. Of course all this is deeply humbling to all those in Maharashtra who worship Tukārām, but Mr Kelkar is remorseless in his application of what he regards as incontestable 'facts' in Tukārām's 'religious conversion'. For, insists Mr Kelkar, there was such a transformation in Tukārām's

religious convictions that his religious and autobiographical poetry took on what was nothing less than a climatic change. The poems Tukārām had composed up to that time were monistic or pantheistic, says Mr Kelkar, and those he wrote ever after were of the devotional character which differentiated between God and His worshippers. This moving experience had convinced the Dehu poet of the futility of all his previous religious experiences which Mr Kelkar affirms were of a *yogic* nature. For a time he had wavered between monism and dualism, but now the recovery of his hymns had settled this problem for ever. Up to this time, affirms his interpreter, Tukārām's teaching about his own oneness with Brahma had roused that hatred and opposition of the Brahmins which led to the hymns being consigned to the stream, but now God's goodness had given him back his hymns and had thereby delivered him from the net of *yoga* and monism. Space forbids our even summarizing Kelkar's reply to what he knows critics will say, and no mean critics either; the whole of the *Warkari* school, for example, B. G. Tilak in his previously published *Gita Rahasya*, and Prof. R. D. Ranade in his earlier *Mysticism in Maharashtra*. 'The fault,' says Kelkar, 'is due to the wrong direction of the Hindu philosophers, based on the jumble of the contrary schools of thought.' So Tukārām's 'conversion' consisted in being 'set free from the influence of his former monistic hallucinations.' Our readers must therefore include the idea of 'conversion' as among the 'leading ideas' of the Poet Saints. We must leave readers in their own minds to answer Gandhiji's objection to 'conversion', for which they will get help from the historic duel between Gandhiji and his friend C. F. Andrews (see our *Dnyaneshwar the Out-Caste Brahmin*, pp. 411-17).

Tukārām's Third Spiritual Stage : Service

(7) Christian readers will not be surprised when they learn that, Mr Kelkar being an honest writer, he is frank enough to point out that Tukārām stated in so many words : 'I find that I am the same as before, because *there is no change in my heart* ; I am trying to cheat myself.' The words we have italicized supply one more proof of the position taken up in the present book, viz., that it is only by a change in the heart of the individual and only by the power of the Spirit of Christ in the heart, that society the world over can be changed and uplifted. To return to the third stage of Tukārām's religious life, as Mr Kelkar conceives it. This stage is found in Tukārām's beautiful sentence : 'One should exert himself whole-heartedly in service ; then alone is it worship.' If it be asked what service it was that Tukārām took up, the answer is that he set himself the great task of purifying the *bhakti* school by separating it from the monistic philosophy and external ritualism, a task that put his moral courage to a severe test through the remaining years. On this subject Mr

Kelkar has the following useful points : (1) He seeks to vindicate Tukārām's tolerant attitude to caste by affirming that while he admitted caste into all his Hindu social life, he held it should never invade religion ; a distinction we fear it would be hard to maintain, for we never read of Tukārām pleading the rights of Untouchables to enter Vithoba temples. But putting this aside, Mr Kelkar says that 'Hindus preserved the caste system in all its hideous aspects until the advent of British rule in India ;' and that even Gandhiji, who openly dines with Untouchables, is satisfied with protesting against Untouchability without disturbing the caste system ! He adds : (2) 'Even today Untouchability will not disappear unless its basis in idolatry is removed. Though the non-Brahmins have realized their slavery to Brahmins, yet because they have not given up idolatry, which is the basis of Brahmin superiority, all their efforts after liberty will be in vain.' In another context Mr Kelkar makes the following home thrusts :—'Though the Arya Samaj has given up idolatry (see our section on the Arya Samaj), yet it has embraced the Vedic sacrifices. Though Gandhiji is straining every nerve to rid Hinduism of Untouchability, thinking it enough if this great blot on Hinduism is removed, yet so long as he does not go to the root of the trouble by condemning Vedic ritualism and idolatry, he will never succeed in removing untouchability. Even the untouchables will not be able to raise themselves until they give up such things.'

Sincere Worship proved in Service

(8) In developing Tukārām's idea that it is only in service for man that we can prove the reality of our worship of God—another of the Poet Saints' 'leading ideas'—Mr Kelkar has these searching words : 'Many institutions in the name of social service, or service of the country, have been started in recent years in India, on account of the influence of similar institutions carried on by Foreign Missions all over the world ; but very few Indians take up the work as part of their religion or devotion to God, and so there are very few really self-sacrificing workers among such people.' (Had our author forgotten the Indian Christian Church with its Indian Missionary Society, etc. ? And such a selfless organization as the Servants of India Society ?) Continuing, Mr Kelkar said : 'Social service being an important part of the Christian religion, hundreds of Christian Missions are working all over the world, and many persons of real merit are found to have sacrificed great worldly careers on account of their devotion.'

A Blot on Early Indian Christianity

(9) Mr M. S. Kelkar's interesting pages include a description of the contemporary religious situation in Tukārām's day in the first

half of the seventeenth century (A.D. 1608-49). In that situation Mr Kelkar distinguishes three main factors at work : The *first* factor was the presence of Western traders (who were not always a worthy representation of Christ and His message). The *second* religious factor was that of the reigning Muslims who made converts from the Hindus either by force or by the attraction of official positions in the government of the day. The *third* factor, says Mr Kelkar, was seen in the Portuguese Roman Catholics who were also making converts by force especially on the West coast of India. For ourselves we can never think of this third factor without seeing in it a sad blot on the early Christianity of Western India, or without finding in it a partial explanation for the slow progress of the Kingdom of Christ among the 23 millions of people who speak the language of Tukārām. That early mass movement of compulsion made impossible a mass movement of evangelism in many places. Maharashtra is happily not without its mass movements in the blessings of group evangelism but such areas have been spared the terrible memories of religious compulsion in the Inquisition. On the topic of this paragraph see our later chapter on 'India's Revolt against Religious Compulsion'.

Bahinābāī, Bhakti Saint and Poetess (A.D. 1628-1700)

(10) In the poetry of the seventeenth century Bahinābāī, we see at work those characteristic Hindu ideas on whose purification depends the building of the great nation India can yet become, viz., the ideas of Karma and Reincarnation, Caste, etc., but most tragic of all we hear her sad wail at being born a woman. For details we must refer the reader to the fifth volume in the *Poet Saints* series. She lived to the ripe age of 72 and towards the end of her life she dictated her life-story to her son. It is without doubt one of the most moving autobiographies in Indian literature, though much of her philosophic thought, many of her Purānic stories, and most of the social customs and religious observances she refers to, are beyond our Western grasp. While at Kolhapur as a young girl she became a disciple of Tukārām and wanted to go to Dehu, many miles away, to attend her *guru's kirtans* or services of songs, but her Brahmin husband disapproved of his wife going so far away to worship in the company of a mere *Shudra* poet. But 'my duty is to serve my husband, for he is God to me; he is the Supreme Brahma' (here we meet with another 'leading idea' of the Saints). Nevertheless she suffered much because of him, and only his severe illness reconciled them; eventually they both reached Dehu. It is when we investigate her religious life and the 'leading ideas' underlying it that we discover how completely this woman saint and poetess was dominated by Hindu preconceptions. For in all her thinking and writing Bahinābāī was, like all the Poet Saints, a convinced believer in the Vedantic philosophy. This meant that several matters of the highest importance settled themselves automatically. For example, so vital a question as that of human individuality, without which the

foundation of democracy today would disappear, would be entirely illusory to Bahinābāī; while the universe on which science expends all its energies never existed for Bahinābāī and never could, since all was *maya* (illusion); and the Vedantic doctrine of 'the 84' or the being born 8,400,000 times, which is unthinkable to Western minds, was basic for this woman poet, whose moving description of thirteen of these births occupies twelve English pages (50-61) of the volume *Bahinābāī*, an idea incomprehensible to the Western mind. Her first 'three lives' were in the Vaishya Caste (mark the 'leading idea' again); her next 'four births' were as a *Yogabhrashta*, or one fallen from prospective emancipation and interrupted by death from completing the required religious acts. From her '8th birth' onwards she was born a Brahmin, and hence we find her married to a Brahmin husband. Strangest of all she could say in her 97th *abhang*, 'I remember all my births and all the secrets of my lives; I remember everything previous to my 13 births, but there is no good served by telling it.' All of which is by the Western reader explained by exclaiming, 'A vivid imagination!' The pitilessness of the Hindu idea of *karma* and reincarnation is to be read into the psychological conditions that lay behind her touching autobiographical poems.

The Tragedy of Being a Woman

(10) Greatest tragedy of all (according to her Hindu 'idea') she had been born a woman: 'Possessing a woman's body, and myself being subject to others, I was not able to carry out my desire to discard all worldly things,' that is, she could not attain to *vairāgya* (or freedom from worldly desire). . . . 'I was tempted to commit suicide . . . The *Vedas* cry aloud that no good comes of a woman . . . It is evident that the innumerable sins of my former birth have now come home to their fruition. As a woman I have no right to listen to the reading of the *Vedas* . . . I am told I must not pronounce the sacred word *OM*. . . . God has no compassion on me . . . I feel like throwing myself into the fire, or using this saw to sever my head . . . O God, why hast Thou forsaken me? . . . If I commit suicide, the fault will be on *Thy* head' (see the volume *Bahinābāī*, pp. 38-41). Yet despite such depression she made clear (in poems taking up ten pages of English verses) her idea of the duty of Brahmins: first what does *not* determine Brāhminhood (neither birth nor bodily form nor even religious duties); and then what does make a Brāhmin, e.g., 'He never deviates from the truth.' Could anything be more beautiful than this? 'He whose nature glows with love unbroken, will sing aloud God's name for ever and ever.' 'Let not one moment of time pass unfilled by God's name.' Much in Bahinābāī reminds us of the Hindi poetess Sabajobai of the 18th century who about a proud *man* wrote:

'He wants to have the lordship,
But he does not want the Lord.'

Penitence and Longing of Bahinābāi

(11) Thus neither religious devotion nor poetic power has been limited to men in the history of India. Bahinābāi may well be chosen as an example of Maharashtra *bhakti's* leading ideas, not only because of her poetic and religious genius but also because she is not half enough known among lovers of India's rich literature. Let us listen to her :

If we ask of all these things in our minds,
Or look for some place where we may ask,

Wherever we ask, we find
Our doubts are not solved.

If we enquire of the *Shāstras*, life is too short ;
One's *karma* is certainly entangled with *karma*.

Says, Bahinābāi, ' How then shall I, an anxious seeker of truth,
Become free from the snare of this worldly life ? '

Wherever I go to enquire, there I find pride.
They glorify their own knowledge.

No one who really understands the heart tells me.
On whose words then shall I rely to give my mind rest ?

They tell you very many rules and methods,
Various forms of worship and various *mantras*.

Some prescribe repeating of *mantras*, sitting in the five different
postures,
Such being the importance ascribed to how one sits.

Others tell you of sacred waters, of austerities and rites ;
Others again tell you an infinite number of ceremonials in
worship.

Says Bahinābāi, ' My mind is not at rest.
The battlefield of ignorance I see everywhere. '

(From *abhangs* 189-190 in the Marathi Autobiography of
Bahinābāi the Poet Saint 1628-1700.)

Harbingers of India's Women's Movement

(12) Bahinābāi may well be considered one of the pioneers of India's ever growing Women's Movement which has been adorned by such jewels of women among the Marāṭhā people as Muktābāi, born four years after her brother Dnyāneshwar in 1279 and disappeared in 1297 a year after his *samādhi* ; and Janābāi in the 14th century,

the domestic servant of Nāmdev, and poetess in the family of which every member was a poet ; she was the poetess who sang in Marathi which Dr Macnicol has translated :

Of God my meat and drink I make,
God is the bed on which I lie,
God is whate'er I give or take ;
God's constant fellowship have I.

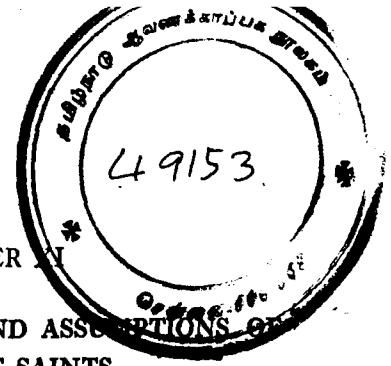
Another harbinger of India's Women's Movement was Venābāi born at Kolhapur in 1627, married at eight years old in Miraj, and left a child-widow very young. One day the great Rāmdās called at the house and asked her for some milk, only to be told it was reserved for the God Māruti. Returning a few days later, Rāmdās found her reading and asked her, ' Do you experience its truths ? ' Twenty-five questions that she asked him he answered so clearly that she made Rāmdās her *guru*, and he made her the head of a Miraj *math* (monastery) still existing where she had a woman disciple of her own, another poetess named Bāhyabāi. It was our privilege on August 21, 1931, to attend in Poona the Diamond Jubilee celebration of that founder of the modern Women's Movement in India, Gopalrao Krishna Devadhar, President of the Servants of India Society. At this meeting the omen of India were telling their great friend how much they appreciated his work on their behalf, and the meeting was presided over by one of the finest women of India, the Rānīsāhib of Sāngli, every inch a queen ; as a matter of fact she was at that time actually ruling the ingli State, while her husband the Chief was in London attending the Round Table Conference. On that occasion our faith in India's future was strengthened by listening to the Mārathi speech of the Rānīsāhib which will live in our memory as one of the finest *arāthi* addresses we have heard. In one of India's dark hours, the entire meeting filled one with a mighty hope. For not only was there the oration from this noble lady, but Mr Devadhar himself addressed the vast audience, in a speech that paid a unique tribute to missionary women, that he owed his inspiration for his lifework in social reform to the inspiration and example of missionaries whose names he gave. When he passed away on November 24, 1935, he left as a tribute to India the *Seva Sadan* (Home of Service) with 1879 women workers of whom 1,268 were unmarried, 303 married, and 308 widows, many of them being Christians, Jews and even Muslims.

evā Marga ' (Way of Service) Inspired by Missions

(13) Our little digression on India's Women's Movement is not so much a digression as might appear, for it illustrates the fact that one of the ' Leading Ideas ' inspiring the Poet Saints Movement centuries past and the Women's Movement of today is the ideal service ; in other words the *Bhakti Marga* (the way of religious

devotion) has inspired the *Seva Marga* (or the way of service); hence the great value of G. K. Devadhar's public confession that his chief inspiration for the *Seva Marga* which he himself had chosen had come from missionaries, and in particular missionary women out in the Deccan station of Jalna. Those who would like to follow out this subject of Indian women in past ages should read the late Mrs Macnicol's beautiful *Poems by Indian Women*, a book containing 110 poems by 56 Indian poetesses in 14 Indian languages translated into English, fittingly concluding with the poem by Miss Ellen Goreh (daughter of the well known Father Nehemiah Goreh of the Marathi country) on 'Love's High Throne' the first verse of which reads :

By love all others serving
Though Love's reward be pain;
From duty never swerving,
When Love's commands are plain.



CHAPTER II

SOME BASIC IDEAS AND ASSUMPTIONS OF
THE POET SAINTS

India Ruled by King Custom

(1) Our aim in this chapter is to supply a few notes on some of those fundamental Hindu presuppositions that underlie Hinduism and influence all the writings of the *Bhakti* Poet Saints in Western India. While these basic assumptions often come to the surface (as we saw in the case of Bahinabai), they just as often remain the unexpressed background of their teaching. It is because these presuppositions are almost universally accepted among Hindus that it is essential to understand their implications and applications, even when these are silently implied. For these basic ideas and assumptions not only rob the Hindu message of true spiritual power, they also provide the greatest obstacle to nobler life and thought among the Hindu millions. These presuppositions lying behind all Hindu teaching are mainly responsible for that state of things so accurately described once by the late Dr Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar of Poona that India is ruled from end to end by King Custom.

(2) The same truth was expressed in a somewhat different way by the late Dr Henry Haigh after 25 fruitful years as a touring missionary and a versatile Kanarese editor in the Mysore State when he wrote, 'At the back of all the show and movement of temple services and religious fairs, there are great controlling ideas; ideas inherited from centuries, and now transformed into the fundamental assumptions of the people's whole thought and life. This becomes evident immediately when one converses with them on the seeming extravagances and puerilities of their religious observances.' This appears on the second page of Dr Haigh's book, *Some Leading Ideas of Hinduism*, a book insufficiently known in India but one in which his years of strenuous sowing have yielded a harvest calculated to enrich the Church of Christ in India and every other land. One of Dr Haigh's conclusions is that while the systems represented by Rome and Athens in St Paul's day 'were born after Hinduism, and have now been so long dead that any reference to them today is merely a reference to very ancient history,' on the other hand 'Hinduism lives on. Age has not decayed it, rivals have not destroyed it;' and it is because of these fundamental presuppositions, to be considered briefly below, that in Hinduism Jesus Christ still meets His 'latest, subtlest, most alert and most tenacious antagonist in India' (pp. 5-6).

(3) It is because of these facts, and because the fundamental assumptions of Hinduism, such as Karma, Caste, Idolatry and Pantheism, have been proved to be such a heavy handicap to individual character and to India's social and national progress, that we briefly deal with them. Every year supplies increasing evidence that the Indian Christian Church is fully alive to these considerations; and our own intimate and affectionate fellowship with people of all classes in Western India for nearly thirty-nine years has shown us the spiritual victory and beauty of character and service that Jesus Christ achieves when His Indwelling Spirit is allowed to reign as King of Kings in their hearts and lives.

Karma, Transmigration, Reincarnation

(1) A sufficient proof that Karma, Transmigration, Reincarnation (whichever term be chosen) is merely an unproved and unprovable assumption, lies in the fact that Karma takes the place of God in the Hindu scheme of things. For its true nature has been expressed by that true scholar, Dr A. A. Macdonell, in his *Sanskrit Literature* (p. 389): 'There is no room for independent divine rule by the side of the power of karma, which governs everything with iron necessity.' Every reader of the Marathi Poet Saints will profoundly agree with another European Sanskrit scholar, Sir George Grierson, when he states in his rich article on *Bhakti Marga* in Dr Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* that the karma philosophy 'hangs like a pall over' the *bhakti marga*, one inevitable result being that the blessing flowing from *bhakti* has often been a fleeting emotionalism.

(2) It is quite impossible for anyone to put into words the significance of the fatalism lying behind the current phrase 'the eighty-four', used by people in trouble of any kind when they say they are 'doing the 84', meaning of course the interminable round of '84 lakhs of births' or being reborn 8,400,000 times. Only a hard heart can gaze unmoved upon an ascetic at Benares or elsewhere who for over a decade has been holding his arm high in the air, all the time saying to himself that he is 'trying to cut short the 84'. Pathos is turned into deepest tragedy when being born as a woman is viewed as the punishment of former sin, affirmed in the most sacred book of every Hindu, the *Bhagavadgita* (ix. 32): 'Owing to my bad deeds in former lives I got a woman's body, which is a source of great misery.' If the opinion, widely held, that the *Bhagavadgita* is read by two hundred millions of people in India, is correct, then such a statement about a woman's birth helps to explain one of the mysteries of India, why woman is so often placed in such a position of hopeless inferiority; though no longer hopeless, thank God! wherever the influence of Christian literature and the broadening influence of Christian education are found. Hence the prime importance of all kinds of work

among Indian women and girls. Marathi-knowing readers should here read Dnyaneshwar's comment on the crucial verse in the *Gita* (ix. 32) in his poem *Dnyaneshwari* (ix. 443-464) with the expositions in the Marathi commentaries by Bankatswami (pp. 261-3) and Sakhre (pp. 287-91), and the suggestive lines by Prof. M. D. Altekar in his 1940 biographical essay in Marathi (pp. 161-3).

(3) Let us listen to an educated woman from the West as she tells what she saw of karma at work among India's needy people whom she was helping by her social service in Poona and elsewhere. Miss McNeile says: 'Karma in Hinduism is pitilessly and unflinchingly logical . . . in two directions. First, since all suffering is the result of evil done in a former life, a sufferer is something akin to a criminal. For instance, a widow must of necessity have been guilty of serious sin in a former life; it is therefore deemed right and proper to treat her as an object of contempt and aversion. She must spend her life in cruel fastings and privations, and is liable to bring ill-luck on all with whom she associates. Secondly, the law of karma is inexorable. If a man is born an outcaste or a leper, or if he falls into some great calamity, he has brought it on himself; and since his karma must work itself out, it is useless or worse to try to help him . . . It is unnecessary to minister to the leper; it is his karma to suffer. This is orthodox Hinduism as believed and practised in India today.' (Miss E. R. McNeile, *Theosophy to Christian Faith*, p. 32.)

(4) Now let us listen to the missionary editor in Kanarese who, besides dealing with Hindu woes in Mysore villages for 25 years, wrestled in his weekly paper with the philosophic mind of India. In a critical examination of the karma theory, Dr Henry Haigh said: 'It is neither proved nor provable. It bases itself on a totally inadmissible assumption. That assumption is the pre-existence of the soul . . . That which would best prove pre-existence is just that which is never available—recollection . . . The fact that no one remembers is sufficient to prove the condemnation of the theory, and entirely voids the doctrine of moral purpose and utility. . . . The people therefore rightly trace their present sufferings not to fault, but to fate . . . They are therefore the victims of a past which they do not remember, but from which they cannot escape . . . So reform is ruled out of the Hindu's creed, and the word "hope" is omitted from his vocabulary. A most important consideration, therefore, is that "karma and transmigration fails as an explanation of suffering . . . On this theory of karma, what are we to say of Jesus Christ? In Him dwelt all divine qualities," and in Jesus there was no sin, yet He had to endure the awful sufferings of the Cross.' Thus the light that falls from the Cross of Jesus is a light that exposes the untruthfulness of the karma theory.

(5) Moreover, karma gives no inspiration for social service. 'It checks and excludes pity for others . . . If, for instance, a little girl is bereft of the man to whom she was betrothed it is inferred that her sin is finding her out' and she has to suffer 'all sorts of neglect and social degradation'.

(6) Finally, said this editor for Mysore's philosophers, 'Karma bars all hopes of forgiveness. Forgiveness is a word that lies quite outside the dictionary of karma But God is a Father, and the sinner is His child; and the child is as precious to Him as the sin is hateful. . . . In order to save the sinner, God must be relentlessly hostile to the sin. The measure of God's love to the man will be the measure of His loathing for the sin. God cannot undo it, and He may not ignore it; but He may forgive it on conditions. The conditions are repentance for the sin, and faith in the Saviour whom God has provided. This Gospel of forgiveness turns midnight into morning, and brings back to human life love for fear, joy for sorrow, hope for despair.' (Haigh, pp. 27-44.)

(7) In view of the foregoing, it is not surprising that reverent and sympathetic minds have been driven to the conclusion that in the Hindu doctrine of karma, accepted by more than one half of India's people, we have an explanation of the deep and widespread pessimism of India. That pessimism acts as a barrier to all Indian reform movements, and is the cause of what Gandhiji describes as the 'apathy' of India's people regarding all movements of uplift. For, as Dr H. D. Griswold has recorded in view of his own long years of service in India, 'The ordinary Hindu hardly dares to hope for release (*moksha*) before he has passed through countless births' (*E. R. E.* vol. ix, p. 813). All such dark and dismal philosophy is met by the clear word of Jesus: 'Son, be of good cheer; thy sins are forgiven thee' (Matt. ix. 2), and by St Paul's message based on his own experience of deliverance from doubt and fear: 'You have received no slavish spirit that would make you relapse into fear; you have received the Spirit of sonship, . . . testifying that we are children of God' (Romans viii. 15-16).

Caste

(1) The Hindu doctrine of caste appears in all the poems of the *bhakti* saints, though giants like Eknath defied it. Of him there are stories that make one proud of human nature. See volume 2 of the *Poet Saints of Maharashtra*. Caste as believed and practised throughout Hinduism is the strictly logical result of the foregoing doctrine of karma and transmigration. Only the Hindu philosophical and religious sanction of caste can explain the endurance of caste for three thousand years. This close connection of caste with karma is shown by the Hindu belief that a man's caste is determined by his former life, or in other words that 'each man is born into that caste for which his former actions have prepared him'. And just as man's caste is a sure index to what he *was*, in his pre-existence, already shown to be an unsolved and unsolvable theory, so also his caste is held to be a sure index to the present state of his soul (Farquhar 140, 159).

(2) In view of such completely imaginary theories, no other

explanation is needed of the existence in Indian society of so many millions who are called Untouchables, literally out-castes, because outside all the castes, and despised and ill-treated from times immemorial.

(3) On March 3, 1911, the Secretary of State for India, Lord Morley, drew attention to the fact that some castes held such a low view of their women-folk that it was 'considered right to marry a daughter to an idol . . . and to allow her to lead thereafter the life of a prostitute; while in many temples there are *devadāsīs*, servants of the god . . . but whose real occupation is immorality.' (Farquhar, p. 103, and in more detail pp. 397-8.) Many years ago the present writer was appointed by the Bombay Vigilance Association (an Association for grappling with the problems of Bombay immorality, the members being the appointed representatives of various religions), to unite with a progressive Hindu reformer in investigating Religious Prostitution in the temples of Western India. The facts we had to reveal were staggering, and they are summarized in the *Dnyanodaya* for 1928-29. See articles: 'Prostitution Under Religious Customs' Dec. 6, 1928; 'Religious Prostitution', Dec. 13, 1928; 'Life of a *Devadāsī*', Dec. 27, 1928; 'The Traffic In Indian Girls', Jan. 17, 1929; 'Rescuing India's *Devadāsīs*', March 7, 1929. We have emphasized this sordid aspect because it is inadequately realized that many of India's immoral practices are encouraged on the one hand by caste, and on the other by the obscene pictures of Krishna both outside and inside some Hindu temples.

(4) But we gladly associate ourselves with what Miss McNeile says in one place: 'There is much that is very beautiful and worthy of high regard in the lives and ideals of many Hindus, and there are beautiful passages in the sacred books; but at the same time, Hinduism as a religious system quite definitely gives its sanction to gross social evils which are abhorred by Christians.' Miss McNeile adds the following: 'A schoolboy has been known to throw away his dinner because the English missionary looked into the boy's room at that moment, in his care for him when he was ill. Caste rules pursue a man in all sorts of horrible ways; so horrible, indeed, that we refrain from giving further examples. It is quite impossible for those outside the Hindu system, 'fully to understand the cruel bondage' of caste (McNeile, pp. 54, 110). So complete is the dominance of caste in India that it is true to say that, 'socially, the one unforgivable sin is the assertion of personal freedom' (Haigh, p. 115).

(5) The whole subject of caste has such ramifications that a treatise would be needed to deal with them, and we can only refer to one other aspect, the *persistence of caste*. Anyone who feels he must 'hustle the East' on this imperatively needed reform may well be warned by the fate attending such well-meaning 'hustlers'. We can never forget the wave of horror that swept through India in December 1927 when the leader of 'a casteless Hinduism', the truly noble-minded Shradhdhānandaji was foully murdered. And we have already

seen in our chapter on the Arya Samaj how superficial have been the results of the intense and sincere polemic against caste waged by Swāmī Dāyānand Sāraswati. Why caste should be so persistent is explained when we realize how closely the entire subject of caste is bound up with the Hindu assumptions concerning Karma and Transmigration, the continuance of which unproved and unprovable dogmas make impossible the rooting out of caste. As recently as August 4, 1946 Gandhiji stated in the weekly *Harijan* (p. 250), 'Our Shankarācharyas have supported the institution of Untouchability'; and it reflects great credit on Gandhiji that he could add, as do other Hindu reformers: 'But both our head and heart consider it a blot on Hinduism.'

(6) Then must India acquiesce in the permanent dominance of caste, fortified as it is by the time-worn dogmas of karma, transmigration and other unproved and unprovable Hindu assumptions? Every Christian in hundreds of emancipated Indian villages gives an emphatic No to such a question. For he has seen caste and all its evil brood overthrown in every village wherever the saving power of Christ has been given full sway in the individual and in the social system; and the Spirit of Truth, promised by Christ as the harvest of His sacrifice on the Cross, is answering all the false claims of karma with the devastating logic of a perennial Pentecost. In the place of caste principles with their deadening influence, that Pentecostal logic builds a state of society reflected in the early chapters of the Acts of the Apostles, founded on the life-giving principles of the Universal Fatherhood of God, the Universal Brotherhood of man, and the Universal Saviourhood of Jesus Christ. 'I will build My Church,' said Jesus (Matthew xvi. 18), 'and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' In His work of building His new society in India, the Spirit of Christ is using many constructive forces and some of them are indicated in our next paragraph.

(7) It is worthy of note that one of the most outspoken Indian deliverances on the whole question of caste was by the late Sir Narāyan Ganesh Chandāvarkar, who was himself a Marāthī-speaking Sārasvat Brāhmin, and at that time a Judge in the Bombay High Court. Sir Narāyan was presiding at a Conference of the Aryan Brotherhood of Bombay on Saturday November 9, 1912, and his Presidential address was fully reported in *The Times of India* for November 11, 1912. Some things Sir Narāyan stated are now, happily, only of historical value but the spirit of his noble protest is still needed on many aspects of the Untouchability problem. Sir Narāyan said *inter alia*, 'The laws of caste are no longer laws restraining vice; we live in an age of liberty of thought and action. We are led by the modern spirit. In these days of education and liberty do you think, can you say, that caste serves as a moral and disciplining force? Nearly every caste is leading in that respect to chaos and confusion. Men eat and drink as they like, eat at hotels and restaurants and Irāni shops, and castes are powerless. How much of hypocrisy and double lives this has led to, we all know. It is but the barest description of many

that because of caste we are living lives of mental and moral contradiction Caste has made cowards of us. A Hindu to seem and speak, a non-Hindu to be and to act, on the sly! This is the most insidious danger that can threaten disintegration of social life in the case of any society. . . . Look at another aspect of it "What does India teach?" is the title of many a book that has been written. Over and above all it teaches are writ large the words: "India teaches caste"; and yet, when borrowing from us our caste spirit, others beat us with the weapon we have forged, we complain, forgetting that we are paid in our own coin! In waging war against caste as it exists, we are fighting against the life of dissimulation, cowardice, indecision of character, and narrowness of life and vision which it has bred hitherto and which it is breeding now more than in the past. Ours is a moral warfare and if we stand firm in spite of ridicule and belittling, we shall win. Go on, and God-speed you in this work of Love, which is the healer and unifier of all.'

Idolatry and Pantheism its Root

(1) Our closing paragraphs in the section on the Idealising of Hinduism should have made clear that to study Idolatry and Pantheism in isolation is to ensure that we shall miss the real significance of both. For in the last analysis the worship of any material idol arises from the Pantheistic theory that 'God is everything, and everything is God'. It is therefore because 'India is radically Pantheistic from the cradle' that India is being ruined all over the land by more gods, it has been said, than there are people to worship them. India's fundamental error is therefore concerning God, for until India realizes the Supreme Being to be a Person, everything else will be wrong. Hence the basic importance of laying the foundation for the New Testament doctrine of God as our Father by clear systematic teaching from the Old Testament about God in His Spirituality and Holiness. The real meaning of the original Hebrew in Exodus xx. 3 is: 'Thou shalt have no other god in front of Me,' the essential meaning being that God's Holiness will not permit Him even to look at 'other gods' in any form. And while the first Commandment emphasizes God's uniqueness the Second Commandment in Exodus xx. 4 extols His Spirituality: 'Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image,' because no material likeness of any kind can represent the Spiritual Being of God. An index to the central importance of these two truths is the frequency and sometimes the ferocity with which the prophets of the Old Testament fought for the recognition of both truths in all national life; the same consideration demonstrates the superficiality of those who would elbow the Old Testament out from any scheme of religious teaching for the young.

(2) Careful pondering over the far-reaching significance of the foregoing should serve to bring home the misleading character of such

popular teaching as that given by Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan and others who admit idols into the infant class of religion. Such a religious method is not only bad theology and equally bad psychology, but it blinds the 'infants of the race' to what has been truly described as 'the downward moral pull of idolatrous worship', by initiating them into the lie that 'by such media one may best draw near to the great God and Father of all' (McNeile, p. 59). When we hear such theories and note at the same time the ruinous effect of idolatry all over India, we feel we begin to understand why a growing number of educated people in India feel 'religion' has been India's ruin; e.g., the marrying of a daughter to an idol to become a 'devadasi'.

(3) Why, then, the grip of idol-worship on the heart of India? The answer of popular Hinduism is that each idol is regarded as a living god; for it is plain that in countless villages of India the beautiful theory of idols being merely symbols of God falls to the ground. And even in that Hinduism which is not merely 'popular Hinduism', if it be true that idols are merely symbols, why is there such a ceremony as the *pranpratishta* ceremony of installing vital breath into the idol? Mrs Besant the Theosophist defended that Hindu ceremony by saying it was a 'magnetizing of the idol', on which topsyturvydom of all intelligence, readers will be well repaid by looking at page 336 of Dr Farquhar's *Crown of Hinduism*.

(4) It is more pleasant to place on record the warm acknowledgement by missionaries and Indian Christian leaders concerning the Brahmo Samaj of Calcutta and the Prarthana Samaj of Bombay for their outright condemnation of all idolatrous practices as one of the chief causes of India's moral and intellectual degradation. By their weekly journals during many decades they have helped India to understand something of the message of Jesus that 'God is Spirit' (St John iv. 24) and therefore that His worship must be solely spiritual, and inspired by His Holy Spirit in our hearts. (This is one of many reasons why even the measure of compromise with Indian idolatry represented by 'Mariolatry' or 'idolatrous worship of Virgin Mary' is not permissible.) 'The gospel or good news which the New Testament brings to all idol-worshippers in India is that man's deep longing for a true representation of God has been met and satisfied in Jesus Christ the Son of God Who is set forth as 'the image of the invisible God' (Colossians i. 15); or as Dr Moffatt renders it: 'He is the likeness of the Unseen God.' This is true because not only was Jesus like God, but also because God is like Jesus. In worshipping *this* image of God we become like Him, holy, pure and loving. This is the glory of the fuller message we offer to the noble Brahmos and Prarthana Samajists of India, that 'God so loved . . . that He gave His only Son' (St John iii. 16); and we *can* be made like Him—as thousands in India are being made like Him by that other gift of His Holy Spirit as He dwells in their hearts daily. That is the Gospel message with its secret of power, peace and purity for India and all other lands.

The New Testament Answer to Hindu Assumptions

Our whole soul goes out to the millions of ordinary Hindus whose daily life, lived under the influence of these unchallenged assumptions, is stamped with a pessimism which means that 'hope deferred maketh the heart sick'. But these assumptions have been challenged, and challenged triumphantly, by humble Christians in hundreds of villages where they have found a wonderful Substitute for the indefinable impersonal Brahman on the one hand and for the material idol on the other, from neither of which could they derive comfort and help. Men and women know themselves to be needy, sinful, helpless, and they can hardly dare to hope for 'release' before they have passed through countless births. The message of Christian assurance confronts all such speculative and pessimistic views with a positive gospel of life and comfort. God's Love for us and our place in it can be proved in a way that 'cannot prove illusory; because the Holy Spirit floods our hearts with the consciousness of the Love of God for us, . . . the inspiring consciousness of those admitted into God's family . . . And the consciousness of that relation unlocks our lips in tender filial appeal to God as our Father . . . We ought then to enter upon our privileges'. (This is the paraphrase of Romans v. 5 and viii. 15 by Dr Sanday and Dr Headlam in their great commentary on Romans.) The privileges such heart-experience ensures include an intimate relation with God Who assures us of pardon; a sure basis for religious certainty in face of hostile doubt, enabling us to exclaim 'Abba, Father'; an inspiration to impart the same blessings to others; and infinite possibilities of fellowship, holiness and service.

CHAPTER XII

INDIA'S RELIGIOUS CAPACITY AND HOW TO
DEVELOP IT

India the Key to the East

(1) Every student of the Poet Saints of Maharashtra, from Jnyaneshwar in the thirteenth century to Narayan Waman Tilak in our own day, has come to be profoundly impressed by the fact that God has created in India a race of people with a wonderful capacity for religion. It is partly because of this conviction, which confirms every day their call to India, that most missionaries leave politics to India's own people; for they believe that Jesus Christ is the deepest secret in the building of a new India. One of the greatest tragedies in Indian history has been the fact that India's capacity for religion has so often been perverted by priestcraft and corrupted by idolatry. India is to be reborn in Christ—and nothing less than this must be the Indian Church's goal—then what is needed is an Indian Christianity on fire. Such a Church will concentrate all its powers of leading individuals to Christ, on building a worthy Indian nation, and, with these two ends in view, on persuading India to dedicate her unique powers to that same 'Lord of Glory' Who used the Greek culture, the Roman privileges and the Jewish lore of Saul of Tarsus in the making of a new civilization in the first century of our present era. It is because we believe such an India holds the key to a new Eastern civilization that we write this chapter. In order to help India to qualify herself for this great mission in the world, all we who are lovers of India's 'need', in the words of Dr W. S. Urquhart, appreciate more fully than we have yet done the general religious attitude of India. In the very denials of her thought, in the very intensity of her ascetic abnegation, she has expressed something of the deepest need of the human soul, that sense of loneliness and of mystery and of helplessness over against the immensity of the universe, which is a preparation for the overwhelming Presence of God . . . There is also,' Dr Urquhart continues, 'of more serious and systematic attempts to relate the thought of Christianity to the thought of India . . . Christian theologians have spent much labour in relating their doctrines to the thought of Greece, but they have hardly made as yet sufficient efforts to systematize their teaching or think out its principles in relation to the philosophy of India' (*The Vedanta and Modern Thought*, 248-9). In this connection we can never afford to forget the solemn warning of Professor F. C. Burkitt that the intellectual cowardice of some early leaders was one cause of early Eastern Christianity dying in certain lands. (*Early Eastern Christianity*, p. 189.)

Drawbacks and Excellences of 'Bhakti' Literature

(2) In seeking to assess the value of the contribution made to religion by Maharashtra's Poet Saints we cannot afford to forget that the message of the earliest of them suffers from the fact that their language is nearly seven hundred years old, and that even the best translations of that message often miss its deepest meanings. We need also to remember that many of the writings embodying the 'autobiographies' of these saints have come down to us as 'traditional stories', that is, stories in which actual history is mixed up with traditions accepted by their chief editor Mahipati (A.D. 1715-1790) and other authors. These autobiographical poems are sometimes not what we today would call exact history, but accounts with many variations passed on from mouth to mouth. Having said this, let us say something on the other side. A rare scholar, the late Mr L. J. Sedgwick, who was Bombay Government Superintendent for the 1921 Census, stated in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay Branch* (vol. 23, No. 65, pages 109-110): 'Viewed from any standpoint of criticism the *ovi* poems of Mahipati, and the *abhangs* of Nāmdēv, Eknāth, Tukārām and Rāmdās must be placed among the finest of the poetic productions of the world.' Another British scholar, the late Judge Kincaid, stated: 'Had Mahipati used a linguistic medium more widely known than Marathi he would have ranked high among the world's poets.' And just as Marathi poetry, with its wonderful autobiographies, ranks so high in the realm of literature, so also many of the characters we meet in their pages are people of worthy moral character and personal purity. What does all this mean? It means that many in the India of the 17th century, as also of today, have cut right across our ordinary classifications, and that we need to remember that no mere 'rule of thumb' can sum up human character.

Impure Legends Cannot Represent God the All-Holy

(3) The literature of the Poet Saints presents another occasional—very occasional—disadvantage. Nothing is ever gained in the cause of truth and holiness by turning a 'blind eye' upon the moral defects of any religious system, and the honest student of Hindu *bhakti* is compelled to admit an occasional indelicacy in the writings of the saints. This means that one of the first ministries of the Spirit of God will need to be the purifying of such literature in order that He may use it for His holy purposes: this is one method whereby India's religious capacity can be deepened and developed. It is not the purpose of the present book to advertize such elements of impurity by spreading the details on our pages; we would rather emphasize their infrequency considering the immoral condition of the times in which the books were written. Suffice to say that one such instance out of the very few in all the Poet Saints series is the case of Vishnu, Shiva and Brahmadeva who are reported to have shocked the moral

sense of Anusāyabāi, according to the story (author unknown) in the *Dāsopant Digambar* volume (pp. 45-8). This traditional and anonymous story says the three reputed deities 'had really come to test her' (verse 446). We are fully aware of the fact that there is a Hindu school of interpretation which maintains these Purānic stories are *deliberate* allegories. But the answer is that truth is always pure, and therefore that whatever is conveyed through impure legends cannot be truth, can never represent the God and Father Who is All-Holy, and cannot possibly save the soul from the influence and power of *sin*. On the 'allegory' theory let us quote our statement of twenty-five years ago: 'Allegory has certainly played a part in the expository methods of Hinduism as of some other faiths, but as to how large that part was or how far it may have determined the development of Hinduism there is room for vast difference of opinion. We will only say that the critic who tries to explain things allegorically is a lost man. It is so easy, so tempting a procedure, that he soon sets no limits to its use: he considers it a way out of every difficulty. Certainly if the Krishna legends were allegories, those who devised them conferred a great disadvantage on their system' (LTT., p. 32). Let us emphasize therefore that if we are to get the best out of Hindu *bhakti* it must first of all be purified, and that includes purifying it from the allegorical element and delivering it from pseudo-philosophical interpretations. In this way, incidentally, India's religious capacity (and usefulness) will be increased immeasurably.

Bhakti as Seen in Actual Life

(4) Another way of deepening and developing India's religious capacity and at the same time of purifying *bhakti* and of increasing its usefulness is to emphasize in every possible way its historical aspect. This can best be done by studying *bhakti* from the biographical standpoint and by setting forth *bhakti* in all its manifestations in actual daily life. We often hear it said that Hinduism as seen at work in Indian villages shows up much that is unworthy; and anyone who needs illustrations of this will find them in a vivid form in the Arya Samaj book called *Satyārtha Prakash* (see our earlier section on this). But the purer side of Hindu *bhakti* will also be seen if we endeavour to find out Hinduism as it is lived in thousands of Hindu hearts and homes. This is what the Maharashtra Poet Saints enable us to do. The British philosopher Dr C. E. M. Joad, in his book called *Counter Attack from the East*, says Western readers are compelled to conclude that 'Indian philosophy has reached a dead end'. In this Dr Joad is correct, as is also Dr Radhakrishnan of whom Dr Joad says Radhakrishnan 'is definitely critical of the sterile dogmatism in which Hindu thought has apparently come to rest'. But if, on the other hand, we would really understand why Hinduism is so enduring amid all the vast changes of India, we must study Hinduism in the actual

everyday lives of Hindus of the higher and more spiritual kind. These are seen in the books of the Poet Saints. Moreover, this biographical method is essential for every evangelist, Indian and non-Indian alike. The evangelist who would really help Maharashtra's people, must clearly know and understand what religion means to the people in their own daily lives. This is made clear in the autobiographies of the Poet Saints. From such a study the evangelist will learn what conception of God is in the minds of the people, and what is their method of worship and prayer.

A Hindu Bhakti Prayer-Book

(5) If it is important to study Hinduism in the actual daily life of its followers, it is no less important to study Hindu *bhakti* in its prayer-life. That is the chief value of the Poet Saints volume entitled *Stotramālā*, or *A Garland of Hindu Prayers*. In order to give our readers the ripe and informed judgment of an Indian Christian scholar who is a recognized authority on that Vaishnavite Hinduism of which the Poet Saints form a part we sent the *Stotramālā* volume to Mr Chunilal Mukerji of Bengal and here follows Mr Mukerji's balanced valuation.

(i) '*Stotramālā*, or *A Garland of Hindu Prayers*, is an English translation of the prayers of Maratha Poet-Saints from Dnyāneshwar (A.D. 1271-1296) to Mahāpati (A.D. 1715-1790). The translator was Dr Justin E. Abbott assisted by Marathi scholars. Needless to say, it is a publication of special interest. The saints embodied in the book represent the *Dakshini* or *Southern* School of Vaishnavism, as distinguished from the Chaitanya School of Bengal and Orissa, and the Ballar Ācharyā Sect of Gujerat. The latter two encourage the lower affections of human nature in an extravagant manner, and can only, by an arbitrary stretch of language, be called religious. But the *Dakshini* School, controlled by the comparatively pure conception of Rāmānujā, is immune from the gross suggestions of the Bengal and Gujerāt cults. So it gives us pleasure to confess that we have read the *Stotramālā* with genuine satisfaction. The religious aspirations of the Marāthā Saints, as expressed in their hymns of praise and adoration, do not fail to awaken similar aspirations in the reader's heart, and, in numerous cases, they recall the devotion and fervour of Jewish and Christian ideals. The hymns may be grouped into the following categories: (1) repentance, (2) humility, (3) impassioned longing, (4) joyous adoration. Some of them are extremely charming. The true secret of enjoying them is to read only one or two a day with a view to meditation. Any other method, with an object extraneous to self-edification, might make them appear dull and monotonous.

(ii) But these hymns, beautiful as they are in their own peculiar way, have their limitations. The Jewish Prophets and the Psalms of David furnish us with a more comprehensive view of spiritual life. Religion is never regarded there as an exclusively individual affair.

Individual religious life is in Hebrew Scriptures, organically connected with the life of the nation. The rising or the falling fortunes of Israel are enlarged upon with a distinctness and passion which decisively exclude the idea of individual isolation. The individual is inseparably associated with the nation in its entirety, and the Hebrew Scriptures contain no hint of his possible separation. This constitutes the chief beauty of Jewish religious literature. I refrain from making citations from it in order to prove my point, since even a very imperfect knowledge of Jewish thought renders it patent to the casual reader. But Hinduism, notoriously individualistic, indulges in preponderance of emphasis on individual salvation. The idea of religion as an intimate factor in social organisation was almost foreign to the Hindu mind. Religion was the exclusive privilege of one or two important divisions of men. In short, Hinduism is a perverted ethnic religion, and, as a matter of fact, without a parallel in this respect. But Christian teaching is marvellously replete with universal thought. Regarded, therefore, from the Jewish and Christian points of view, the hymns of the *Stotramala* are inadequate. The Hindu saint seldom rises above his national limitations.

(iii) There is a peculiar pathos in the Christian saints which not only lends a charm to their utterances, but which also helps them to rise to an extraordinary height. This unrivalled supremacy of the Christian religion is due to one very definite idea in the Christian Scriptures, namely, that God made Himself of "no reputation" and took "the form of a servant" (Phil. ii. 7-8), so that He might save mankind. This is a very extraordinary idea, and is found in no other religion. And it is this marvellous idea which gave the Christian saints an unusual moral inspiration. Indeed, the Christian saints, by virtue of this doctrine, are enabled to dedicate themselves to the service of man in a truly incomparable manner.

(iv) A word or two about the noble translator may not be out of place. He says: "Rightly understood, Hindu theology is as monotheistic as Christianity and Islamism." This is a very astounding statement, and I have no sympathy with it. I could show by innumerable references to Hindu scriptures that Hinduism is a debased form of polytheism which sprung out of Vedantic Monism. Hinduism can hardly be called a spiritual religion. It represents a totally debased system of thought, though, in spite of that, it has produced some truly great saints. These saints, by their intrinsic moral earnestness, transcended the vile implications of what Dr Abbott called "Hindu theology". The credit belongs to the saints or to the innate goodness of human nature, not to Hinduism. *Chuni Mukerji*.

'Manas Puja' or Mental Prayer

(6) Intimate conversation will disclose the interesting fact that *bhakti Hindus* have at least two distinct methods of prayer and worship. One method is by means of idols, among which Krishna and Vithoba

have a prominent place; or the god Rama if the people happen to be followers of Rāmdās. But another discovery, and one perhaps surprising to the non-Indian evangelist, will be the prominence given in their religious thoughts to what they call *mānas puja*, or mental worship and prayer. When the idol is not near, it is this *mānas puja* to which the Indian peasant resorts in his difficulties, and often in the songs he sings as he trudges along the Indian roads or as he works in the fields, or as the women prepare the meals. We are persuaded that there is a great deal of earnest and sincere *mānas puja* in Western India, and the evangelist who lives near to Christ will see in this *mānas puja* a definite preparation by the Spirit of God in the hearts of the people for that fuller message which Jesus brings. It is the widespread practice of this *mānas puja* that explains what Professor Rudolf Otto of the University of Marburg on page 63 in his 1930 book called *The Religion of Grace* describes as 'the wonderful, delicate and spiritual songs of the Maharashtra saints'. This is Dr Otto's one and only reference to the rich religious literature in the Marathi language. Despite the Purānic stamp which mars so many pages of the Poet Saints, yet if we would really understand the deep longings and yearnings of millions of Marathi-speaking peasants, we can never afford to overlook this never-absent factor of *mānas puja* or mental prayer in their daily lives. It is a preparation for realizing the meaning of the New Testament injunction to 'pray without ceasing' (I. Thess. v, 17). The influence of this *mānas puja* on the daily life of the humblest worker on the roads or in the fields is seen in the uniform kindness we ourselves have received in India for the past 38 years from all kinds of people; it is the main factor explaining the deep religiousness of so many Indian people; it also helps to explain such fearless defiance of the caste-spirit as the great Brahmin Eknāth displayed in his wonderful treatment of the untouchables (see the volume *Eknāth* in the Poet Saints series).

Hindu Lack of Spiritual Assurance

(7) (i) In our 1922 English book, *The Life and Teaching of Tukārām*, we briefly examined the important question as to what goal Tukārām may have reached in his spiritual quest for peace of mind and heart. We showed that Dr John Wilson, writing in 1857 in Molesworth's *Marathi and English Dictionary* (p. xxvii), diagnosed Tukārām's highest spiritual attainment as 'unsatisfied religious anxiety', and that our own conclusion was very similar. After tracing Tukārām's deep sense of sin and his earnest quest after inward purity (see our index of that book on these and allied topics), and adding a reminder that we need always to guard against reading later and fuller meanings into Tukārām's terminology, we stated on page 231 that Tukārām's 'faith was no abiding refuge' and that 'he was still far from his goal of final assurance'.

(ii) A similar conclusion is reached by the late Prof. Balakrishnas Anant Bhide in his scholarly Marathi commentary of Moropant's great poem called the *Kekāvali*. In the fourth verse of that poem Moropant (A.D. 1729-94) asks why he was not saved: 'How is it that I have remained unsaved? Am I not a sinner? Or has Thy compassion ended?' At the close of verse 5 he exclaims in despair, 'How is it that I should be so difficult a sinner to save? Then why dost Thou not save me?' In verse 19 he cries out, 'Why has my salvation seemed to Thee so difficult?' Concerning these and many other cries of Moropant from the depths of his heart's despair, the late Prof. B. A. Bhide wrote on pages 2-3 of his 1937 exposition, making clear that from these and other passages in Moropant's popular poem, the *Kekāvali*, we see that although the poet was fully convinced of his sinfulness of heart, yet after his fulfilment of all the conditions of *bhakti* religion, he had received no assurance of pardon or salvation. Here is our effort at translating Prof. Bhide's beautiful Marathi in this passage which is so full of pathos:—'Though Moropant was advanced in years when his great poem came to birth, yet in all his worldly affairs he was in need of nothing. He had, indeed, accomplished the great object of his pilgrimage to *Kāshī* (or *Benārēs*), about which he had been so anxious; that object had been that his heart should be delivered from any kind of worry about worldly affairs and that he should devote all his time and thought to the right methods of spiritual attainment. But even in face of his outward prosperity, his mind was still haunted by spiritual torments. In his prayers to God he was always saying: 'Though I have applied all my poetic powers to the service of God; and though I have visited all the chief holy places such as *Kāshī* (*Benārēs*) and *Prayāg* (or *Allahābād*), etc.; and though I have had the great privilege of such good fellowship with the saints; and though I have had the benefit of reading many of the very best religious books; and though my faith in the saints and my reverence for them have been unwavering; yet, after doing all these things, my soul is still unsaved, for I am as yet not cleansed from evil desires, nor have I as yet any true purity of heart.' 'Thus to the very end,' observes Prof. Bhide, 'this Brāhmin's conscience was pricked with a sense of guilt; and the present poem, the *Kekāvali*, is a lasting monument to his need of inward peace. This poem, therefore, is not at all the work of a man craving for popularity, nor of one longing to escape from any worldly trouble, nor of one ambitious for fame or striving after wealth; of none of these things is there the slightest trace in the poem. The poem is entirely concerned with the poet's deep sense of moral and spiritual impotence, his feeling that he is in the deadly grip of carnal desire. Gusts of doubt are sweeping through his soul; he is assailed by a deep conviction of his sinfulness; he is depressed by the utter absence of spiritual joy, and by his continual desire to be delivered from his inward spiritual distress. It is of these things that the poet sends out his pathetic cries, pleading with such pitifulness with the Supreme Being Who is the Home of Mercy and of Knowledge.'

Realizing that he was now advanced in years, that the time of his departure was approaching nearer and nearer, with no knowing when death might swoop down upon him—it is with these sentiments dominating his mind that this Brahmin pleads in a distress that really cannot be put into mortal speech.'

The Views of Three Christian Scholars

(8) (i) No careful student can fail to be impressed with the greatness of the challenge that comes to the Christian Church of Maharashtra, especially to the educated section of that Church, from the fact that so often the Maratha *bhaktas* seem to come near, in their heart-experience and in their songs, to the vitalizing centre of the New Testament message. So much indeed is this the case that in a conversation with the late Dr J. N. Farquhar, that great authority on India's religious literature, a few years before death took him from us, he told the present writer that in his judgment the Marāthā poet Tukārām was nearer to the New Testament standpoint than all other Indian poet-singers.

(ii) So near, indeed, is Tukārām often to New Testament ideas that the late Miss Evelyn Underhill, the notable writer on mysticism, while feeling a deep 'revulsion' against 'the image of Vithoba', Tukārām's favourite idol, she could yet say: 'A careful comparison (of Tukārām's hymns) with the classics of Christian mysticism would show that all the characteristic experiences of penitence and reconciliation, of ecstasy and dereliction, are found as fully developed in the lover of Krishna as in the lover of Christ' (*Westminster Gazette*, Feb. 14, 1920).

(iii) On this opinion of Miss Evelyn Underhill the opinion of Dr Nicol Macnicol must be accepted as final when he says: 'This is a hasty judgment and cannot be maintained when one studies the hymns (of Tukārām) more closely. Thus such a word as "peace", even on Tukārām's lips does not really mean "peace with God", which is its meaning for the most part in Christian scriptures, but "dispassion", the Stoic *ataraxia*' (*I.R.M.*, vol. 33, No. 127, July 1943, p. 256). When we look into this Stoic Greek word *ataraxia* we find it means not 'peace', but rather 'freedom from passion' (*E.R.E.*, vol. 13, p. 675(3)), 'extermination of the emotions' (*E.R.E.*, vol. 1, p. 603 (2)), 'passing from momentary excitement' or 'the utmost possible avoidance of pain' (*E.R.E.* vol. 5, p. 283 (2)).

(iv) Yet, although there are these pitfalls requiring constant vigilance, the Christian student of Marāthī *bhakti* poetry will find everywhere a surprising amount of evidence that the inspiring Spirit of Truth was with these *bhaktas* long before the student began to study them.

(v) One of the most encouraging aspects of the Indian Christian scene today is the slowly increasing number of educated Indian Christians who in study of India's poet-saints are finding in their

writings valuable points of contact with the New Testament message. Hence the timeliness of Dr Nicol Macnicol's observation : ' It is for the Indian Christian to do his own thinking in this sphere in which he must find his own way, helped by his own insight and experience as these have been illuminated by the Lord Jesus Christ. They need someone of their own kind who can speak to them on this subject with the conviction with which St Paul speaks to his fellow-Jews in his Epistles to the Romans and Galatians. And just as he calls upon them to choose decisively between the bondage of Rabbinic legalism and the freedom of the Gospel, between the deadly tyranny of the letter and the life and exhilaration that the Spirit brings, so also the wise Indian will surely reject *in toto* the paralyzing and devitalizing power of Vedantic monism His aspiration may even find, in the experience of Tukārām, some stepping-stones leading him onward till in Christ Jesus he discovers and claims his sonship with that Holy Father' (*I.R.M.*, July 1943, p. 257).

Narāyan Vāman Tilak and 'Tukārām's Bridge'

(9) Such a 'stepping-stone' Narāyan Vāman Tilak found in Tukārām's poetry concerning which N. V. Tilak wrote afterwards his well-known Marathi line which means : ' It was over the bridge of Tukārām's verse that I came to Christ.' This once Chitpāvan Brāhmin who became the greatest hymn writer of the Marāthi-speaking Church of India, although he could say that Tukārām had been of such value to his soul on its journey Christwards, still felt compelled to say : ' You can find much in Tukārām's poetry that runs parallel with the teaching of Christ, save its principles and spirit. These latter, eclectics such as the Prarthanā Samājists (reformed Hindus) easily read into his words, and when they cannot do so they put them there . . . As a religious enquirer, I made a careful comparative study of Jesus and Tukārām, because I first tried to follow Jesus without being His, and I found out that, since merely ethical maxims and sentiments are not enough to make a religion, Tukārām has nothing to do with Jesus. But he was a saint. Of these Hindu saints I have written in my *Christāyan* (see our later section on this) : " They are far from Thee, and yet they are Thy devotees—none need doubt this; they are genuine saints who live for Thee." Tukārām was one of the greatest saints of India, and as such he has influenced and is still influencing the devotional trend of his people. In the case of us Christians, he is one of the most powerful of sidelights. Only a few weeks ago he threw me into the very arms of my Lord.' (Taken from an unpublished paper which Narāyan Vāman Tilak handed to the present writer when it seemed probable N. V. Tilak would be a collaborator in our book, *The Life and Teaching of Tukārām* (pp. 237-246)). Similarly Narāyan Vāman Tilak always thought of the books of the Indian Poet Saints as 'a supplementary Old Testament' for India's people, but never as a substitute for the Old Testament, because the Old Testament

revelation of the Divine Oneness, Divine Holiness, etc., is absolutely necessary for every people on earth, as a preparation for the New Testament revelation of the Holy Father, the God of Holy Love, and for that cleansing of the heart which is imperatively needed for the indwelling of God the Holy Spirit.

Does the Spirit of God work in India's own Literature ?

(10) This seems a suitable point to consider a question likely to arise in the minds of future Indian Christian leaders and missionaries, even more than it has done in the past. Can we truly state that the Spirit of God has been patiently preparing, by means of Hindu Poet Saints and other writers, the way for the fuller message of Christ ? If not, whence has come all their expression of deep yearning for God ? Is the poet of today in error when he writes as follows ?

*All souls that struggle and aspire
All hearts of prayer by Thee are lit,
And dim or clear, Thy tongues of fire
On dusty tribes and twilight centuries sit.
Nor bounds, nor clime, nor creed Thou know'st,
Wide as our needs Thy favours fall ;
The white wings of the Holy Ghost,
Stoop, seen or unseen, o'er the head of all.*

Was the poet wrong when he so wrote ? For these Marātha saints wrote their poems in praise of Vishnu, Krishna, Vithoba and other Hindu deities. Nothing but good can come from facing this issue, for it involves the whole truth of the condescension of the Spirit of God, that patient loving Spirit Who 'stoops to the poor heart of man' to purify it, and to cleanse imperfect religious systems, fulfilling His mission as 'the Spirit of Truth' in leading them to 'the Way, the Truth and the Life'. Is the Old Testament in error when it affirms that 'the Spirit of God came over a man' (1 Samuel xix. 23, Moffatt's rendering) amid strange scenes very different from those on the day of Pentecost in Acts ii ? Of course we must insist in season and out of season on the utter inadequacy and error of much around us in India, just as Jesus did in Palestine. But if Jesus dealt so patiently with the imperfect religious system of His day, though His patience led to the Cross, must we not imitate Him today ? Jesus knew that 'every Semitic tribe had its own god', to use words from that inspired teacher, the late Principal George Adam Smith in his book on *The Twelve Prophets* : 'Where such opportunities were present, can we imagine the Spirit of God to have been absent—the Spirit Who seeks men more than they seek Him ? As He condescends to use their poor language for religion, He must also have stooped to the rude symbols of their faith However you explain it, that Divine Spirit . . . that Light which lighteth every man, was present.' And despite the presence of 'unbalanced' elements, 'that is not to discredit the

sincerity' of men's seeking after God, 'nor its authenticity as a work of the Spirit of God'. In the words of the 1910 Edinburgh World Conference Report, 'The missionary asks of any nation, What is the truth in it by which it has lived through these many centuries?' And the answer is supplied by Dr Fleming in his book entitled *Marks of a World Christian* when he says: 'If we are sincere in believing that God is not partial in His love to His children, then *there must have been a yearning of the Spirit amidst these other peoples all through the ages*. We, as Christians . . . are beginning our missionary work far along in the history of God's working with these peoples. God has been working there for centuries . . . India, for example, fairly breathes religion . . . God-intoxicated some have called India.' We only need the energy and skill of the Holy Spirit 'to transform India into the richest province in the empire of Christ'.

'Secret Christians'

(11) In India one of the richest parts of this 'empire of Christ' may yet be formed out of those who today can only be regarded as 'secret Christians'. As far back as 1920 *The Travancore and Cochin Diocesan Record* stated that a 'Secret Christian Brotherhood' existed among the educated people of India which even at that time numbered 24,000 (*Dnyanodaya*, Jan. 29, 1920, p. 35). Why do so many remain secret followers of Christ? Why also do so many Hindu and Muslim and Parsee students listen to Bible teaching in Christian schools and colleges without 'following Jesus' as did Narāyan Vāman Tilak and Panditā Rāmābhai and Sādhu Sundar Singh? A partial answer is given when we recall such 'Factors Against Christ' as Caste, Disloyalty of 'Christians', etc. Possibly many of us are not sufficiently emphasizing the imperative need of obeying the call of God to follow the Saviour Whom millions of Indians secretly admire. None but the power of the Spirit of Christ can overcome the hindrance which is so widespread in India and is referred to by Gandhiji in his own case on page 52 of his first volume of *My Experiments with Truth* when he says: 'I dared not go against the opinion of my mother and my eldest brother.' This fear of relatives, the fear also of the penalties imposed by caste, is, happily, in a growing number of cases all over India, being overcome by the power of the Spirit of God.

Moral Excellence Outside the Christian Church

(12) In the study of some of the loftier of the Poet Saints of Mahārāshtra, such as Dnyaneshwar, Eknāth, Tukārām and others, one persistent question forces itself upon the mind of the honest interpreter; our own conviction, indeed, is that there is no need to evade the question: What attitude should the Christian student adopt towards moral excellence shown by those outside the Christian Church, before the Christian message reaches them? And how are we to

explain the excellence? The answer to the first question is obvious if we have learned our lessons in the Master's School of Love; for, says His greatest disciple in what is considered by many to be St. Paul's picture of the character of Christ: 'Love is gladdened by goodness, . . . always eager to believe the best, always hopeful' (1 Cor. xiii. 6-7, Moffatt); or as Dr A. S. Way translates: 'Love shows glad sympathy with truth, all tolerance is she, all trustfulness, all hope.'

(13) The second question is perhaps not so easy to answer: Whence any moral or religious excellence before Christ has been proclaimed? It is quite certain that many of us have thought what Abraham expressed, though perhaps without the humiliation of reproof by those we have under-estimated, when the Father of the Faithful exclaimed, 'I thought there was no religion here' (Genesis xx. 11, Moffatt). We have already seen in our first chapter that there was more real character in that particular place than the patriarch himself had displayed on that occasion. How often the present writer has felt himself reproved by genuine goodness in unexpected places in India! Even during the very week in which this is being written, the Premier of the Bombay Government, the Hon. B. G. Kher, in a Poona speech on the 'problem of our fallen Indian sisters', gave expression to sentiments that would have done honour to St Paul's Cathedral. Yet in common parlance that Premier is called a 'non-Christian'!

Christ's 'Other Sheep'

(14) That the Christian Scriptures are far from silent on this question we have already seen in our first chapter. Besides the reproof administered to Abraham in the first book of the Bible (Genesis xx. 11) and the reverberating moral thunder of the closing book of the Old Testament regarding the claims of those professing to be God's people (Malachi i. 11), we see Jesus Himself amazing His intimate followers by affirming concerning a non-Jew that He had never met such real faith before (Matthew viii. 10, Luke vii. 9); from which it is plain that Jesus had no hesitation in openly commending the religious devotion of those who were outside the recognized religious circles. Those other words of Jesus in St John x. 16, 'I have other sheep, too, which do not belong to this fold', suggest the searching question whether, with all our minute attention to religious statistics, we may not be leaving out of the Church's reckoning some whom the Lord of the Church includes in His estimate. We noted the crucial lesson that even the Pentecostal preacher St Peter had to learn years later: 'I see quite plainly that God has no favourites' (Acts x. 35). There is also much to be learned on our subject, for example, from those intimations scattered throughout the four Gospels that Jesus must have had some secret friends who were of incalculable value to His work. All these considerations are sufficient to show that many of us have still many lessons of humility and tolerance and Christlike method to learn in the Master's School. By putting together the

foregoing passages from various parts of the Bible we shall discover much golden ore, and two truths at least will stand out clearly. The first truth is that, in the cases enumerated, we see the result of people living up to the best light thus far received; and the second truth is that God Himself and His Spirit-guided servants would seem to place a higher estimate on such character than some present-day statistical methods would appear to imply.

'The Light that Lighteth Every Man'

(15) When we seek an adequate explanation of what, for want of a better term, we may describe as moral and religious roots springing out of what humanly speaking seems 'dry ground', we believe a satisfying explanation is to be found in a right interpretation of those profound words in the Prologue of St John's Gospel, 'the real Light which enlightens every man' (John i. 9). It was to this Prologue in John i. 1-14 that the early Christian Fathers in the first two or three centuries ~~then~~ turned when they found themselves expounding and applying the Gospel message to the Greek culture of the Roman world; and the literature of the time shows how the full meaning of that Prologue was brought to bear upon all Greek and Roman problems of that age by the founders of the Church of Christ in the scattered lands around the Mediterranean Sea. How St John and St Paul and the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews applied the great principle in John i. 9 can best be seen by reading their amazing letters from this particular standpoint. Bishop Brooke Foss Westcott, father of India's recently retired Metropolitan, in his 1908 two-volume commentary on St John's Gospel, renders the phrase in John i. 9: 'the true light which lighteth every man'. Dr Westcott's notes emphasize that in their search for God and truth 'men are not left alone', that the Light was 'advancing . . . by preparatory revelations', that it is a Light 'of which all other lights are only partial rays or reflections, . . . imperfect, incomplete, transitory'; this Light is 'universal in its actions' and no man is wholly destitute of the illumination; 'in nature and life and conscience it makes itself felt in various degrees to all'; for 'the Light was ever coming through the ages'; it is 'personal, and universal while personal', but 'the world failed to recognize Him' Who came as 'that Light'. This enriching line of exposition is also adopted by that great interpreter of Scotland, Dr A. B. Bruce, in his noble volume in *The Expositor's Greek Testament*, where in his notes he points out that John i. 9 'was much used by the Greek Fathers who believed the Logos ('the Word' of John i. 14) guided the heathen in their philosophical researches.' Dr Bruce is joined by that other notable scholar of Scotland, Dr G. H. C. Macgregor, in *The Moffatt New Testament Commentary*, both of them adding that 'this is the text on which the Quakers, or Society of Friends, establish their doctrine that every man is given a sufficiency' of inward light and grace; 'every conscience

in some degree is illuminated by the immanent Light.' So central is this whole idea in Quaker teaching that in Barclay's *Apology*, one of the chief standards of the Society of Friends, John i. 9 is described as 'the Quakers' text'.

'Prevenient Grace'

(16) The same line of thought is pursued in that great movement which began in the 17th century called Arminianism, with its emphasis on what is called 'Prevenient Grace', defined by the ever-useful *Concise Oxford Dictionary* (p. 910) as 'grace preceding repentance and predisposing the heart to seek God'. In a luminous article on *Arminianism* (including its later Methodist development) in Dr Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* (vol. i, pp. 807-16), Professor Frederic Platt, after making clear that Arminianism was originally a revolt against certain forms and misrepresentations of Calvinism, points out that Arminianism's great contribution was its 'decisive assertion of the doctrine of *prevenient grace*, due to the universal diffusion of the influences of the Holy Spirit, and consequently the acceptance in every age of those who strove after natural uprightness'. As the latter portion of John's Prologue shows, 'the Logos' or Divine Representative, 'found His Own home' (in Palestine and often since then in His Church) 'shut against Him', and yet, as Dr Macgregor sums it all up, 'there is a minority of individuals who have accepted Him'; but God's patient and everseeking *prevenient grace*, *can* be refused. The best exposition we know of 'prevenient grace' and how it works is given by the late Dr William Burt Pope in his three-volume *Compendium of Christian Theology*, even yet too rich to be laid aside. In his second volume, pages 361-367, Dr W. B. Pope says: 'the word *Grace* has three meanings in the New Testament. It is Grace from God to man: "Grace to you" (2 Cor. i. 2); it is Grace working within the soul: "My grace is sufficient for thee" (2 Cor. xii. 9); it is Grace going back to God in thanks: "thanks be to God" (2 Cor. ix. 15). This grace as the influence of the Spirit on the minds of men generally, and of individual men before their personal acceptance, is described in various ways. These . . . yield a doctrine which is simple in its mystery though mysterious in its simplicity. The drawing and striving of the Spirit are throughout the Scriptures abundantly referred to: the former operating on the human soul regarded as obedient; the latter wrestling with the soul regarded as repugnant . . . The *prevenient grace* of the Spirit is exercised on the natural man, that is, on man as the Fall has left him. As the object of that grace, man is a personality free and responsible, by the evidence of consciousness and conscience. . . . And his whole nature, as fallen, whether regarded as intellect, sensibility or will, is under some measure of the influence of the Holy Spirit, the first fruits of the gift of redemption . . . The cooperation of the will is real; because in its last stage it rests with the free-agent himself whether

the influence of the Spirit be repelled or listened to . . . It is utterly hopeless to penetrate this mystery : it is the secret between God's Spirit and man's agency.'

'Unconscious Christianity'

(17) All this has been expressed by one of the greatest of modern preachers in a way that present-day minds can appreciate. Dr James Reid of Eastbourne, England, contributes a meditation in every issue of *The British Weekly* and on August 29, 1946 he took for his subject that remarkable verse from St Paul's First Corinthian letter, chapter 10, verse 4, in which St Paul paints the unforgettable picture of the Hebrew nation on the march out of slavery into freedom, and all the time surrounded by Pagan influences while on their long march ; but, says St Paul, their spiritual help and nourishment came in this remarkable way : ' They long drank the water that flowed from the spiritual rock that went with them, and that rock was Christ ' (Weymouth). Dr. Reid's observation was much to the point when he said : ' It may seem strange that Paul identified this grace with Christ. These people knew nothing of Christ. But Christ is not merely one who appeared at a certain time in history. He is the unveiling to our human eyes of that seeking saving love which has always been at work in the souls of men. That is what St John said of Him in the preface to His Life : " The Light that lighteth every man is now come into the world." All truth is of God's imparting. All love is of His kindling. All the fine impulses of our hearts are of His Spirit, and the nature of that Spirit is Christ. There is such a thing as unconscious Christianity. There are people who in their lives and actions reveal the quality of His Spirit, though they hardly know His name. It should make us very humble. Jesus came to make us aware of God, to reveal the real meaning of our deepest longings.' We have greatly abbreviated Dr. Reid's fine words. Jesus Himself in those matchless parables of Luke xv. made clear that God Himself, the All Holy, All Patient, All Loving Father is seeking every day the soul of every man, and as Jesus put it in those eloquent words, God the Father seeks the soul of every man ' *until He find it* '. Hence Nārāyan Wāman Tilak could say in his *Abhangānjali*, his last poetic contribution to India, that for himself the divine method had been to lead him ' to Christ over the bridge of Tukārām's verse '.

'Not Far From The Kingdom'

(18) So really do John i. 9 ; x. 16 ; Acts x. 45, and other relevant passages unveil the deep springs of the far-reaching religious revolution going on in India today, that it is the growing conviction of the present writer that there are many millions of earnest, praying, cultured souls all over India to every one of whom Jesus is saying daily by means of His Word and His Spirit and, saying by methods hidden from our human eyes, what He said to that earnest man whom He praised amid

a crowd of His bitterest critics on His last day of public work, ' Thou art not far from the Kingdom of God ' (Mark xii. 34). The searching question should be with every one of us : What am I doing to help such people into the fellowship of Christ Himself ? Or am I hindering ? Perhaps the Voice of the Living Christ is saying to corrupt and worldly Churches today what He said long ago to one such Church : ' I will remove Thy candlestick out of its place except thou repent ' (Revelation ii. 5). Do we complain that the Communists of our time are irreligious and even atheistical ? Do we ever think that the Communists may have been Providentially ' allowed ' (an important word in the Book of Revelation : see xiii. 5-7) to come into existence to flay the soul of the corrupt Church in Russia against which the Communists rebelled, and that the so-called ' Christian organizations ' they saw there were as different as can be from the ' Church ' that Christ Himself in His rare references to the subject sets forth in the Gospels by His Inspiring Spirit of Truth. There are uncountable thousands of Indian students in India, both men and women, who are rebelling against all religions, because of what they have seen in the caricature of their own religion, Hinduism or Islam or Parseeism, which so often degrade the very idea of religion by the way their priests and leaders practise, or fail to practise in their own lives, the worthiest precepts of those religions. Let us beware that we are ourselves not giving to present-day India a similarly revolting idea of that Saviour Whose imperfect representatives we are. Dr W. S. Taylor of Indore says that after a year's discussion on religion a class of Hindu, Muslim, Jain and Christian students decided that a religious man has an advantage over an atheist ' *only* if his religion gives him belief in a *Power*, . . . with Whom he can cooperate and from Whom he can draw strength. They agreed that what is essential, if religion is to be of value, is that God *must have Power* ' (*The Fellowship*, October, 1946). So Dr Taylor concludes that ' an essential feature of effective religion ' is ' its ability to supply *power* to meet man's need. A religion which fails to do this stands condemned. God must be understood in terms of moralized spiritual *power*, ' and God-in-Christ ' does supply power adequate to all man's needs ' by the Holy Spirit dwelling within us daily.

'We Want To See Jesus'

(19) India has with her own eyes seen those who in their daily lives have been a reincarnation of that Spiritual Power which India sees portrayed in those Gospels read in secret by millions of people all over the land. ' We want to see Jesus ' (John xii. 21) is as truly the desire of India's people today as it was of those Greeks who came up to the Jerusalem festival. Such was the inner meaning of a 1927 Bombay speech by Dr Radhakrishnan. How India responds when it *does* see Jesus reflected in human lives is clear from India's awestruck and affectionate attitude towards such men as Sādhu Sundar Singh

and C. F. Andrews so well known to millions as 'Dinbandhu' or 'Christ's Faithful Apostle'. And there are millions of others, many of whom it has been a joy and honour to us to see in various parts of India, in the Indian village of Sirur, in the broiling cities of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, in the intellectual metropolis of Mahārāshtrā, Poona, and on every visit we have had the privilege of paying to Benares and its neighbouring Azamgarh. For enabling some of India's four hundred million people to 'see Jesus' in His reflected beauty, every individual (without exception) among the eight millions of professed followers of Jesus in India bears a definite responsibility. In this way can every disciple of Jesus in India help to develop and deepen India's religious power and usefulness. And on this matter every educated Christian in India—and here we include non-Indians—has a responsibility unique in character for enabling India to 'see Jesus' and to understand and accept His transforming message. Just exactly how each one of us *can* give India a vision of Christ, let us learn from St Teresa of the 16th century: 'Christ has no body now on earth but yours, no hands but yours; yours are the eyes through which is to look out Christ's compassion to the World; . . . yours are the hands with which He is to bless us now.' If, as we ponder over the individual responsibility for these things, our *heart* shrinks, then let us pray (in the following slightly altered words) with George Matheson who himself had learned the secret of victory in conflict: 'My heart needs Thee, O Lord, my heart needs Thee. No part of my being needs Thee like my heart. All else within me can be filled by Thy gifts. But no outward thing can make my heart pure. The calmest day will not calm my passions. This world has not provided for my heart. Provide Thou for my heart, O Lord! Be Thou the strength of my heart. Be Thou its fortress in temptation, its shield in remorse, its covert in the storm, its star in the night, its voice in the solitude. Guide it in the gloom; help it in its heat; direct it in its doubt; calm it in its conflict; fan it in its faithfulness; prompt it in its perplexity; lead it through its labyrinths; raise it from its ruins! I cannot rule this heart of mine; keep it under the shadow of Thine own wings.'

'No Man Cometh Unto THE FATHER But By Me'

(20) There remains one question, viz., the attitude of the Christian Church to people of other faiths. This question is fearlessly grappled with by one of the best and most evangelical theologians in Christendom, the Rev. A. G. Hogg, D.D., D. Litt., formerly of Madras, in the Tambaram Series, *The Authority Of The Faith* (vol. i, pp. 94-116), under the title *The Christian Attitude To Non-Christian Faith*, a volume inadequately known by the rank and file of Christian workers in India both Indian and missionary. Dr Hogg asks: 'Can there be, within the non-Christian religions, in those for whom their religion is a living personal possession, a life which, although without Christ, is yet somehow a life "hid in God"? . . . in the approach to which one ought to

put the shoes off the feet, recognizing that one is on the holy ground of a two-sided commerce between God and man? . . . For my own part I am convinced that the answer must be in the affirmative . . . Why am I so convinced? Most of all because I have really met with it . . . It is true that we cannot but be disturbed at noting how deficient this non-Christian faith is prone to be in a sense of the marvel of forgiveness . . . Where else than in Christianity shall we find anything to approximate . . . to the presentation of the spiritual verities offered in Romans i-viii? . . . But is a man not a Christian at all until he is at home in those chapters? Does not the Christian life begin whenever a man is enabled by Christ to roll on God whatever is at the moment his most disabling burden, even if that burden be still of a rather "this-worldly" sort? . . . "Not the consciousness of sin brings men to Christ, but the continued contact with Christ brings them to consciousness of sin." (These words are such a correct description of what Narāyan Vāman Tilak records of his own pilgrimage to Christ and with Him, that they might be taken as an English translation of the Marāthi Christian poet's Marāthi words on the subject.) Dr Hogg continues: "Neither is there salvation in any other" is a scriptural saying (Acts iv. 12) which does no more than give pointed expression to what the converted sinner feels to be the unescapable reading of his direct experience in coming to God in Christ . . . It is self-evident to him that *this* salvation . . . is inextricably bound up with Christ in every feature . . . Did our Lord declare: "No man cometh unto the Father but by Me"? (John xiv. 6) . . . Yes, but the words are, "Cometh unto the Father" . . . He did not ask us to believe that, except through Him, no one can come to God . . . Neither for the Hebrew saints, nor, I think, for any non-Christian saint, has the term "Father", as used of God, carried the wealth and simple directness of meaning that it had for and ought to have for every Christian . . . But although it was not in India that the Word was made flesh, this does not imply that the Word did not come to India at all—that there was no revelation, no progress whatever in the great Teacher's school . . . And when Christ quickens us to perceive in its truth the supreme enigma—the appalling fact of sin—no doctrine will suffice but that of His atoning sacrifice . . . When Christ succeeds in unveiling for any man the judgment of God on sin, in this very act He cannot help making Himself, for that man, the one and only way. Christ is the only way to God that can remain permanently a thoroughfare . . . by its illuminating and renovating power.' These then are the riches by which India's religious capacity may be enlarged and deepened: the marvel of forgiveness, communion with the Holy Father, assured salvation from sin, and an illuminating and renovating power.

CHAPTER XIII

PRINCIPAL VARKI'S MESSAGE ON SPIRITUAL POWER

(1) When Principal A. M. Varki of Alwaye in the Syrian Church of Travancore passed away at the age of 52 on June 5, 1944, there passed from the earthly scene one who has been rightly described as 'one of the greatest of Indian Christians'. This is abundantly clear to any reader of the 177 pages containing a selection of 26 addresses published in December 1946 for the Student Christian Movement of India, Burma and Ceylon entitled *To Students* with an invaluable biographical introduction of eight pages, for Rs. 2-12, by the Christian Literature Society For India (Post Box 501, Park Town, Madras). It is a most beautiful and stimulating book.

The Riches Of Indian Culture

(2) In a beautiful address delivered as a member of the Mission of Help in England in 1932 Principal Varki called attention to a few facts of India's history to give 'a new conception of her need. Think of her Vedas, about which Dr. Farquhar has said, "No other people ever produced a body of religious poetry of such striking originality and beauty at such an early stage in their history." Think of her *Puranas*, of the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, among the most interesting moral treatises of the world. Think of the *Bhagavad Gita* (or the *Song of the Adorable*), one of the noblest and purest expressions of religious devotion ever produced in any non-Christian country. Think of her philosophies and her philosophers like Sankaracharya. Think of her poetry and poets like Kalidasa. Think of her emperors like Asoka, who in the moment of victory turned to the arts of peace, and Akbar than whom there has not been a more successful administrator anywhere in the world. Think of her great soldiers like Sivaji. Think of the heroism of the Rajput women who in their thousands preferred death to shame. . . . If these are merely things of the past, think of the poet (Tagore) whose call to international brotherhood is among the most prophetic voices of these confused times; of the philosopher Radhakrishnan who is hailed as one of the greatest thinkers of the East; of Sastri, one of the most charming orators of the world; of Ghandhiji, in whom you find a combination of contemplation and action unrivalled in the history of the world; and above all of Sadhu Sundar Singh, in whom both East and West saw a nearer approach to the life of the Master than in anyone else. Think of her sense of the unseen, her consciousness of the indwelling presence of God, her

ecstasies of religious emotion, her renunciation of the world, her gentleness, her patience, her mortification of the flesh so that the spirit may be free.'

India's Weakness

(3) 'And then,' continued Principal Varki in his 1932 address in England, 'without losing your sense of all the beauty and glory of India, can you turn to the other side? In the midst of all this glory you will find the great masses of the country poor, illiterate, ignorant, superstitious, apathetic. They have no will to live. You will find that there is a sort of pessimism in the very blood. India has no adequate sense of the worth and value of the individual. She has put renunciation as an end in itself. She has developed a mechanical conception of the soul's relation to God. You will find the few educated people . . . unwilling to begin that reconstruction of social relationships which alone can make their country strong and brave. You will find everywhere an absence of that readiness to serve on which alone a great nation can be built up. India needs Jesus. He has already shown what He will mean to us. He has given new life to the outcaste. He is transforming Hindu thought beyond recognition. Above all He is raising men and women who are willing to give their all for the service of their country. What then is the call to us all? A sharing, a fellowship, so that each nation shall bring to the other what she stands in need of' (pp. 75-77).

The Distinctive Thing In True Christianity

(4) In face of the glaring contradictions with which India perpetually confronts all those who would help her, the question presses: How shall India's genius be used to overcome India's weakness? Here we meet one of the most encouraging signs of the times in India, viz. that an increasing number of India's educated Christian leaders are more and more emphasizing the dynamic power and possibilities of God's Holy Spirit in the life and work of India and of India's Church. We have already seen what Mr P. Chenchiah says. On one occasion during the Mission of Help in Britain, one present in a meeting of Christian Ministers asked the question: 'How would you express briefly the superiority of Christ to the other religions in India?' 'In one word,' replied Principal Varki, 'the word *Power*.' That word *Power* Principal Varki has expanded into many suggestive sentences in the enriching book *To Students*. 'What is distinctive about Christianity?' he asked in an August 1939 address at Trivandrum, and his answer was: 'The power it gives to observe its teachings, the power that comes from the Risen Lord indwelling in us by the agency of the Holy Spirit' (p. 84). On page 34 we read: 'The world decays and perishes except as it is inhabited by the Spirit of God. And the Spirit of God can live only where there is the response of love.' On

page 51 : 'The Christian life is supernatural; it is God's own life in us.' On page 52 : 'Let us make a new start by realizing afresh that Christ dwells in us; His supernatural Life is in us; His Life is sufficient for all our needs.' On page 87 : 'The personal consecration of ourselves to the Lordship of Jesus : this is what makes religion a power in our lives.... Without this, institutionalism is a dead weight and rationalism a snare.' On page 106 : 'Dr. Glover says somewhere that the early Christians out-loved, out-thought, out-lived and out-died the non-Christian world in the Roman empire. We are called upon to do the same.'

What Is A Christian ?

(5) Addressing the Student Christian Movement National Conference at Kandy in December 1940 Principal Varki asked, 'What is it to be a Christian ?' He went on to say : 'Years ago, when I was a student at Madras, I was greatly inspired by a book called *The Fact of Christ* by Carnegie Simpson.... What he says is this : "A Christian is one who is responding to whatever meanings of Christ are, through God's Spirit, being brought home to his intellectual or moral conscience." What then is the real difference between a learned, devout Hindu, who finds much that is beautiful in Christ's teachings and life, and a simple Christian who understands very little of the philosophy of Christian doctrine but lives his life in the power of the Risen Lord ?... A Christian is one in whom the Risen Lord, in His full divine, human life, indwells... The purpose of the Incarnation was not to teach us new truths, nor to show us new examples, but to make us verily new creatures by the mediation to us through the Holy Spirit of the life of the Risen and Ascended Lord. Without this there is no Christianity... Tradition tells us the story of St Ignatius of Antioch appearing before the Emperor Trajan for trial, at the beginning of the second century. Ignatius called himself Theophorus, meaning 'God-bearer.' The Emperor asked, "Who is he that beareth God ?" Ignatius replied, "He that hath Christ in his breast." "Christ in us," "hid with Christ in God"... To be a Christian is to have in us the life of the Risen Lord mediated to us by the Holy Spirit' (pp. 118-20). Readers in Maharashtra will recall the fact that the phrase 'hid with Christ in God' was one on which the late Marathi Christian poet Narayan Vaman Tilak nurtured his soul to the very end. Then there must be a 'real connection between the glorified Body of the Risen Lord and the Body which is the Church. On the answer to that question, it seems to me, will ultimately depend the reunion of Christendom... I think we are all agreed that the Church is the Body of Christ not merely in a metaphorical sense, but by reason of the fact that its members have in them, severally and in unity, the same life of the Risen Lord. It is the possession of that life which is the bond of that union among themselves and with their Head... The wonder of the Incarnation is not merely in the earthly life of Jesus, but in His

being born again in us' (pp. 118-23). On page 161 we have enriching words on Romans viii. 26-28, 'we know not how to pray as we ought', on which Principal Varki says : 'God's Spirit in us can alone enable us to pray... We are often tempted to think that the effectiveness of prayer is dependent on ourselves. No, it depends on the working of God's Spirit in us. All that we can do is to open our hearts to the Spirit and long for His entrance into them... The Spirit alone can give us the forgiving spirit. So we need utter reality in the inward parts, the forgiving spirit, and the Holy Spirit in us interceding.' On page 149 we have this searching reminder concerning William Ernest Henley the brilliant critic, poet and distinguished editor who wrote in his poem named 'Invictus'

'I thank whatever gods may be
For my unconquerable soul.'

Principal Varki has the penetrating observation, 'Henley seems to protest too much ; you cannot help feeling that it is a pose, and the writer is not so sure of the captaincy of his soul as he says he is. When a man is quite sure, he does not say it in that way' (p. 149). Alas ! that the sad tragedy of Henley's end should have shown his claim to be so ill-based ; for although he was only born in 1849, Henley died with his own hand in 1903 ; and the moving story of his tuberculosis as a child, with one foot amputated, and so many articles written in hospital beds, makes us long that his heroic soul could have found comfort and peace in God.

Sadhu Sundar Singh On Christ And Other Systems

(6) Our Indian Christian mystic Sadhu Sundar Singh once had the following conversation with a European professor in a Hindu college. Dr Stanley Jones tells the story in his book *The Christ Of The Indian Road*. The professor was an agnostic. He asked the Sadhu : 'What have you found that you did not have in your old religion ?' 'I have Christ,' the Sadhu replied. 'Yes, I know,' said the professor who was really longing to have a philosophical argument ; 'but what particular principle or doctrine have you found that you did not have before ?' Again, the Sadhu answered : 'The particular thing I have found is Christ.' However much was said he could not be moved from his bedrock position. So the professor 'went away discomfited—and thoughtful.' The Sadhu was right. The non-Christian faiths have fine things in them, but they lack—Christ.' And they lack therefore the gift that Christ always gives, the Spirit of Peace and Power which gave to Sadhu Sundar Singh that indescribable influence he wielded in India wherever he went. The Sadhu, who so reminded us of Jesus Himself, was, indeed, a living illustration of another of Principal Varki's beautifully chiselled sentences (on page 75) : 'India has treasures which the Spirit of Jesus Christ will be able to use for the enrichment of the whole world.'

PART THREE

CHRIST AND MAHĀRĀSHTRIAN HINDUS

CHAPTER XIV

THE MAHĀRĀSHTRIAN POET SINGS OF THE INCARNATE CHRIST

CHAPTER XV.

THE MAHĀRĀSHTRIAN REFORMER HELPS THE REVOLUTIONARY CHRIST

CHAPTER XVI

THE MAHĀRĀSHTRIAN PHILOSOPHER EXPOUNDS THE REVEALING CHRIST

Introductory Note on The Terms 'Maharashtra' and 'Mahārāshtrians'

For the meaning of these two terms we must assume the reader will accept, without further reasoning, the conclusions reached by Indian scholars on the subject. A summary of the history of the discussion will be found in our *Life And Teaching Of Tukārām* (pages 1-3 and 286-7). For the purpose of the present book we accept the conclusions reached by Parasnīs and Kincaid in their authoritative *History Of The Marāṭha People* that the Mahārāshtrians of Western India comprise a population of over thirty millions in an area of more than one hundred thousand square miles stretching from the Western India seaboard as far inland as Nagpur.

The frequent statement that Mahārāshtra has had no 'mass movement' towards Christ overlooks the important fact that three of India's greatest Christian luminaries, all three of them Chitpāvan Brahmins, have adorned the history of Mahārāshtra.

CHAPTER XIV

THE MAHARASHTRIAN POET SINGS OF THE INCARNATE CHRIST

1. The Passionate Lover Of National Freedom

Under the title 'The Forward Look' the *Centennial Volume* of the American Marathi Mission Centenary Celebration in 1913 contained the following noble message: 'India and the whole world have been searching for a mould into which the Brāhmin's intellect, the Kshatriyā's valour, the Vaishya's wisdom, the Shudra's devotedness, the Out-caste's patience, the Anarya's (Non-Aryan's) simplicity, the Buddhist's vigilance, the Jain's benevolence, and all the special virtues of all other classes of men, may be cast into one glorious unit. India and the whole world have been seeking a mansion where there can live and work hand in hand the thinking East and the acting West. This mould, this mansion, is nothing else but the Church of Christ in India.' Those thrilling words were written by that once Chitpāvan Brahmin, Narayan Vaman Tilak, who was born in Karazgaon, of Dapoli, Ratnagiri District, in 1862, and over thirty years later was born again in Christ, whom he publicly confessed in Bombay on February 10, 1895. In one of his notable *abhangs* Narayan Vaman Tilak said he had come to Christ 'over the bridge of Tukārām's verse.' In her readable book *How They Found Christ* (p. 68) Mrs Rebecca J. Parker has shown that before he surrendered to Christ, 'Tilak's heart was filled with a passionate love of freedom, which also dominated his religion. He hated the intolerance of Brahmanism; he abhorred caste, which made brotherhood impossible and separated mankind; and he detested idolatry, which degraded things of the spirit and kept men in bondage to ignorance and fear. . . His grief was great that India suffered from what he called "moral and spiritual slavery". He knew his country was capable of noble things, but how to realise them he knew not. These matters weighed on his mind so seriously that at twenty years of age he felt it his duty to become an ascetic, hoping in this way to gain enlightenment; for he saw no avenue of escape for his country save through religion, but he was convinced that true freedom could not emerge from Hinduism as he knew it. He wondered if he was being called to start a new and pure religion that should attract men by its very purity, so he withdrew himself from human society and began the practice of Yoga.' For two years nobody knew where he was, for he was living in the Indian jungle wrestling with the following five principles of a new faith he meant to found:—

(1) There is an intelligent Creator of the universe, to whom all mankind are as children.

(2) All Scriptures, of whatever religion, are the works of man ; the book of Nature is the only true scripture revealing God.

(3) There is no previous birth, nor are there rebirths. A man's state in this life depends on his heredity and environment and on his own efforts.

(4) Love to God and to man is the essence of all religions.

(5) Idolatry is the supreme foe to be fought by true religion ; but such virtues as love, truth, mercy may be personified and worshipped' (J. C. Winslow's *N. V. Tilak*, p. 19).

2. First Glimpse of the New Testament

Two years in the jungle and on bare mountain tops brought disillusionment, for he made the bitter discovery that 'not what he was, but what he could confer, was all that the people sought.' The well known story of N. V. Tilak's first reading of the New Testament is told by Mrs Parker as follows : 'Tilak had to take a rail journey of some hundred and seventy miles to his new sphere, and, as usual, he carried with him a Sanskrit book to read. His fellow-passenger possessed a good knowledge of that language, and when he saw Tilak reading Sanskrit, he drew him into conversation. After hearing some of his opinions, the stranger urged him to read carefully the life of Jesus, and presented him with a copy of the New Testament in Sanskrit. The fellow-passenger who presented this Sanskrit Testament was in all probability the Rev. J. J. Johnson of the Church Missionary Society, who, being set free for work among pandits all over India, always travelled carrying with him copies of the Sanskrit New Testament for distribution among the learned classes. The book was accepted and the promise made, and the two men parted, never to meet again. Tilak did not know who the stranger was, but he kept his promise, and, pencil in hand, he started to read the Gospel of Matthew.' We only need to add here that there is complete uncertainty concerning the person who gave N. V. Tilak the New Testament as there is concerning what language that book was printed in. But N. V. Tilak's own words are worth recording : 'When I reached the Sermon on the Mount I could not tear myself away from those burning words of love and tenderness and truth. In these three chapters I found answers to the most abstruse problems of Hindu philosophy. It amazed me to see how here the most profound problems were completely solved. I went on eagerly reading to the last page that I might learn more of Christ.' In another place N. V. Tilak stated : 'Five points about Jesus Christ impressed me most deeply. *First*, I found Him the ideal man. *Second*, He alone makes love to God and to man of the same importance. *Third*, His perfect identification with His Father. *Fourth*, His inconceivable faith in Himself as the life and the light of the world. *Fifth*, His Cross and the whole history of His crucifixion.' The date of N. V. Tilak's baptism is mistakenly given by Mrs Parker (on p. 72 of her book) as February 19, 1895, the correct date being, as stated above, February 10 that year.

3. Answer To Prayer

One of the factors leading to N. V. Tilak's full surrender to Christ was connected with his deep faith in prayer. Previous to his baptism he was serving an Indian prince, at a time when he was reading the New Testament and was almost convinced that Jesus was his Saviour. Like a wilful, wayward child one day he prayed, 'Oh God, send me a copy of the entire Bible. Send it to me tomorrow ; you can ; you know you can. Send it to me to-morrow, and I will believe in you and your power, and I will be a Christian. If you don't let me have it by tomorrow, I'll have no more to do with you.' Telling of this incident, only a few months before his death, in conversation with his Satara missionary colleague, Mrs Hannah Hume Lee (now Mrs H. H. Calder in U.S.A. to whom we are indebted for several items in this section) N.V. Tilak spoke with humility and contrition that he should ever have prayed thus. Yet the Father's love to a wayward child seemed wonderfully manifest in the reply to that wilful demand he voiced as prayer. Early the next morning, before he was out of bed, a messenger came from the prince, directing him at once to take over charge of a certain office, the official of which had been granted temporary leave of absence, on account of illness in his family. Mr Tilak at once dressed and went to the official he was to relieve, who took him to the office and handed over charge to Mr Tilak. But Mr Tilak was not content with a general handing over of affairs ; he wanted to be given charge in particular and in detail. On the porch or somewhere in an inconspicuous place was a locked chest and Mr Tilak demanded the key to this chest. The official, in haste to be off, said the chest had not been opened for years, and probably contained nothing of importance. Mr Tilak refused to let the official off and demanded that he had a right to all the keys in the office if he were to take charge of it. Finally the chest was opened, either the key being produced or the lock broken, and Mr Tilak proceeded to examine the contents of the chest. After taking out numerous and sundry unimportant papers and documents, to his amazement Mr Tilak found at the bottom of the chest a large presentation copy of the Bible which had been given to the Prince long years before and was quite forgotten. In deep humility Mr Tilak fell on his knees before the sacred volume. 'We did not know you were a Christian,' said the bystanders in scorn. 'Nor was I,' replied Mr Tilak ; 'but from this day forth I shall be.' Narāyan Vāman Tilak's son Devadatta has collected a few facts which is an answer to those who feel that people become followers of Jesus Christ with a view to gain material advantages. Before N. V. Tilak's conversion he was getting Rs. 125 per month, whereas the average of his pay after conversion was about Rs. 35 a month. During the period when this was his average pay N. V. Tilak was teaching in the Theological Seminary at Ahmednagar, editing the Marāthī portion of the *Dnyanodaya* and had charge of Mission Districts. An amount of Rs. 15 was added for a few years during which he edited the *Balbodhmewa*.

4. Difficulties After Baptism

Some of the difficulties that confronted N. V. Tilak immediately after his baptism are related by Mrs Parker as follows: 'Dismay and grief seized on his relatives when Tilak took the decisive step of baptism, which necessarily separated him from them all. Attempts were made to take his life. Poisoned food was given to him, which he did not eat, but which killed an animal that ate it. On the banks of a river a band of men approached him with sticks, but even as they drew near, the sound of horses' feet caused them to take flight. But the worst sorrow came from the opposition of his wife. Through five bitter years he was a stranger among his own kin, and several times his wife tried to drown herself.' A letter from Mr Tilak himself at the time speaks volumes: 'My relatives openly say they would rather see her dead than joined with me... You know in what an unbearable fiery trial I have been placed and you know perhaps all my circumstances. My wife suffers actually from a broken heart. To leave her is to give a decisive blow to her physical life. She will die for love but will not follow Christ for love... The doctors say that no medicine could cure my wife except hope of me. Though she could not herself express a desire, she would have come very gladly, but no, the hard-hearted champions of Brāhmin hypocrisy would rather see a loving wife die and a loving husband follow her than break caste.'

5. Misunderstood

Once when on a railway journey, a stranger began speaking with Mr Tilak about the inadequacy of the Christian religion. As an indisputable argument, the stranger said to Mr Tilak: 'You know that even the Hindu man named Nārāyan Vāman Tilak, who recently became a Christian, has found Christianity so unsatisfactory and so inadequate to satisfy the need of his soul that he has recanted and become a Hindu again.' Mr Tilak said he thought the speaker must be mistaken. 'Oh no,' said the stranger, 'I have this fact on good authority.' 'Well', replied Mr Tilak, 'I think my authority is better than yours. I am the man.' Then followed an eloquent testimony of ardent unchangeable devotion to his Master. An incident not dissimilar to the foregoing occurred less than three months after Mr Tilak's death on May 9, 1919. In the columns of *The Hindu Missionary* for August 4, 1919, the editor wrote: 'The late Mr Tilak's body was cremated. He expressed a desire to that effect in his will. He thus appreciated a good Hindu custom and at the same time rejected the Christian teaching that the body was to resurge or rise again from the tomb.' In the *Dnyānodāya* of August 14 we wrote: 'There is quite sufficient in those forty or fifty words to occupy the whole of our space in the present issue were we so disposed. We will content ourselves by observing: (1) Mr Tilak not only "expressed a desire," he stated his personal reason for that desire, and the reason was as far removed as can be from the one assigned. The

words of his will are: "From the sanitary point of view it is harmful to the general purity of the atmosphere to have dead bodies buried." (2) The logic of the above reasoning would lead us to expect that those English and American people who have "expressed a desire to be cremated" must have been Hindus, since they "appreciated a good custom" which happens to coincide with a custom prevailing in India. If relatives of those who have been cremated in the West were told that their departed friends had "rejected" any "Christian teaching" they would regard it as a libel on their faith, just as the friends of our late Marathi poet rightly regard the above reasoning as a libel on his. (3) If our respected contemporary will pursue a little further its study of the files of the *Dnyānodāya* it will discover how lamentably it has strayed from correct interpretation of the late poet's mind on this subject. (4) As Mr Vaidya is bold enough to state his view of "the Christian teaching" on this subject, we earnestly recommend him to go to the New Testament where that teaching is found, particularly I Corinthians xv. 35: "Some will ask," says St Paul, "How can the dead rise? With what kind of body do they come back?" How Paul answered these questions two millenniums ago both as to "the impossibility of the thing and the inconceivability of the manner," we leave our contemporary to discover from 1 Cor. xv. 35-58.'

6. Love For Christ And For India

During his twenty-four years of Christian service 'Narayan Vaman Tilak would never allow himself to be cut off from friendship with his non-Christian countrymen. To the end of his life he retained the friendship, confidence, and admiration of all who knew him, and his best poetry was often likened by them to their own famous *Bhagavadgītā*. Within the Christian Church, N. V. Tilak led men to a right attitude towards their own country, helped them to a wholesome self-respect, and laboured to lead them from sin to freedom in Christ Jesus.' How N. V. Tilak's whole being was permeated with the love of Christ and love of his own dear India was made clear by his last will and testament, part of which was as follows: 'I love beauty because I love it, and I love Jesus Christ because he is all for such beauty; He Himself is this beauty. I don't think I have loved my own parents, wife, children, friends, even myself, as much as I love my country.' His desire for Indian Christianity was that it shall be 'most earnestly engaged in developing its Churches, under any circumstances and at any cost, into a real, free, lifeful, self-extending Indian Christendom.' Of N. V. Tilak's poetic merit the Fergusson College Principal, W. B. Patwardhan, one of the highest authorities on Marathi poetry, said: 'Mr Tilak was among the first to break away from the trodden path. He was one of those who carried into effect the healthy influence of the Wordsworthian school. Like the lark of Wordsworth, Marathi poetry came to be true both to heaven and to home.'

7. Laxmibai Tilak's Autobiography

Over fifteen years after Nārāyan Vaman Tilak's death, Mahārāshtra had presented to it a gift over which it simply raved with delight, viz., the first volume of Mrs Laxmibai Tilak's Autobiography in Marathi entitled *Smriti Chitre*. The book first appeared in a series in the paper *Sanjeevani* and was read throughout the Marathi-speaking country with rapt interest from Nagpur to Kolhapur. Illiterate women of the higher classes of Hindus formed groups to have it read to them, and the *Sanjeevani* editors soon noted the fact that those issues in which a *Smriti Chitre* instalment did not appear had a much reduced sale. Even on railway stalls people first peeped in the pages of that newspaper to see if *Smriti Chitre* were there, and if the next instalment happened to be missing the magazine was quietly returned to the newspaper vendors. Its natural and easy style, the pure and unaffected language of Laxmibai who knew neither Sanskrit nor English, her subtle humour, all combined to give a true picture of a sincere orthodox old-fashioned Hindu family in which a man tries by his love of his country to reform everything. The first volume had dealt with the period up to the baptism of N. V. Tilak and concluded with the account of the conversion to Christ of this famous Chitpāvan Brāhmin poet, the reasons for which Mrs Tilak gave by quoting in full N. V. Tilak's own moving account in Marathi. The second volume of the autobiography includes the story of the conversion of Mrs Laxmibai Tilak herself, several years after that of her husband, and ends with the account of N. V. Tilak's ordination as a Christian minister. Reviews that appeared in the Marathi Press made abundantly clear that the publication of these autobiographical volumes was regarded as an important literary event among the large book-loving public of Western India. Prof. D. V. Potdar, of the *Bhārata Itihās Samshodhak Mandal* (the Indian Historical Research Institute), hit the nail on the head when in a Poona meeting on May 9, 1935, he classed N. V. Tilak with Tukārām on the one hand and with Tagore on the other as a great poet of Indian *bhakti*. When one reviewer stated that he regarded N. V. Tilak's conversion in 1895 as a mere whim or caprice of his emotional temperament, we wondered what the reviewer would have felt like if he could have heard Nārāyan Vāman Tilak's own comment on such a view, for his hundreds of Christian hymns, especially those on his deep abiding union with Christ, are a sufficient answer. Nearer the truth was the able Hindu educationalist who in his public speech said that despite his own neglect of prayer he felt compelled to own that N. V. Tilak's conversion, so free from all mixed motives, and his profound belief in prayer, had greatly deepened his reverence for the late Christian poet. Mrs Tilak's account of her own dedication to Christ, helped as she was by N. V. Tilak's years of patient prayer, is one of the most touching stories we have ever read, and their years of separate pilgrimage made her surrender all the more impressive in the end. On December 15, 1935, there was published the third

volume of *Smriti Chitre* and on the same day there gathered in Nasik a remarkable company comprising some of the leading authors in Western India when there was presented to Mrs Tilak a specially bound copy of her work, the praises of which were already being sung throughout Mahārāshtra as taking the highest rank in Marathi autobiographical literature, some considering it exceeded in value even the famous book of 'memories' by Mrs Ranade. Notable speeches were delivered in Mrs Laxmibai's honour, the chief being by Principal P. K. Atre of Poona who rightly emphasized that in all worthy literature there is no place for any religious or caste differences. To Mrs Tilak's Christian friends the most impressive aspect of this truly remarkable event was that a loving God and Father had restored to this lonely widow many of the friends to whom many years before she had to say farewell when she surrendered herself and all her powers to Christ.

8. Three Ways In Which Christ Helps India

N. V. Tilak knew all the Hindu Scriptures so perfectly that it used to be said of him that whatever line was quoted from any of the Indian Vedas he could quote the line preceding and the line following. Hence the far-reaching value of three of his unshakable principles quoted by Mrs Tilak at the beginning of her 23rd chapter in Book Three. The first was Tilak's profound belief that his country's uplift would be brought about only by the teaching of Jesus Christ being embodied in India's daily life. A second principle was that India gives far more attention to individuals than it gives to either books or sects, and hence the overwhelming importance of individual Christlike character. The third principle of N. V. Tilak mentioned by his widow is that for an Indian Christian to be truly Christlike, he must be as truly oriental as was Jesus Himself. Of equal value in another connection is Mrs Tilak's statement that in all her experience with various kinds of converts she has never known an instance of anyone becoming a Christian because of financial assistance.

9. N. V. Tilak And The Cross

How truly N. V. Tilak had entered into the deepest secrets of New Testament teaching is shown by the two English translations we give below of poems by the Marathi poet, the first (on the Cross) having been translated by Dr Macnicol, and the second (on Union With Christ) by the poet's missionary friend Lydia Mary Edwards who predeceased him by three months. Concerning the hymn on the Cross Dr R. F. Horton once stated at his Good Friday service in Lyndhurst Road Congregational Church, London, that it ranked in merit with Dr Watts' hymn 'When I survey the wondrous Cross':—

Hast thou ever seen the Lord, Christ the Crucified?
Hast thou seen those wounded Hands? Hast thou seen His
side?

Hast thou seen the cruel thorns woven for His crown ?
 Hast thou, hast thou seen His blood, dropping, dropping down ?
 Hast thou seen who that one is who has hurt Him so ?
 Hast thou seen the sinner, cause of all His woe ?
 Hast thou seen how He, to save, suffers thus and dies ?
 Hast thou seen on whom He looks with His loving eyes ?
 Hast thou ever, ever seen love that was like this ?
 Hast thou given up thy life wholly to be His ?

10. Union With Christ

The second English translation we give below of one of N. V. Tilak's Marathi hymns was pronounced by one of the finest Christian men we met in America as the best exposition of New Testament teaching he had ever seen.

'As lyre and the musician,
 As thought and spoken word,
 As rose and fragrant odours,
 As flute and breath, accord,
 So deep the bond that binds me
 To Christ my Lord.

As mother and her baby,
 As traveller lost and guide,
 As oil and flickering lamp-flame,
 Are each to each allied ;
 Life of my life, Christ bindeth
 Me to His side.

As lake and streaming rainfall,
 As fish and water clear,
 As sun and gladdening dayspring,
 In union close appear ;
 So Christ and I are holden
 In bonds how dear.'

In these profound lines Narayan Vaman Tilak illustrates the fact that when the Indian mind and heart are fully dedicated to Christ we receive interpretations of Christian truth that take us to the very heart of the teaching of Jesus, so that on one of the greatest truths of the New Testament, the truth of the soul's union with Christ, N. V. Tilak has made a distinctive contribution. One explanation is that with his unique knowledge of the Sanskrit Vedas he brought to bear on his inward experience of Christ all this Indian lore, and he was thus enabled to illuminate a subject on which India can help the Universal Church. That his numerous poems on this great subject were the outflow of his own spiritual experience we had a touching illustration at the very end of his life. A few weeks before the end came he had

honoured us by asking us to take care of his last will and testament. When his illness took a serious turn, we were in charge of the Language School at Mahabaleshwar and he was in the J. J. Hospital, Bombay. We saw that in his 'will' he had insisted that after his death he must be 'painted as I am' and 'no *Reverend* or *Mr* or anything should precede my name,' and he added : 'Please take care that no such nonsense as "poet" or any word of honour should be added.' In order that we might correctly understand his wishes we went from the hills to see him in Bombay, and saw him four times during a two days' stay, our last visit being about twenty-seven hours before the end. The deepest impression we carried away was not of our conversation, though that was sacred enough, but of the way his favourite passage lay open before him at his bedside for his eyes and heart to feast upon during extreme weakness : 'Your life is hid with Christ in God' (Col. iii. 3). What N. V. Tilak himself understood and *knew* as the meaning of being 'hid with Christ in God' is clear from his other Marathi lines, translated by Dr Macnicol :

As the moon and its beams are one,
 So that I be one with Thee,
 This is my prayer to Thee, my Lord,
 This is this beggar's plea.

As words and their meanings are linked,
 Serving one purpose each,
 Be Thou and I so knit, O Lord,
 And through me breathe Thy speech.

Take Thou this body, O my Christ,
 Dwell as its Soul within ;
 To be an instant separate
 I count a deadly sin.

11. Inspiration By The Holy Spirit

Finally, let all Christian workers, Indian and non-Indian alike, learn how completely N. V. Tilak acknowledged his dependence on the Holy Spirit as the source of his poetic inspiration. This he makes clear in his *Christayan*, chapter I verse 56, where he wrote of being

'Taught by the Holy Spirit's words,'
 and in II. 82 :
 'First may the Spirit fill my whole
 Being until my very soul
 Thrills with Thy Life's fair melody.'

When Maharashtra was so amazed at the astonishing poetic afflatus by which N. V. Tilak's widow Lakshmibai, despite her very limited education, wrote 64 chapters of Marathi poetry to complete her husband's *Christayan*, it entirely overlooked the Divine factor of the

Inspiring Spirit of God about whom N. V. Tilak wrote in chapter i, verses 9-11, 102; 105; ii, 7, 33, 82, etc.

'When all that is of self in thee
In Christ is wholly lost and hid,
Then shall the Spirit's true breath bid
Thy halting song soar bold and free.'

12. A Great Christian Patriot

With Narayan Vaman Tilak there was no conflict of any kind between his being a Christian and being an Indian patriot. Indeed it was largely his patriotism, his passionate love of his country and his longing to help it, that led him to Christ. Becoming a Christian certainly made him a bigger patriot. As he said in his last will and testament, 'I don't think I have loved my own parents, wife, children, friends, even myself, as much as I love my country.' As Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, then President of the Bombay Legislative Council, said of N. V. Tilak in a Bombay public meeting shortly after his death, 'He beckons to his countrymen to obey the voice of God in order that they may become a truly great people.' In our Marathi Christian poet there came to an end for Western India the era of denationalization of Indian Christianity. As a great Indian patriot N. V. Tilak was convinced of two things, viz., that Jesus Christ was India's only hope, and secondly, as he wrote to his son not long before his end, 'I believe that unless India follows Jesus Christ, all her efforts to improve her status will ultimately fail.'

13. Indianizing the Presentation of Christian Truth

N. V. Tilak gave a truly Christian lead in Indianizing the expression and presentation of Christian truth. He was at one and the same time a 'builder of India' and a builder of the Indian Christian Church. He has left on record in his immortal *Abhanganjali* the fact that, as his own Marathi phrase translated into English expresses it, 'Over the bridge of Tukārām's verse I came to Christ.' This remarkable *abhang*, or lyric as you might call it, he first wrote in his Marathi columns of the *Dnyānodāya* on May 24, 1918, when he had entered on the last year of his life, and it has now been incorporated into the second edition of his *Abhanganjali* poems. And just as he was not afraid to acknowledge Tukārām's verse as an agent in leading his soul to Christ, so he did not shrink from declaring: 'We esteem all the world's saints as prophets of God, and the sayings of the Hindu saints form our first Old Testament. By their help our Lord has become more and more clear, more and more near to us.' This did not mean for him the supplanting of our Old Testament, but that the Hindu Saints had been India's 'first' *evangelica praeformatio* in order of time and in the

order of Providence. Similarly, N. V. Tilak has been one of the pioneers in giving an Indian interpretation of Christ, so that his biographer can truly say, 'If Tilak has failed to complete his Christian *Ramayan*, he has nevertheless given us a great *Purāna* of the Christian *Avatar* or Incarnation, in his *Christāyan*,' where he says:

Ah! Aryan land, blest, blest is she!
A magic might is in her name;
Unrivalled stands her ancient fame;
And we, her sons, thrice blest are we.

One Indian student has said of the *Christāyan*, 'The whole plan is Indian; the description is Indian; Indian philosophy has been interwoven in the whole fabric.' And yet all the way through his poetry and his politics alike, N. V. Tilak's passion for India was:

Where shall those longings be sufficed
That stir my spirit night and day?
When shall I see my country lay
Her homage at the feet of Christ?

It would be true to say that by his marvellous Marathi hymns N. V. Tilak has infused a new spirit into Christian worship throughout Maharashtra. The last occasion we ever saw him in Church was during the Christmas of 1918 when he visited Bombay and we had the great honour of his being our guest. He was urged to give a *kirtan* in the adjoining church-building and we can never forget the utter rapture of his music and his poetry.

14. His Place and Contribution As a Poet of the Maratha Nation

In the power of Christ, to whom he consecrated his genius, Narayan Vaman Tilak became a poet of national repute among his own Marathi-speaking people. In the Marathi *Kesari* of November 29, 1921, there was a full report of the Marathi Authors' Conference held at Baroda on November 26, 1921, presided over by the *Kesari* editor of that time, Mr Narasinha Chintamani Kelkar, who in his Presidential Address stated: 'Among Marathi poets Narayan Vaman Tilak must be given the honour and dignity of pre-eminence.' This tribute was all the more striking because the Poona *Maratha*, of the same Press, had in 1918 made an attack on Mr Tilak of several columns describing him as a 'black sheep' among Indian Home Rulers when he successfully vindicated Lord Willingdon and his silence under the attack 'turned his greatest critics into his greatest friends.' In giving his poetic message to his countrymen he developed a Christian interpretation and a poetic power all his own. His knowledge and personal experience of Jesus enabled N. V. Tilak to condemn *vairāgya*, or the spirit of renunciation for its own sake, as being contrary to the spirit

of Jesus; the word *vairāgya* being made up of *rāg*, which means attachment to the world, and *vai* meaning apart from; and instead of this negative term he substituted the positive term *anurāg*, meaning love, or the acceptance of life's responsibilities to be borne in the spirit of Christ. He strongly disapproved of *nivritti*, the negative method of ascetic withdrawal from the world in order to attain life's goal and he substituted for it *prativritti*, the positive ideal which accepts life as a discipline to be experienced. In attaining to this positive ideal he was empowered by his realization of union with Jesus Christ as a Personal Friend through the Indwelling Spirit of Jesus. His earlier poems may be generally said to have been argumentative whilst his later poetry is personal, reflective and experimental. N. V. Tilak's loyalty to Christ did not prevent that staunch Hindu editor, Mr N. C. Kelkar, describing him as 'the Rabindranath Tagore of Western India,' nor did it mean in any sense his breaking away from his own nation, as was shown by his wonderful poem, now sung in every Church of Maharashtra, a poem he composed on the occasion of his public severance from Hinduism:

My wealth, my thoughts, nay, verily,
My life itself I give to Thee,
My Hindistan so dear to me !

And India was always to him 'Hindistan,' not 'Hindustan,' the land of the Hindi-speaking people and not the land of Hindu religion. His place as a national poet of the Maratha race is established by his volume *Tilakānchi Kavita*. His abiding message to the Indian Church is in the Marathi Church's hymn-book, the *Upāsana Sangīti* which contains 278 of his Marathi hymns. The small volume, *Bhajan Sangraha*, containing so much of N. V. Tilak's religious and devotional poetry, should be the daily companion of every Christian worker in Western India, Indian and non-Indian alike. The summit and crown of his message appear in his *Abhangānjali* and his *Christāyan*, a life of Christ in Marathi Ovi metre which he planned to write in eleven books, of which he completed only one book, that dealing with the birth and childhood of Jesus. But imperfect though it is, N. V. Tilak's *Christāyan* with its eleven chapters and 1460 lines, is India's greatest epic poem on the Incarnation.

15. The Greatest Marathi Christian Poem

In April 1921 there was published what is undoubtedly the greatest Christian poem in the Marathi language. It is justly regarded as one of the very greatest productions in the history of Marathi poetry from the days of Dnyaneshwar at the close of the 12th century up to the present day. This poem of eleven chapters is entitled *Christāyan*, a word which means 'the life of Christ' just as *Ramayana* means 'the life of Rama.' The author was the Rev. Narayan Vaman Tilak (born 1862) and his widow, Lakshmibai Tilak, added 64 chapters. When

the former died in Bombay on May 9, 1919, twenty-four years after his baptism on February 10, 1895 the poet had not quite finished eleven chapters of the poem. This great poem Lakshmibai all but completed by writing to the end of chapter 75 before she passed away at Nasik on February 24, 1936. The last chapter of 116 verses was written by the poet's son, Mr. D. N. Tilak, and the completed poem consists of 76 chapters with 412 richly laden pages. This work is obtainable for Rs. 1-8-0 (plus postage cost) at the Bombay Tract and Book Society, Bombay. All lovers of Marathi literature are deeply grateful to Mr. Dattopant N. Tilak for his part in bringing out this complete Life of Christ in Marathi poetry; to Dr. Walter F. Hume of Wai who as a labour of love dealt with the financial aspect of the publication in memory of his mother whose legacy made it possible; and to Professor Shankar Keshav Kanetkar of Ferguson College, Poona for his work as editor and proof reader with the Rev. S. N. Thorat and others mentioned in Mr. Dattopant's foreword. The completed poem was published in December 1938. The Indian Christian Church in Maharashtra cannot better occupy its mind every Christmastide than by meditating on Narayan Vaman Tilak's message on the Incarnation, for though he only lived to give his beloved India this brilliant fragment, it has a completeness of its own, since he all but completed the section on the Incarnation. Some years ago with the help of the poet's son we prepared an English summary of the eleven chapters written by N. V. Tilak and this we give below, the English translations in our selected quotations being taken from J. C. Winslow's English rendering of the first three chapters. A preface of over 2,500 words has been written by Professor Kanetkar who is referred to as 'Girish' in Mrs. Lakshmibai Tilak's Autobiography entitled *Smriti Chitre*, and who makes clear that his threefold task of editing, proof-reading, and writing the Preface to the *Christāyan* has been carried out as a grateful acknowledgment of a debt to Lakshmibai for her gracious influence upon him in the last few years of her life. Prof. Kanetkar or 'Girish' reveals in his Preface that the last chapter of the *Christāyan*, the 76th, had to be composed by Mr. Dattopant Tilak himself amid many other duties at Nasik and that the entire poem is therefore the work of the 'Tilak trio'. Of value to all the students of this historic poem is the disclosure in the Preface that Lakshmibai Tilak, who had grown up without any education but who inspired by a wonderful afflatus in her closing years astonished India by her Autobiography, solved the problem of the order of events in this poetical Life of Christ by adopting the late Rev. Baba Padmanji's excellent Marathi book on this subject as her guide. The poet *Girish* expresses the opinion that while Narayan Vaman Tilak is of the order of creative poets, Lakshmibai's poetry is marked by deep tenderness and real inspiration. India already knew the former fact and the latter was clearly demonstrated on every occasion when Lakshmibai read her verses to Maharashtra's women as she did at several Deccan centres in her closing years.

16. The Late B. K. Uzgare on the 'Christāyan'

The late Rev. Bhaskarrao K. Uzgare for many years was N. V. Tilak's editor and publisher. Writing in 1916 Mr. Uzgare who passed away on September 25, 1935, said : ' In large measure it is N. V. Tilak who by his writings and speeches has indicated what form the Christian Church must take. What he has done to cause the Christian people to claim again their heritage in their own Marathi language is only part of his achievement. His *Christāyan* will be our first *Mahākāvya*, our chief *Purāna*. The poem will have an influence upon the language of the Christian people comparable to that of Tulsī Dasa's *Rāmāyan* in Hindi and of Shridhar's *Pāṇḍavaprātāpa* in Marathi. But the influence of his voice and pen is not by any means merely confined to language. As a lamp disseminates light, so N. V. Tilak is continually radiating an influence that stimulates the imagination, that inspires a spirit of hope, that creates keen patriotism and true loyalty.' Mr. Uzgare's own death several years after N. V. Tilak's was in itself a sad loss to Marathi Christian literature.

7. Summary of the 'Christāyan' : Chapters I-XI

Christāyan means 'the Life of Christ' just as *Rāmāyan* meant the life of Rama. The *Christāyan* by the late Narayan Vaman Tilak is without doubt the most important publication in Marathi Christian literature. Alas, it is but a fragment, though a brilliant fragment of 70 pages, and all English readers will be glad to share its rich treasure. It had been the poet's intention to write the whole of the Life of Christ in Marathi verse. When he passed away on May 8, 1919, he had not quite completed the first of eleven sections he had intended, the section on the Incarnation. He wrote on the subject in different periods from 1909 to his death in 1919. We give below a summary of this greatest Marathi Christian poem, a summary that would have been impossible without the help of the poet's son.

Chapter I. God's Name

In the first chapter God is addressed as 'Father', the poet preferring to address God by one name rather than a thousand. The divine love is infinitely above the human, though the poet is utterly unworthy to be called God's child. Yet this word 'Father' alone expresses his experience of God, Who dwells not in a far off heaven alone but in the hearts of men. Rendering obeisance to all the apostles, the poet explains (verses 34-52) that it is from the Apostle Paul he has received most help. Bowing before nature as 'the first book of God' he is reminded of Christ by nature's several aspects (vs. 52-62). These poetic lines have come not from himself but from Christ, apart from Whom every pleasure is only so much pain.

Chapter II. The Poet's Apologia

Chapter 2 reveals the poet's deep sense of inadequacy but a deeply inspiring assurance that Christ speaks through him. Here come lines (vs. 40-57) of unapproachable beauty on his country. Despite India's sad condition the poet sees for it a glorious future in which India shall give Jesus Christ to the world. As Jesus wept over Jerusalem so the poet weeps over beloved India, which he dedicates to Christ in the assurance that between serving Christ and serving India there is no distinction.

Chapter III. Encouragement

With the fall of man came the promise of God. Attractive passages abound on nature's wonders, on human weakness (117-130); on evil thoughts (135-153); on the union of the divine and human, until in 164-185 we see Eve presenting forbidden fruit to Adam; God's appearance is resented and instead of repenting, Adam blames his wife and God. Still God loves man. *God is Love*, and though we say sinners fall and rise and seek after God, it is rather that *God in His love seeks them and brings them back*.¹ Love was first born in a mother's heart, and then came the child; similarly, the Cross preceded the World in the divine mind, for it was neither in sport nor in a dream that God created the universe but in Motherly Love, hence the divine promise to fallen humanity.

Chapter IV. Mary

Mary's true beauty is concealed by her poverty as is a spark under ashes. So utterly devoted, so full of God, does the future mother of Christ become, that her every prayer takes on a different form, neither entreating nor supplicating, seeking neither pardon nor blessing. Without even uttering the name of God, her prayer arises from her oneness with God, and in this spiritual state she has revealed to her the coming of the Saviour, after which disclosure she visits her kinswoman Elizabeth. (This chapter and the sixth were the poet's own favourites.)

¹ N. V. Tilak once wrote that he was tempted 'to depend more on one's own thought, meditation and speculation than on direct prayer, reading of the Bible and consulting the saints and the apostles But, as I have said in the *Christāyan*, and as I have often experienced, it is not man who goes after God so much as God going after man in love. He seeks me, and I must never be such a fool as to believe that it is I who seek Him. Like a doting mother, it is He, my heavenly Father, who has once more brought me back to Himself, while I was running an absurd race.' Here we have a conception so dear to N. V. Tilak, and to many other Indian poets, that in God we see combined the love of Father and of Mother. On this point N. V. Tilak wrote No. 67 in his *Abhanganjali*, see our page 158 below.

Chapter V. Joseph

For language, both sweet and harsh sounds are essential ; for music, notes high and low ; for poetry, the sentiments alike of warriors and of lovers ; so also both man and woman go to make up a humanity which makes the world beautiful. That great devotee and noble-minded carpenter Joseph, previously engaged to Mary, is greatly troubled on learning of her condition. Then comes a dream, the vehicle of much of God's guidance among Joseph's people. He is to call the unborn child 'Jesus', deliverer of sinners from their sins. At this point the poet expounds the Brahmin belief that a son delivers his parents from hell, or *put*, the reason why the son is called *putra*. The poet goes on to say that since *put* is a hideous hell for all sinners, and since Jesus delivers *all* from this hell, *putra* (son) is an appropriate word for Him, while others are *putra* only by name and adoption. So the word *putra* (sons) refers to Jesus and all God's other sons, with the essential difference indicated. After God's manifestation in the dream, Joseph was overjoyed.

Chapter VI. The Married Pair

Here the poet bursts into praise and prayer : 'Thou art Supporter of the universe, Dweller in the minds of the virtuous, our Guide and Helper. Of Thy love hast Thou made for man and woman a heaven on earth, bestowing upon them the gift of Thy love which in love they receive. This love is the first Eden of mankind, where Thou didst dwell. But self-will entered and selfishness, and mankind lost Thee and its first real Home. Yet Thou didst not wholly leave man, and though he lost home Thou hast given him the maker of Home, the richest blessing of man's life.' For just as the moon and her light, the thing and its shadow, the word and its meaning, are altogether inseparable, so are man and woman indissolubly one and their relation is so wonderful as to make a heaven on earth. In home-building, love comes first, then peace and submission, enjoyment and liberty crowning the whole. As for woman, labour is her play, her lifework is service, self-forgetfulness her right, and thus does she build up Home. Exquisite lines on the love between ideal husband and wife precede a description of the condition of Palestine when Mary and Joseph had to travel a weary distance to enroll their names in the census. On the troublesome journey Mary is calm like a flower about to unfold amid the flames of misfortune, but all personal troubles are forgotten because each thinks of the other. After a telling description of how the rich neglect the poor (164-168) the chapter closes by the couple being shown to the manger.

Chapter VII. The Birth of Jesus

There are only eighty-three verses in this chapter which begins by expounding the meaning of 'In the beginning was the Word and

the Word was with God and the Word was God.' This Word took the form of a body and became the Lamb of Sacrifice. The Indian sages had, by aspiration and hope, seen this Sacrifice. The chapter ends with a lullaby of the Infant Christ.

Chapter VIII. The Shepherds' Vision

Another short chapter of seventy-eight verses deals with the Shepherds who came to see Jesus. As cows are held in high estimation in India, so were sheep in Palestine ; thus can David say he is a sheep whose Protector is God. It was as coming to the great and Good Shepherd that the shepherds left their flocks to go and see Jesus.

Chapter IX. The Enquirers

A separate article would be needed to give any adequate idea of the 245 verses which compose this, the longest chapter in the book, dealing with the Wise Men from the East, at least two of whom are viewed as coming from India. Here comes a lofty and sympathetic delineation of the mental and moral attitude and methods of an Indian enquirer after religious light, for the Indian enquirer is the chief figure in this great chapter. Verses 194-199 give a Christian interpretation of the Indian *gayatri*.¹ On these Wise Men see our lines on 'The Magi' at the beginning of our section on 'The Parsees'.

Chapter X. Expectation

When the Infant Jesus was taken into the temple for dedication, the Spirit-filled Symeon was waiting to give an old man's blessing. God is ever playing on the harp of the universe and His *Sathi* (or one who helps in the singing), is the man with a knowledge of divine rhythm who can appreciate the music of the spheres. But men are giving forth the discordant tones of sin. Still, God is ever patient, and when men have tried to find Him and have failed, then He Himself goes forth and becomes the Way whereby men may rise from darkness to light. Though the Jews were expecting a Messiah, they wanted Him merely to work out for them their own selfish ideals of nationalistic power. Nevertheless even among them were men and women of vision who were able to realise His Presence when He came. And such are the contrasts prevailing today.

¹ The *gayatri* is a sacred verse (repeated by Brahmins in their morning and evening devotions) from the *Rigveda* iii. 62. 10 : 'Let us adore that excellent glory of the divine Vivifier : may He enlighten our understandings.' The *gayatri* is usually personified and considered as a goddess, the metaphorical mother of the first three divisions of the Hindu people in their capacity of twice-born' [Molesworth, *English Marathi-Lexicon*, p. 233 (b)].

Chapter XI. Widowhood

If the saddest part in India's long and saddening story has been that of her widows, these may draw unspeakable comfort from the consecrated widow Anna who watched and waited for God's Will.

By that same mysterious Will our poet fell on sleep ere he had completed the first part of his soul's tribute to the Lord he loved.

'Christayan': Analysis and Selections

Narayan Vaman Tilak wrote 1460 stanzas or 5,840 lines and Father Winslow translated into English 339 stanzas or 1,356 lines up to stanza 131 in chapter 3 (which has 202 stanzas). Some of us would like to see 'Father Jack' back in India if only to complete his rendering of the *Christayan*. These translations appeared in the *Ashram Review* from March 1931 to February 1933, and if reprinted would make an ideal book of Christian poetry.

The analysis of the verses given below is taken largely from the analysis given by the Rev. S. N. Thorat in his *Christayan Study Club* in Poona during 1938 attended by the Theological College students. We have added a brief comment here and there. Mr Thorat's useful expositions were afterwards published in the *Marathi Diyanadasa* beginning with November 2, 1939 and continued until February 1, 1940.

Chapter I. Invocation

Verses 1-8: God Worshipped as Father and Mother.

5. Father and Mother both Thou art.
Whence may I fonder titles seek?
Yet even these are all too weak
To show the love that fills Thy heart.

Verses 9-13: God The Holy Spirit Worshipped.

9. Blest be the Holy Spirit,—He¹
(Beyond all things that are adored
Adorable) who doth reward
All that to Him surrendered be,
10. And lift them to no common height;
Who for His instruments doth find
Men timid, weak, and dull of mind,
And through them flood the world with light.
11. And if they need a richer dower
Than their own tongue, God's truth to teach,
He grants the boon of divers speech
Through working of His matchless power.²

¹ A fine expression of the ministry of the Holy Spirit in missionary work: 'the Spirit of Truth' as the chief Pandit in every Language School. See also i, 9-11, 102, 105; ii, 7, 33, 82.

Verses 14-19: Jesus Christ worshipped.

17. Grant, Lord, the prayer that I present;
Whate'er there be of self in me,
Let all be swallowed up in Thee,
Two persons in one spirit blent.
18. Then whose but Thine shall be my song?
And whose but Thine my wisdom's spring?
And whose behests but Thine, my King,
Shall brace my will to purpose strong?

Verses 20-30: Salutations to the Twelve Apostles.

24. For God is love, and all He made
And all His laws Love's impress own:
Thou, Master, art Love's very throne;
Thy life is Love's own heart displayed.
26. And surely he to whom is given
Wholly with Christ one soul to be
Hath taste of all felicity,
And unto him this earth is heaven.

Verses 31-34: Salutation to the martyrs.

32. Christ's service was their daily bread,
The thought of Him their couch by night,
And their life's breath, their sole delight,
His name in all the world to spread.

Verses 35-53: Salutation to St. Paul.

40. When I behold my country's grief,
Within my eyes the sad tears well
And, with a pain no tongue can tell,
Gush forth in streams without relief.
41. Paul wipes away those streaming tears,
Paul lends my drooping spirit wings,
And from his own experience brings
New hopes to shame my traitor fears.¹

Verses 54-76: Salutation to Creation.

54. Next, Nature, low to thee I bow,²
Prime utterance of the Lord divine,
Mirror in which His splendours shine,
First Mother and instructress thou.

¹ These two verses illustrate the patriotism of the Christ-filled soul.
² That namaa here does not mean worship, but only a salutation, is at from verse 78 given below.

55. How have thy beauteous forms enticed
My heart with manifold delight!
Grant they may ever to my sight
Show forth the vision of the Christ.
60. Let thy wind teach how spirit-worth
In human kind hath its abode
Within the Holy Spirit of God,
Breath of His breathing through the earth.¹
64. So ever be it mine to prove,
The thoughts and longings of my heart,
Though wandering oft from Him apart,
Are fixed in Christ, my soul's true love.

Verses 77-98. The Dedication of Learning to the Service of Christ.

78. Think not I fondly dream that *thou*²
A goddess art,—ah I be not wroth!—
One is the Lord we worship both:
To Him in glad obeisance bow!
90. Yea, picture forth how God assayed
Two noble tasks of equal worth:
The first to make this mighty earth,
The next, to save the earth He made.³

Verses 98-106. Soliloquy: The Poet's message to his own heart.

98. Now hearken, mine own soul! Whate'er
Be without Christ do thou disdain;
All Christless plans and thoughts hold vain;
Give heed to this thy servant's prayer!
102. When all that is of self in thee
In Christ is wholly lost and hid,
Then shall the Spirit's true breath bid
Thy halting song soar bold and free.⁴
105. Be thou, my soul, a house of prayer,
A beauteous seat for the abode
Of the all-holy Spirit of God,
Throned in triumphant power there.⁵

¹ This verse teaches that creation (Gen. i.1 and many other passages), and re-creation, are the work of God's Spirit.

² In this verse the word 'thou' refers to Sarasvati, the goddess of learning and letters, shown in verse 77. Here N. V. Tilak corrects the notion that Sarasvati can be a goddess.

³ A beautiful verse on Creation and Redemption.

^{4,5} These two verses show consecration and prayerfulness as the secret of the Holy Spirit's constant indwelling and power. Their message is beautifully expressed in the Marathi hymns, 419 and 420 in the *Upāsana Sangīta*.

Verses 107-109: Salutation and Request to the Poets.

107. Now I salute the poet throng,
And before you in reverence lay
This my *Christāyan*, in what way
Soe'er He may inspire my song.
108. These are but love's upwellings, spilled
From my heart's fulness; more 'twere vain
To call them: if as such ye deign
To welcome them, my task's fulfilled.
109. 'Tis Christ that did these words impart,
Therefore let none to change them dare!
Most gladly would I rather bear
Your dagger planted in my heart!

Verse 110: Worship of the Most High.

Chapter II. Self-Oblation

Verses 1-40: About the poet himself and his task in this poem.

2. How nobly pure, how fair to view,
How wondrous in itself doth seem
This life of Christ, my poem's theme;
How worshipful, how ever new!
5. My soul by fears is troubled sore;
Words fail me quite; years seventeen¹
Thus tarry I, strange doubts between.
Father, grant courage, I implore!
7. Thy Spirit now in love hath shown
The cause why utterance tarries still;
'Tis mine unconsecrated will
That hath not yet been all Thine own.²
30. Since Thou to one so weak as I
Command hast given this Life to sing,
Defend me with Thy succouring
And fit me for a task so high.
33. Now o'er my mind and speech hold sway;
Thy Spirit's spokesman let me be:³
The Utterer of the Word is He,
And I but tell what He doth say.

¹ N. V. Tilak was baptized on September 10, 1895; so 17 years mean he composed this verse in the poem in 1912.

² This verse shows how the Holy Spirit first sanctifies the will and then inspires the mind; 'Spirit' (small 's') is a misprint in the *Ashram Review* copy.

³ Such a line as this shows N. V. Tilak to have been in the true succession of God's messengers.

38. Christ be my Brother and my Friend,
Guru and King, my Soul, my Life;
 Betwixt us may no breath of strife
 Find place, all sense of difference end.¹

Verses 41-54: About India.

41. Ah Aryan land, blest, blest is she !
 A magic might is in her name;
 Unrivalled stands her ancient fame;
 And we, her sons, thrice blessed are we !²
52. Hail, happy omens ! presaging
 The goal of all my country's woes,
 Pledge that from out her travail-throes
 A new and glorious birth shall spring.
53. Yea, at the end of pregnant strife,
 Enthroned as *guru* of the earth,
 This land of Hind shall teach the worth
 Of Christian faith and Christian life.
54. In sooth her name, in letters bright,
 Before all other names, I trow,
 Is writ, Lord Christ, upon Thy brow;
 And her to serve is my delight.

Verses 55-60: About Maharashtra.

55. And of this land the hope and pride
 Is Maharashtra, fair and free !
 Through her, Lord God, Thine eyes shall see
 Thy heart's fond longing satisfied.
56. For Maharashtra's sake I fain,
 Taught by the Holy Spirit's word,³
 Would sing the praise of Christ the Lord
 With glory of new-fashioned strain.

Verses 61-96: Personal Consecration to Christ, and Patriotism.

61. Now, Father may this fancy vain
 Never henceforth my mind invade,
 That service to my country⁴ paid
 And service done to Thee are twain.

¹ A striking expression of the soul's union with Christ.

² Such a verse as this illustrates the Indian Christian's passionate patriotism, and illustrates the fact that a change of faith does not mean a change of country or of loyalty.

³ Another expression of the poet's deep sense of dependence on the Spirit of Truth as his Teacher and Inspirer. See footnote on i, 9-11.

⁴ See *Upasānā Sangīt* 511, verse 3, and many other hymns, especially the 'National Hymns', 601-608.

64. When shall these longings be sufficed
 That stir my spirit night and day ?
 When shall I see my country¹ lay
 Her homage at the feet of Christ ?
66. How thirst I for that blessed day
 When India's² spiritual power
 And all her ancient wisdom's dower
 Shall own His consummating sway.
67. Now soul and body, mind and will,
 Honour and name, my wealth, my all,
 Brethren³ and kindred, great and small,
 I yield, Thy purpose to fulfil.
74. I'm but the harp Thy skilled hand plays;
 The frame of which Thou art the soul;
 The fish round which Thy waters roll;
 The theme Thy music lifts and sways.
75. I'm but the flower, and Thou the tree;
 Thou the day's light, I but the day,
 The limb which Thou, as Mind, doth sway;
 Yea, closer yet art Thou to me.
81. I'm but the pen Thou dost command,
 The brush which serves Thine artist skill,
 The flute Thou dost with music fill,
 The weapon wielded by Thy hand.
82. Thus be it aye, 'twixt Thee and me;
 First may Thy Spirit fill my whole
 Being until my very soul
 Thrills with Thy life's fair melody.
96. Thus, my *Christāyan*, with thine aid
 Have I this day to Christ my Lord
 My true self-offering outpoured!
 How can my debt to Thee be paid ?

Chapter III. The Promise

Verses 1-20: God's Love seeks and saves men.

18. Once link by link I forged and cast
 A mighty chain, until I found,
 All unawares, my body bound
 And fettered in its shackles fast.

¹ See *Upasānā Sangīt* 511, verse 3, and many other hymns, especially the 'National Hymns', 601-608.

² *ibid.*

³ *ibid.*

20. And, in such plight beholding me
Thou, who for every plight hast cure,
Cam'st hastening with succour sure
And in Thy mercy mad'st me free.

Verses 21-32: God's Love known to man by experience of Redemption.

23. Ask ye the sucking babe to tell
The sweetness of its mother's breast ?
And how by me can be expressed
That Love of God my heart knows well ?
24. Seek not logician's proofs from me !
No power have they *this* truth to prove.
He who would know how God is Love
Must by his mercy taste and see.

Verses 33-36: India to be the messenger of God's Redeeming Love.

33. Ah India, land where faith's springs rise !
What honour God to her did yield,
That to her first should be revealed
The vision of that sacrifice !¹.
34. Heedless, she lets its light grow dim,
And toys with guesses old and new,
Wise and unwise, and deemeth true
That which doth please her fancy's whim.
35. Had she not vainly missed her goal,
Christ haply had to her come down,
But even yet shall India own
And hail Him as her own true soul.
36. 'Tis she who to mankind shall show
How heavenly fair the Christian creed,
By God a '*gurusthan*'² decreed,
Choice Offering of this world below.

Verses 37-52: Man created on account of God's Love.

48. And this, the Good and True that is,
Whose name is Human Kind, took birth
At Will of Love upon the earth :
Preach me no different creed from this.

¹ An illustration of the Providential *Preparatio Evangelica* as disclosed by study of India's enriching poetry and astonishing asceticism.

² That is, the home of religious teachers.

Verses 53-55: God established man in his first home.

53. Lo ! God is Love ; His loved, 'tis plain,
Are man and woman ; all beside
That in the universe abide
Are humble servants of the twain.
55. E'en so did God the Lord decree
Woman and man one humankind
Upon the earth, and bade them find
Their union in diversity.

Verses 56-67: Man's first home on earth described.

66. Enjoyment free from all excess
Keepeth both mind and body pure :
None doth another's ill procure,
Nor none doth any need confess.

Verses 68-83: Man and woman before sin came.

79. God in their heart and in their sight !
God in their home and in their speech !
Sleeping or working, God in each !
God filling all things with His light !¹

Verses 84-167: The Fall of Man and Woman Into Sin.

87. Ah ! when I muse on that sad tale,
A thousand sorrows wring my heart,
And vain doth seem my poet art,
And all my words of none avail.
88. For in that fall of earliest man
Mine own assuréd fall I view ;
Alas ! with him are fallen too
All our whole race since it began.

Verses 132-202 not translated into English.

Verses 167-174: Their state after the Fall.

Verses 175-192: Adam and Eve meet God.

Verses 193-201: God's Promise.

202: End of chapter III in Marathi.

19. 'Abhangānjali'

We give below a few of N. V. Tilak's *abhangs* (or verses) which he first printed in his Marathi columns in the *Dnyanodaya*, one each week, these being later reprinted in book form. Some

¹ A picture of ideal home-life.

people have suggested that N. V. Tilak borrowed the idea of *abhanganjali* from Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's similar book called *Gitanjali*. But long before Dr. Tagore's book was published, N. V. Tilak had uttered a prayer in one of his books that one day he might be able to offer God an '*onjal*' (Sanskrit '*anjali*') of *abhangs* and in 1918-19 he carried his plan into effect. The '*anjali*' refers to an offering made in the two palms of the hand hollowed and stretched out together, hence the title of his book, *abhanganjali*. As these three hundred wonderful verses were written in the last year of N. V. Tilak's life they contain the final expression of his rich experience in Christ. These *abhangs* were widely used and proved so helpful that Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, then President of the Bombay Legislature, wrote to N. V. Tilak the following: 'I do not flatter you, but would crave your permission to say that your *abhangs* in the *Dnyanodaya* have been among my favourite readings, particularly because of the simple charm in which your Muse presents the sacred picture of Christ and recalls the elevating atmosphere of the New Testament, which has been my best reading and study, the first thing when I rise at every morning from bed.'

God Both Father and Mother

The Lord my Father-Mother is;
Nought can I lack, since I am His.
Then wherefore should I wealth desire,
Or after empty pomp aspire?
For this world's gold is all alloy,
Its honour but an infant's toy,
Its fame an unsubstantial trance,
Its wisdom only ignorance.
Then, save Thyself, my God and King,
Is nothing left for coveting!
Do Thou this only gift impart—
Dwell Thou for ever in my heart.
Saith Dāsa, Thou Thyself, O Lord,
Art Thy disciple's sole reward.

Abhanganjali No. 67.

'Quit India!'

Pack up your baggage quick and get you gone,
All whom the land of India pleaseth not!
Think not that money or authority
Can save us;—'tis a false and vain conceit!
Fathers and godlings—we desire not these;
Come, let us knit the bonds of brotherhood!
Saith Dāsa, Be the time that's past forgot,
And a new mind put on in this new day!

Abhanganjali No. 160.

Various Creeds and the One Kingdom

Say, if it please you, that all faiths are one;
Say, if you will, they differ each from each!
I care not for these idle questionings,
And stand beyond such wordy warfare's reach.
To us Thy Kingdom hath appeared, O God,
That Realm which all religions doth comprise;
With Christ we died, with Christ we have arisen,
And live in Thee the life that never dies.

Abhanganjali No. 196.

20. 'Christ's Darbar'

On September 6, 1917, N. V. Tilak resigned from the American Marathi Mission in a letter overflowing with deepest gratitude for all its members had meant to him. In it he declared 'India quite ripe and quite ready to accept the great Originator and Helper of human life—social, political, moral and spiritual—Jesus Christ.' Two days later on September 8 he publicly announced: 'For the sake of my country, for the sake of Christ's Darbar, and for my own sake, I must be free, except in love and service, of all human agencies, and must be bound entirely and to all purposes to Christ and the Gospel. I, therefore, in response to God's Voice, cease from this day forth to be a Mission agent or to be anyone's dependent or servant. I am a Christian *sannyasi*, which means a follower of *anurāga*, and never of *virāga*, and will try to be and do as I am bid by the Spirit of God. Let all those who love Christ, love India, and love me, help me by their mediation before the mercy-seat of God, our common Father.' N. V. Tilak continued in intimate fellowship with the American Marathi Missionaries who provided him and his family with a home at Satara. Besides his literary activity his chief work was to expound the principle of God's Darbar. The present writer has a vivid memory of N. V. Tilak sending to him a momentous Marathi document setting forth the *Darbar's* ideals in Marathi and requesting us to supply him with an English translation which we reproduce below: 'The Lord Jesus Christ is founding *swarāj* (the Kingdom of heaven) in man's heart, hence also in the world of men'—so ran his proclamation of the *Darbar*. 'By *swarāj* is meant the kingdom of heaven, the Rule of God. "God's Darbar" is the name of that society in the hearts of whose members this *swarāj*, or Kingdom of God, is already established.' The aims of the *Darbar* are stated to be: 'To form a brotherhood of the baptized and unbaptized disciples of Christ, by uniting them together in the bands of love and service, without in any way opposing, or competing with, Christian Missions, Churches or other Christian organizations; to esteem all as our brothers and sisters, since our Father-God dwells in all hearts; to imitate "the Son of Man", the Lord Jesus Christ, as our *Guru*, who served men in uttermost love, though they nailed Him to the

Cross ; to manifest an eager desire to be considered the true brothers and sisters of that " Son of God " ; this brotherhood to become a real universal family, to be known as real friends of men and real patriots, through whom the world gains once more a vision of the Lord Jesus Christ, so that the Christ who was originally Oriental may become Oriental again ; that Christian love, Christian freedom, and the Christian strength which enables men to rise above circumstances may be demonstrated to the world ; that Christianity may gradually lose its foreign aspect and become entirely Indian ; and the character of this brotherhood shall be such as to create in our fellow-countrymen the kindly attitude which will lead them to glory in thinking of Christian people as their very own.' The members of the Darbar pledge themselves ' to follow Jesus Christ as their *Guru*, and to meditate upon His life and character, His aims and teaching, with the help of the Bible and other books ; to " think with Him and work with Him " ; to pray to God in the morning, at noon, and at night ; and to view the other members of the Darbar as brothers and sisters, so that " the world, seeing the brotherly love of the members, shall be filled with astonishment and shall glorify " God. They undertake to attend divine worship once a week, to do some kind of disinterested work for their fellowmen, to contribute to the funds of the Darbar, and to bring at least one new member into it every year.'

The following is the Darbar ' vow ' :

- ' Like Thee, O Christ, I will remain poor.
- ' Like Thee I will serve.
- ' Like Thee I will be the friend of all, the enemy of none.
- ' Like Thee I will ever be ready to be nailed to a cross.
- ' Like Thee I will strive to do fully the will of God.
- ' Like Thee I will love all mankind.

' In the strength of faith I will abide in Thy Presence. Thy world and mine shall be one. I will strive after Thy likeness, and finally, being united to Thee, by my own personal experience I will prove to be true that saying of Paul, the chief of saints, " Ye died and your life is hid with Christ in God ".' This last passage from his favourite apostle St Paul (in Col. 3.3) was the mainstay of N. V. Tilak's soul when we saw him on his deathbed in the hospital in May 1919.

CHAPTER XV

THE MAHARASHTRIAN REFORMER HELPS THE REVOLUTIONARY CHRIST

Pundita Ramabai's Dedicated Greatness

(1) Indian and non-Indian leaders of the Christian Movement in Western India may find ground for solid encouragement in the fact that among the sixteen Indian Christians whose story is told in the 1940 book by Mrs Parker, *How they Found Christ*, no less than three belong to the Marathi-speaking part of India : Panditā Ramabāī, Narāyan Vāman Tilak and Bāba Padmanji. Over eighteen pages are given to the moving story of Ramabāī, a name which means ' Giver of Delight '. And how *much* delight this Pandita gave to India ! For even as a small girl she was described as ' a prodigy of learning ', and ' when she arrived in Calcutta, ' after travelling thousands of miles on pilgrimage to sacred places, ' her fame had preceded her, ' says Mrs Parker in her book (pp. 30-31), which continues in a section worth quoting for a generation in India which does not know the facts of Pandita's remarkable life : ' Something of a sensation was created among the pandits by her astonishing knowledge of Sanskrit. Ramabāī was invited to meet the leaders of Sanskrit learning ' who ' asked her to take up lectures to Hindu ladies on the duties of their sex as taught in the Shastras So delighted were the leading Hindu pandits of Calcutta with her extraordinary talent that they conferred on her the title " Saraswati, " thus showing that they considered her worthy of bearing the name of the Hindu goddess of learning. A close study of these sacred books brought to her acute mind many doubts. In her own words : " What one book said was most righteous, the other declared all wrong This I found true of almost everything, but there were two things on which all these books were agreed : that women of high and low caste as a class were bad, very bad, worse than demons, as unholy as untruth. " She then realised that in no case did the Hindu religion hold out hope of any final goal of good for her sex. Ramabāī records : " My eyes were being gradually opened. I was waking up to my hopeless condition. I wanted something more than the Shāstras could give me. " As a Brāhmin, religion to her had been the end and purpose of life in every act and every moment, the meticulous observance of the myriad rules and rites of Hinduism but the day came when her whole being rose up in rebellion against a system, sanctified by religion, which condemned half the race to servitude in this life without promising a better future in any other life, even though a myriad lives be lived by the same soul Not until she had freed

herself from these things did she begin to experience the peace which comes from complete surrender to Christ.'

Ramabāi's Spiritual Surrender

(2) One chief factor in the Pandita's 'surrender' was her discovery, after many conversations with the Calcutta Brahmo Samaj leader Keshab Chandra Sen, of a copy of St. Luke's Gospel 'which Ramabāi took and read with a hungry heart.' Her coming to Poona and her founding there of the Arya Mahila, a society for Indian ladies, do not need recapitulating as they are such well known facts. In Poona she continued her study of the Bible and found a helper in Nehemiah Nilkanth Shāstri Goreh. In 'the solemn movement of the soul Godward' she had not yet found peace when Providentially there was opened up a way for Panditā to visit England where she was deeply impressed by the rescue work done by Wantage Sisters for fallen women. Her Hindu books had taught her: 'The king shall cause the fallen woman to be eaten by dogs, on the outskirts of the town; but here were Christian women of the highest culture devoting themselves to winning the fallen to personal purity and a position of respect in society. 'Thus has my heart been drawn to the religion of Christ.' She accepted Christ publicly on September 9, 1883, along with her brilliant daughter Manoramabāi. 'What good news,' she wrote, 'for me, a woman born in India, among Brāhmins who hold out no hope for me . . . I had not to wait for countless millions of births and deaths when I should become a Brahmin man . . . This everlasting life God gives freely to whosoever believes on His Son.' Pandita Ramabāi herself placed on record the fact that, although she was in England when her final spiritual crisis came in 1883, it was a long letter from Nilkanth Nehemiah Goreh sent to her from Poona (and later printed as a Marāthi book of 200 pages entitled *Christa-dharma Ishwardatta* at the Panch Howds Press of the time) that was the final factor in her surrender. Though the wonderful work of mercy by the sisters of the Cross at Wantage in England prepared the way and influenced her deeply, it was Father Goreh's personal letter that was the last straw. As she wrote to a friend: 'Father Goreh preached to me from India. His humble, sweet voice has pierced my heart. I think no one would have had the power of turning my heart from the Brāhmin religion but Father Goreh.' And four years later in 1887, when Unitarian influences had somewhat disturbed her spiritual balance, it was again her once ChitpāvanKonkanasth Brāhmin friend, now a Christian, who steadied her faith by the further letter which Nilkanth Nehemiah Goreh wrote to her and afterwards published in eighty pages entitled *Proofs of the Divinity of Our Lord*. All this was the full fruition of a friendship which had begun at meetings of the Prārthanā Samāj in Poona where they first met in 1882. At an early age Ramabāi had committed to memory the Sanskrit grammar and dictionary (versified for easy committal), also the

Rig-Veda, the *Bhagavadgītā* and other important Sanskrit works. Altogether she could recite over 20,000 Sanskrit stanzas. 'I have seen,' said a lady friend, 'American and European men visitors kiss her hand as though she were a queen-mother, while for me the dab of cream on top of all was the delectable fact that I was kissing the Pandita Ramabai Dongre Medhavi, acclaimed *Sarasvati* (the goddess of wisdom) herself by the assembled pundits of Calcutta, greater altogether than her great international reputation, and one of the best and sweetest women that ever lived.'

Helper of India's Widows

(3) Ramabāi became Sanskrit Professor in the Cheltenham Ladies' College for two years until she left for America where she raised Rs. 60,000 for new enterprises in India, including, in 1887, a Bombay Widows' Home some of whose inmates she described as follows:—'One married at five became a widow at six; another married at nine months old, and went to her husband's home when she was eight. To look into the sad eyes of some, to see a head branded with a hot iron, to see the cheeks covered with sores from pinching, all this is sad enough, but it is *nothing* compared with the awful temptations to which they are exposed.' In 1889 she began a High School which she moved to Poona later where other institutions followed, and finally came her noble service at Mukti in Kedgaon. 'From the commencement of her work,' says Mrs Parker, 'Ramabāi kept it unsectarian, and no undue pressure was ever put on any inmate to become Christian. It was never Ramabāi's policy to proselytize the women who sought a home under her care. They must voluntarily take that momentous step.'

Righting Wrongs Against Child-Wives

(4) Panditā Ramabāi's unique work for India's child-wives and for her prematurely widowed Indian sisters of every caste and creed entitled her to speak with the candour rightly denied to foreign arm-chair critics. In her book *The High Caste Hindu Woman* and in various articles she described things as she found them: 'Many widows starving to death, others committing suicide, and still others, in far greater numbers, sunk in the depths of immorality, out of which the priests told them they would secure happiness hereafter.' On these Hindu priests she was justifiably severe: 'They send out hundreds of emissaries to look for young widows and bring them by thousands to the sacred cities to rob them of their virtue and their money. They entice the poor ignorant women . . . and, after robbing them of their belongings, tempt them to yield to their unholy desires. They shut the helpless widows in their large monasteries, hire them out to wicked men, and when the miserable slaves are no longer pleasing, they turn them out to suffer the horrible consequences

of sin and to die a death worse than that of a starved dog.' Of this greatest of India's women social workers—though some have described her as 'India's greatest woman'—Howard Walter, himself a rare social and literary worker of the Y.M.C.A., after a visit to Mukti, wrote saying: 'She represents in her single personality the most remarkable combination of executive, intellectual, and religious powers that I have known in recent times in either man or woman . . . She spoke seven languages fluently . . . She learned both Hebrew and Greek to enable her to translate correctly the Bible into Marāthī.' Mrs Parker adds: 'Accepted by her fellow-Christians as the greatest spiritual woman leader Indian Christianity has produced, she is also acclaimed by her non-Christian compatriots as one who was never unfaithful to the best traditions of her people.'

Ramabai's Spiritual Secret of Social Reform

(5) This was the priceless jewel of a woman that Nīlkanth Nehemiah helped into the light of truth and peace. Her conversations with him in Poona had convinced her that the spiritual position of the Prārthanā Samājists was untenable, since it was Jesus Christ alone (and not Hindu *bhaktas*) who originated all that the Hindu reformers taught about pure theism—and much more besides. It is surely of special significance for the Indian Church that it was the Dynamic Power of the Holy Spirit as the gift of Christ for life and service that was finally the convincing factor with both these Chitpāvan Brāhmin minds. No less significant for India's reformers in all the faiths is the fact that this inward evangelical experience was regarded by the learned Panditā as her greatest treasure, and that it was her constant dynamic in one of the most tremendous social reform achievements of modern times in any land. The inward experience of Christ alone was what supplied to Pandita Ramabāī adequate inspiration for over 30 years of work on that most heartrending of India's problems, the problem of Indian widows and girl-wives. When she passed away on April 5, 1922 there were 925 needy Indian women in her sheltering home, and there had been periods when the number rose to eighteen hundred. So remarkable was Ramabāī's achievement in this realm of social service that when Gāndhījī appealed in *Young India* for 'brave women who will work among the girl-wives,' *The Student Movement Review* stated that the appeal 'should surely come with force to a community which numbers among its saints perhaps the greatest of Indian pioneers in that field, Panditā Ramabāī. One or two "Ramabāīs" from the Indian Christian Church in the next decade would do more to arrest the attention of India and focus it upon Christ, than much theological discussion.' And 'perhaps,' added the *Review*, 'the best testimony that the Indian Church can give, is the manifestation of a family life which is seen to be higher and purer because these evils are kept out from it.'

Servant of India and Bondservant of Christ

(6) In 1926 Dr Nicol Macnicol enriched the literature of India by his book entitled *Panditā Ramabāī* in the 'Builders of Modern India Series', published by the Association Press at Calcutta. In *The Week*, an able weekly in English that was published in Bombay by Roman Catholic laymen for some years but is unfortunately now extinct, in the issue for April 28, 1927, there was a review of Dr Macnicol's book by Miss Lucia B. Fuller who was herself such an authority on Panditā Ramabāī that her review was itself a contribution of solid value, and only space considerations compel us to abbreviate it here. Writing under the title we have given to this paragraph Miss Fuller said: 'Ramabāī deliberately left very little in the way of documentary help, having carefully destroyed all her private papers the year before her death. Hence there are lamentably few records outside her all too few writings. I have heard Dr Macnicol wish that she might have had her Boswell, and it is indeed a matter for mourning that she had not, for she could talk fascinatingly . . . The book of her mind was very large, written in many scripts, and filled with rare pictures, both beautiful and dreadful. In it were both old world wisdom and new world discovery. Some of its pages were palm leaves graven with the speech of gods, sonorous and magnificent, and interleaved with softly bright pictures of old forests peopled with *rishis*, *gurus* and *chelas*, and wonderous beasts; of palaces, temples and sacred streams; of gods, demi-gods, and demons; heroes, saints and knaves; and of fair women whose virtue the millennia have not dimmed. Some pages were parchment illuminated with colours made of powdered gems and gold, as befits records and likenesses of the Ineffable and unportrayable. And some were paper of wood pulp, drearily printed in black, statistics that broke the heart. One grieves to think of such a book gone from our hands. But while the book is gone, Ramabāī's "works do follow" her, and it was these,' added Miss Fuller, that proved her to be a 'Builder of Modern India'. Dr Macnicol's preface said the aim of his book was 'to show the Panditā in her place not only as a Christian but as an Indian, a true product of India's past and a powerful fashioner of India's future; . . . to grasp and present the idea of her life, when in her person the Indian soul meets Christ and is transformed.' In setting forth Ramabāī 'as a true Indian,' said Miss Fuller, 'Dr Macnicol rightly emphasizes the greatness of her Indian heritage, the significance of her Konkanasth Brāhmin birth . . . When her generation has also passed, young India will listen to tales of its endurances and devotions as to exploits of forgotten gods. Ramabāī's maternal grandfather undertook a pilgrimage from Wāi to Benāres (800 miles as the crow flies) by prostrations (*sāstāng namskār*). It is not recorded that he completed it, though the implication is that he did, but we know that he did at least two hundred miles, about 140,000 prostrations. Her brother, among other severe austerities, undertook

the fifty-six days' Hanuman fast and all but completed it She and her brother walked about seven thousand miles—I had it from herself—on their pilgrimages up and down India.' As Dr Macnicol states: 'Panditā set up a ferment in Hindu society the effects of which are not yet exhausted Prof. D. K. Karve . . . himself bears witness that it was from Panditā Ramabāī that he obtained his inspiration. She was a pioneer, and her great gift to India lies less in what she actually achieved, immense as that achievement was, than in the example of faith and courage that she gives to India as she stands in the grey of its new dawn. She had many notable qualities, such, as for example, an "executive capacity" that, in the opinion of Professor Karve, "stands unparalleled in India." . . . The debt that India owes to this woman has yet to be realized and acknowledged. She is one of her country's liberators; and first she had herself obtained her freedom. In a sense other and far higher than Hinduism understands the word, she was a *jivan mukta*, one who walked free in a world enslaved. One of her sayings, a saying that "would be golden on the lips of Augustine," discloses the completeness of her deliverance from every bondage. "Depending altogether," she says, "on our Father, God, we have nothing to fear from anybody, nothing to lose, and nothing to regret." The bonds are broken. She, and those who share her secret, have attained "*Swarājya*," (the kingdom of heaven).

Reasons for India's Slowness to Realize Pandita's Greatness

(7) It was for two reasons that India as a whole did 'not yet realize and acknowledge its debt to this glorious woman,' said Miss Fuller. 'The second was her retirement to Kedgaon and her absorption in the mammoth institution she built up there. The first, of course, was her conversion. Many could never forgive her that, but her death quickly softened the old bitterness and revived the old pride in her. After all, even as a Christian, she is India's, a Chitpāvan of the Chitpāvans unsurpassed mistress of her great mother-tongue In fact Mrs Sārojīnī Naidu claimed her on behalf of Hinduism as "the first Christian to be enrolled in the calendar of Hindu saints". Dr Macnicol "concedes the claim in the sense that this saint brought the 'glory and the honour' of the Hindu spiritual heritage into the Christian Church," since "its glory lies, not in its subtle and ancient speculations—which she rejected—but in the devotion and passion of its long search for God." . . . Very strongly would she rebuke those who would waive her Christian faith as a mere excrescence on her greatness. Since her death it has been rather the fashion among people who do not know her well to speak of her conversion as an unhappy accident of the times. "There was no Seva Sadan in 1883," they say sorrowfully, "no common ideal of service. She was forced to become Christian in order to carry out her great ideas. Had she been born generation later, she would not have needed to turn Christian: she

would have worked shoulder to shoulder with us." But this is like surmising what Ramabāī had done, had she been her own child; for it is freely admitted that the Seva Sadan, Professor Karve's University for Women, the *Kanyashala* and many minor institutions are all children of Ramabāī's *Sharada Sadan*. It was she who lit the flame Certainly the facts of Ramabāī's life do not support in the very least the theory that external necessity drove her to the Christian faith. That faith was her life—rather *Life* was her life, our Lord Himself. To her, as to St Thomas, He was Lord and God; to her, as to the Nicene Fathers, He was Very God of Very God; and she wanted not only to be herself altogether His, but that India, her profoundly loved Motherland, might be altogether His. For this she laboured tirelessly and prayed ceaselessly. She worked for *Chrīstarājya*, not for a *Swarājya* which, at the best, would be *Bharat-rājya* and *Manushyarājya* rather than *Devrājya* or even *Ātmārājya* She was in a very high sense a patriot, loving India as only so great a soul can love its *Matribhūmi*. And India also, I believe, is coming more and more to love her great daughter, and to see that among her most lustrous names is that of Ramabāī Anantshāstrī Dongare, servant of India and bondservant of Jesus Christ.

In our next chapter let us turn to that Maharashtrian philosopher whose 'humble sweet voice' was used by the Spirit of Christ to overcome the final obstacles in the pilgrimage of the Pandita to her Saviour.

CHAPTER XVI

THE MAHARASHTRIAN PHILOSOPHER EXPOUNDS
THE REVEALING CHRIST

Nilkanth Shastri Goreh's Boyhood in Benares

(1) The Indian Christian scholar who was able to deal with the philosophical difficulties of a Hindu lady whose unique abilities had won for her the title of 'Saraswatidevibai' could have been no ordinary man, and we have already seen that Pundita Ramabai has left on record the statement that in the greatest crisis of her soul it was Nilkanth Shastri Goreh who met her spiritual need. Let us then briefly trace the stages in his spiritual pilgrimage, for Poona and Western India owe him many other debts besides. Five hundred and twenty-nine years after the Maharashtra Brahmin Dnyaneshwar had terminated at Ālandi his own earthly career in 1296 by taking *sthal-samādhi* (getting oneself buried alive), a Konkanasth Chitpāvan Mahārāshtra Brāhmin who had been born in Poona found himself in Kāshīpura, a small village of Bundelkand 50 miles east of Jhānsī. Here there was born to him in 1825 a son, Nilkanth Shāstrī Goreh, whose boyhood and early manhood were spent in Benāres which is regarded by every Hindu as 'the gate of heaven'. His father was Shivrāmpant who belonged to a family of hereditary Diwāns and whose property came down from the Peshwas. Shivrāmpant was born in 1799 and he had married Girjabāi the daughter of one of the Dāmales who were regarded as 'lords of Kāshīpura'. In accordance with Brāhmin custom their son Nilkanth in his eighth year had been turned from the mere Hindu into the Brāhmin (or the sacred twice-born) by the investiture of the sacred thread. He had learned the mystic *Gayatri*, and he had entered on the first stage in the individual Hindu's 'holy life', that of a *brahmāchārī* (or religious student). The investiture had been no empty ceremony to the serious-minded Nilkanth, for he realized what it meant personally to him, both in privilege and responsibility. Deeply devoted to his daily prayers he wept bitterly on one occasion not long after his thread ceremony because he had forgotten to scatter the water towards the sun at the time of repeating the *Sandhya*, the collection of Brāhmin prayers which are repeated thrice daily at sunrise, noon and sunset.

An Ascetic's Temptation

(2) Nilkanth was greatly attracted by an invitation at the age of 18-19 to become the disciple of a popular Brāhmin ascetic who promised to initiate him into the six *śāstras* and the eighteen *Purāṇs*. The ascetic's main condition, however, was that Nilkanth

must go and beg alms of the 'castes of the eighteen turbans', that is, of all sorts of people. This condition he knew his father, belonging as he did to such an aristocratic line, could not possibly agree to; but the acquisition of sacred lore and the initiation into many Hindu mysteries would, he hoped, more than compensate for the displeasure of his father. Therefore very early one morning before dawn, Nilkanth's desire to become the disciple of this popular ascetic took him to where the ascetic stayed, only 'to find the man whom he so venerated, in the very commission of sin with a notoriously bad widow woman. He ran away in horror, and ever afterwards ascribed this shameful discovery to the mercy of God, who had thus saved him from being the follower of such a hypocrite . . . With his thirst for learning we can understand his high hopes and bitter disappointment when the evil-living *Shāstrī*, just mentioned, promised to open to him such a mine of learning if he would only beg for him as his disciple.'

Mahārāshtra Brāhmins in Benāres

(3) As the book to which we are indebted for our facts in this section, the biography by Father C. E. Gardner S.S.J.E. would appear to be out of print, it is well that present-day readers should have the main facts of Nilkanth Shastri Goreh's career, hence the following summary. Married when he was a boy of about twelve years old to a little girl who was even younger, Nilkanth Shāstrī Goreh soon found himself a childless widower, since his girl-wife died very early. Seven years later, in submission to the entreaties and even the tears of his mother, who pleaded with her firstborn the need of a son (*putra*) to deliver him from hell (*put*), Nilkanth once more went through the burdensome marriage ceremonies, his new wife Lakshmibāi, the daughter of a Konkanasth Brāhmin of Benāres, being seven years old and he nineteen. His father Shivrāmpant, as a Brāhmin of the Brāhmins, retired to Benāres where he erected for himself a hut and lived the life of a recluse until the days when he wandered on pilgrimage from one pilgrim centre to another in obedience, as Shivrāmpant believed, to the bidding of the gods. From the time that Nilkanth's father became a recluse, young Nilkanth lived in Benāres under the guardianship of his uncle Bālkrishnapant who maintained a princely style, after the fall of the Marāthā Peshwās in whose service he had been previously employed. The guardian-uncle of Nilkanth had become a wealthy man by reason of his large income from the Peshwās, and in Benāres he was now manager of the Hindu charitable institution, *Annapurna Chhatra* (guardian of the goddess of food). After the retirement of Shivrāmpant as a recluse, Bālkrishnapant thus became guardian of his two nephews, Nilkanth then nineteen and Govind who was seven; Bālkrishnapant's daily duties being those of the almoner of a Hindu prince, from whose bounty he fed with at least one meal a day as many of the Mahārāshtra Brāhmins living in Benāres as applied

for such help. This was the daily atmosphere surrounding Nīlkanth Shāstrī Goreh, the young Mahārāshtra Brāhmin philosopher who lived in the city of Kāshi with its thousand temples.

A Shaivite Becomes a Vaishnavite

(4) Though Nīlkanth's grandfather had been a worshipper of Shiva, his father Shivrāmpant was a worshipper of Krishna, and the name Nīlkanth which Shivrāmpant had given his eldest son signified 'the blue-throated one' from one of the popular legends in the story of Shiva. Influenced by the example of his grandfather, Nīlkanth had started life as a devoted Shaivite and he therefore regarded Mahādev (another name for Shiva), the great god in the Hindu Trimurti or Triad, as his *Ishta-devatā* or guardian deity and ancestral god of his familyline. But one of the characteristics of this growing philosopher was to take nothing for granted, and when he came to examine for himself the claims of Shiva he was so profoundly dissatisfied that he turned from the worship of Shiva and became a worshipper of Krishna instead. So drastic a change in his religious views, however, did not please any of his family, but Nīlkanth had already become such an individualist that the cost of obedience to his conscience was a factor that weighed very little in the scales.

Undisguised Contempt for Christians

(5) It is worthy of note that the swing over from Shaivism to Vaishnavism by Nīlkanth Shāstrī Goreh coincided with an attitude on his part of 'undisguised contempt and hatred' of all Christian teaching. As a learned Mahārāshtra Brāhmin who had been brought up amid all the orthodoxies of Benāres he was alternately offended and amused by the simplicity of the Gospel message and by what he regarded as the simple-mindedness of its preachers who did not know Sanskrit and whom he therefore viewed as *mlechhas* or 'barbarians' and 'foreigners' in the sacred places of Hinduism, above all in the holy city of Kāshī (Benāres). Nevertheless he felt strangely drawn to pause and listen whenever he saw them preaching on the roads in Benāres, though his predominant feeling was to despise them and to point out the flaws in their line of argument. Nīlkanth Shāstrī Goreh was at that time about twenty years of age and as he listened to the simple teaching given in the bazar-preaching he felt a consuming desire to dedicate all his powers to its refutation. For if he could only cover the Christian preachers with the shame of an open defeat in argument, and drive them from India, would it not be 'a meritorious act in honour of his newly adopted god, Vishnu?' This overpowering zeal for Hinduism, and an equally overpowering hatred of any religion competing with Hinduism, in the end prompted him to pay a personal call on the C.M.S. missionary living in the Sigra section of Benāres. One of the best authorities on the Benāres of the 19th century has described Nīlkanth Shāstrī Goreh as he was at that time, about the

year 1845, as 'a Mahārāshtra Brāhmin, clever and shrewd, a Sanskrit scholar, calm and gentle, with a keen and subtle intellect, delighting in discussion, and conscious of his superior powers.' Impelled as he was 'by the desire to refute Christian teaching' or to compel the preachers 'to confine themselves to labours among Christians', Nīlkanth Shāstrī Goreh started a far-reaching controversy which in its various aspects went on for nearly four years. Those years were marked by a deepening curiosity in the mind of this young Hindu philosopher concerning Jesus Christ, and by an ever growing antagonism to all that the preachers claimed Jesus was and did.

Animus Against the Christian's Bible

(6) This phase of Goreh's career in which he was possessed by such a deadly animus against the Christian message is so crucial a period in this Mahārāshtra Brāhmin's life-story that it is worth quoting his own words about it. 'I heard that the C.M.S. missionary was a man of great piety, and the foolish thought came to my mind that I would go to him, and show him the great beauty of the Hindu religion and convert him. . . . I believed this thought was from the gods, and so did my father. I went to see Mr Smith, and came away greatly disappointed, for he would not argue. He asked me to read the New Testament, and offered me a copy. I wished to refuse it, but he offered it so courteously that, though I felt a contempt for him and his book, I could not refuse to take it. I did not read it. I went again and again to see Mr Smith, but he would never argue. He only asked me, "Have you read my book?" which I never answered'. Nīlkanth's statement concludes with the words: 'I do not know when I began to read the Bible; but it lay by for a long time.' The influence of Christian literature, however, began to make itself felt, for though his contempt for the English Bible prevented him from reading that, he was yet willing to read a pamphlet written in Sanskrit by one named Dr John Muir of the Bengal Civil Service entitled *Mat Parikshā* in which the writer sought to set forth the nature of true religion. This Sanskrit pamphlet was not only read with care by Nīlkanth Shāstrī, but he even wrote a refutation of it in Sanskrit. A still more important factor is mentioned in the following: 'Perusal of this pamphlet led Nīlkanth to refer to the Bible, and in spite of his original contempt for it he was greatly attracted to it. He was especially struck with the Sermon on the Mount, and when he began to read the Bible with the intention of refuting it, this arrested him, and made him feel that here was a religion not to be lightly dealt with. He was gradually convinced that it must be a Divine inspiration.' Or as he himself expressed it thirty years afterwards: 'It was no desire for conversion, but pride and vanity, which first moved him to discuss' Christian truth with its preachers. He only did so for the sake of showing his own knowledge and power in argument, to confute, as he imagined, their doctrine. In the course of his disputing, he was led to look into

the Scriptures, and it was now that the power of God's Word was brought to bear upon him.

More Doubts About Hinduism than About Jesus Christ

(7) At this point, perplexed but sincere prayer began to do its work in Nilkanth's troubled soul, for the four Gospels with their life of Jesus Christ were now showing that it was he himself who was in the wrong. This discovery filled him with deep anguish and led him to intense prayer in private for further light and for grace to follow whatever light might come. The conflict and its issue were well described years after by Sir Monier Williams who said that in personal conversation with him Goreh had told him how 'he first began by reading John Muir's *Mat Pariksha in order to refute it*. While doing so he was much struck by the beauty of Christ's teaching and example, especially by the doctrines of the Sermon on the Mount.' It thus became very plain to this young mahārāshtra Brāhmin in the holy city of the Hindus that he was in the throes of a personal crisis and that he had need of all the help he could get from prayer. For his conflict of doubt was so intense that when his Christian friend assured him God could solve his hundred doubts about Jesus Christ if only he surrendered to Him, Nilkanth replied by asking: If his 'hundred doubts about Christ' could be removed, why should not his 'five hundred doubts about Hinduism' be solved? From all this it became growingly clear to Nilkanth himself that 'he was losing faith in his old religion in proportion as the beauty of the new religion was being manifested,' especially whenever he compared his daily rites as a Mahārāshtra Brāhmin with Christian worship. The many factors at work in his spiritual struggle—the Christian literature he was reading, especially the life and teaching of Jesus in the New Testament, his own developing practice of private prayer, and his personal contact with English-speaking Christians like John Muir and William Smith—all these factors, along with his deepening dissatisfaction with Hinduism, had now brought him to the position when it became very clear to him that he had far fewer doubts about Jesus Christ than he had about his own ancestral Hindu religion.

Crisis: Inward and Domestic

(8) In his spiritual pilgrimage Nilkanth Shāstrī Goreh had reached the stage when he was quite sure about the inadequacy of his old religion, but he was not yet quite sure of the adequacy of the new. In the words of the well known Hindu proverb which he applied to himself: Out of every sixteen annas which made up the rupee of his religion, he had now begun to give fifteen annas of thought to Jesus Christ and only one anna to the Hindu gods. Of equal significance was the fact that he was convinced, first of the sinfulness of his idolatry, then of the sinfulness of his own heart, and most of all of the utter inadequacy of the Pantheistic mysticism of the Hindu religion to deal

with his whole problem. And, perhaps most important of all, the New Testament which he once so completely despised had become the absorbing study of every day, because of what he felt to be the ineffable beauty of the character and work of Jesus. Two other convictions were equally dominant within him: he was deeply impressed by the power of Christ to supply every human need, but he was haunted also by his anticipation of the terrible sacrifices he would have to undergo if he obeyed his inward convictions. When Nilkanth Shāstrī Goreh began to affirm it would be wrong to stifle his conscience, his uncle and guardian Bālkrishnapant 'worked himself up to a fury, cursing his nephew and nearly proceeding to violence'. In characteristic oriental respect for his elders, Nilkanth fell prostrate at his uncle's feet, imploring with clasped hands that a day or two might be allowed him to think over all his uncle had said. If the guardian-uncle was enraged at the thought of the family disgrace sure to result from one of the members of the household changing his religion, Nilkanth on his part was filled with the dread of being treated by his own loved ones as an out-caste. He even came to feel that 'the very trees seemed to be crying shame on him' for the step he was seriously contemplating.

Hostile 'Friends'

(9) Hostility then began to appear outside his home circle when a number of his pandit-friends announced to him their decision that he must sign a document binding himself to think no more of the new religion. On another occasion Nilkanth was drugged by these friends who resolved to turn him from his purpose, but the only result of the drug was to make him feel a little giddy. On a third occasion a mendicant student, to whom he had confided his secret purpose, went and violated his confidence by informing Nilkanth's uncle who at once 'beat him unmercifully and then proceeded to make a great fire in order to burn all the books' about the Bible which had been loaned to him. This, however, was prevented by Nilkanth's younger brother Govind who intervened by getting the enraged uncle to send back the borrowed books by two servants. Govind further mediated by shutting up Nilkanth in a room alone and by announcing a fast on the part of both himself and his uncle until Nilkanth solemnly promised to have nothing more to do with the Bible. From this impasse Nilkanth escaped only by giving an undertaking 'not to become a Christian while an inmate of his uncle's house,' by which he himself meant that he would not remain there as a Christian, so that his uncle should not lose caste.

'Sorrow's Crown of Sorrow'

(10) Nilkanth's greatest sorrow was the idea of grieving his father. 'I finally told my father of my change of faith. This was a sad time, so sad and awful that I recall all that happened as if it all happened

yesterday. My father's desolate grief at my confession ' was such that he prayed me with many tears to give up this fancy of mine, as he called it But nothing stopped God's voice in my conscience . . . My poor father ! He even fell at my feet and begged me, for the sake of his grey hairs and for the little while he still had to live, not to bring on him so grievous a trial. I was very, very sad, and most of all at my father's falling at my feet. He actually did this.' But Nīlkanth's decision had been made, and despite a plot in which 'the clan of Maharashtra Brāhmins who were numerous in Benāres' had 'planned to come to take him away by force,' he had come to feel that 'the love of his Heavenly Father could brook no rival,' and his mind and conscience dwelt on the words of Jesus : 'He that loveth father or mother more than Me is not worthy of Me' (Matthew x. 37). And yet, in the last resort, when action was needed, Nīlkanth discovered he had not the courage to carry out his convictions. He could not face the grief which the final stage would cause his father. 'His last look, so full of reproach, of sorrow and of agony, haunts me day and night, sleeping and waking.' In this hard crisis, the Lord's Prayer and the *Mantra Gayatri* were mingled in his daily prayers. He 'went on attending to the worship of the gods but his heart was not in it'.

Surrender to Christ : Excommunication by Caste

(12) At last, however, he found he could compromise no longer, and after his four years of conflict and torture he decided to go to Jaunpur, forty miles north of Benāres, where he was baptized on March 14, 1848, he being given the name of Nehemiah. His own record of the event stated : 'On account of my great regard to my dear father, and from consideration of his feelings, I thought it better not to be baptized at Benāres ; I therefore went to Jaunpur.' The vernacular papers of Benāres had for some days been reporting his movements, and just before his flight to Jaunpur the papers had reported : 'Nīlkanth Shāstrī is keeping straight and duly performing all the prescribed rites of a Brahmin.' But after he had left Benāres these same papers declared : 'Nīlkanth Shāstrī, the son of a most respectable man, left here on the 12th for Jaunpur, and has wandered into the path of ruin with the Christians.' One immediate consequence of his baptism was his excommunication from caste ; and so Nīlkanth Nehemiah was regarded from that day by his relatives and lifelong friends as 'the filth of the world'. On his return to Benāres some months later he began to read a Christian tract aloud on the road in a locality he thought might be favourable, but he was hooted at and abused by the crowd who finally flung mud at him. He therefore quietly withdrew, 'all soiled with the mud and dirt', but 'he only smiled at the figure he showed'. As for his uncle, Bālkrishnapant Goreh, 'he felt keenly the social degradation' of the event. 'That a Goreh, a nephew of his, should be a defiled Christian,

an out-caste, such a filthy thing that the world would not touch, the abhorrence of sacred Benāres, was bitter indeed.'

Shivrāmpant Goreh's Vow of Lifelong Silence

(12) All this happened when Nīlkanth, now Nehemiah, Goreh was entering on his twenty-fourth year, and in it all the bitterest cup for the young Mahārāshtra Brāhmin who had now confessed his open loyalty to Jesus Christ was the desolation of his father. Feeling the utter shame and disgrace of his son's course of action, Shivrāmpant now entered on a vow of lifelong silence to all the world except to his erring son, 'gave himself up more than ever to solitude and religious practices', and 'ceased to speak to anyone except Nehemiah, towards whom, notwithstanding his outcasting, he manifested as tender a love as of old'. Twelve years afterwards, 'during a pilgrimage undertaken as he thought at the call of the gods, death overtook him . . . alone and among strangers,' at Hardwār 400 miles north-west of Benāres, after visiting the many shrines on the way. Nīlkanth Nehemiah Goreh always 'attributed the cause of his father's death to grief at his own conversion', but up to the day of his death Shivrāmpant maintained a deep affection for his Nīlkanth who on his part never failed to 'prostrate himself before his father as a dutiful son'. And whenever Nīlkanth Nehemiah called on his father in the anchorite's hut where he lived without any attendant, the father would always blame him for becoming a Christian, but at the same time entreat him never to become an atheist or a free thinker but to keep to the path he had chosen, though mistakenly. 'Without religion, man cannot exist,' he used to say ; 'though you have changed yours, still it is a religion, therefore keep to it.'

Ellen Lakshmi Goreh And Her Hymn

(13) It only remained for the young Mahārāshtra Brāhmin, who had now become a Christian, to win back his wife Lakshmibai who had been separated from him during his long inward conflict. This return was effected in a remarkable way but not until nearly five long years after his baptism. Cut off from all his wealthy family's connections he could only fall back for his self-support on his efforts as a pandit and translator, and there was plenty of work for him in both these capacities among the Christian people, but only among these. For what Hindu would become the pupil of a Maharashtra Brāhmin who had been out-casted ? About a year after the reunion of Nīlkanth Nehemiah and his wife, 'our little Nellie was born,' in 1853. Mother and babe were baptized together on December 1st, 1853, and two days later the mother passed away with the prayer on her lips, 'Lord Jesus, have mercy on me.' A kind indigo planter adopted 'little Nellie' as his own daughter until the Mutiny year of 1857 when for her protection and education she was taken to England, returning to India in 1880. Miss Ellen Lakshmi Goreh long outlived

her father, to do a beautiful work as deaconess in the Church of England at Allahabad, and she has for many years been well known all over the world, as the author of a beautiful book of poems entitled *From India's Coral Strand*. She has helped millions of people by her lovely hymn, 'In the secret of His Presence :'

1. In the secret of His Presence
How my soul delights to hide !
Oh, how precious are the lessons
Which I learn at Jesus' side !
Earthly cares can never vex me,
Neither trials lay me low ;
For when Satan comes to tempt me,
To the secret place I go.
2. When my soul is faint and thirsty,
Neath the shadow of His wing
There is cool and pleasant shelter,
And a fresh and crystal spring ;
And my Saviour rests beside me,
As we hold communion sweet ;
If I tried, I could not utter
What He says when thus we meet.
3. Only this I know : I tell Him
All my doubts, my griefs and fears ;
Oh, how patiently He listens !
And my drooping soul He cheers ;
Do you think He ne'er reproves me ?
What a false friend He would be
If He never, never told me
Of the sins which He must see !
4. Would you like to know the sweetness
Of the secret of the Lord ?
Go and hide beneath His shadow :
This shall then be your reward ;
And whene'er you leave the silence
Of that happy meeting place,
You must mind and bear the image
Of the Master in your face.

An Apostle of Western India

(14) It would take us beyond our purpose to follow in detail the fortunes of Father Goreh, as he came to be called in veneration of his profound scholarship and Christlike character until he passed away in Bombay on October 29, 1895. For nearly half a century

he moved from place to place in India, carrying everywhere the fragrance of his beautiful influence. Upon Western India, and Poona in particular, his gracious personality left an indelible stamp. It would be a real service to the cause of truth and Christian freedom if Father Gardner's four hundred-page biography of Father Goreh, to which we again acknowledge our heavy indebtedness, could be abbreviated and published in a form to ensure its moving facts being available to the rank and file of Indian readers who know English. In Marathi the balance has been redressed by the Rev. D. S. Sāwarkar L.C.E., in a series of deeply interesting articles in the columns of the Marathi *Dnyānodaya*, and later reprinted in book form as the *Life of Father Goreh*, a contribution of enduring worth to Marathi literature.

Goreh's 'Refutation' of Hindu Philosophy

(15) Father Goreh accomplished two services of enduring value. The first notable service Father Goreh rendered was in the important realm of Christian literature, both in vernacular and in English ; the other was his creative influence on those who came to be leaders in the Indian Christian Church. The list of Father Goreh's published writings includes 38 publications dating from 1860 to 1901, his three chief volumes being philosophical works dated 1860, 1862 and 1891. The foregoing narrative has, we hope, made clear the fact that it was through reading the life and teaching of Jesus in the New Testament, with a view to refuting it, that Nehemiah Nilkanth Shāstri Goreh had had brought home to him his own deep spiritual need. He became captivated by the very Gospels whose supposed errors he had set out to expose. The result was that, instead of writing his intended refutation of the four Gospels, what he did actually write was a refutation of the Hindu philosophical systems. The year 1860, twelve years after he became a Christian, saw Nilkanth Nehemiah Goreh publishing his *magnum opus*, a Hindu work in two volumes entitled '*Shadharshana Darpana*, or *Hindu Philosophy Examined*, By a Benāres Pandit'. The six systems (as indicated in the Hindi title) of Hindi philosophy are as follows : the Sāṅkya, Yoga, Mīmāṃsā, Vedānta, Vaiśeshika and Nyāya. In Nilkanth Nehemiah Shāstri Goreh's book these new systems were shown to be 'full of contradictions, absurdities and deficiencies' when compared with the true philosophy of the Christian faith. The author's original purpose was to write as a *Shāstri* for *Shāstris* and this was achieved in his two-volume Hindi work ; it then occurred to English friends that an English translation would be useful. Accordingly a Professor in Queen's College of Benāres carried out this plan in 1862 with the help of Father Goreh himself who added many notes entirely new. In its English form the book is entitled *Hindu Philosophical Systems : A Rational Refutation* by Nilkanth Nehemiah Shāstri Goreh. In April 1891 Father Goreh wrote for the *Indian Church Quarterly Review* a more popular article on this same subject. For the philosophical task

achieved in these three important publications Father Goreh was ideally qualified, not only by reason of his mastery of Hindu lore in the original Sanskrit, but also because he had made himself an equal master of the Christian sources by his daily reading of the Greek Testament. Sir Bartle Frere, Governor of Bombay in 1862-1867, rightly described Father Goreh's work on Hindu philosophy as so scholarly that any Doctor of Divinity in European Universities would have been proud to be the author. This tribute was well deserved by the once Mahārāshtra Brāhmin who had climbed the steep summit of spiritual freedom, freedom both from social tyranny and from the power of sin. See this chapter, section 19, pp. 179-181, for more details on Goreh's book.

Tutor of an Indian Prince

(16) In 1854 he went to England as private tutor of an Indian Prince, the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh who had just become a Christian, Nilkanth Nehemiah then being in his thirtieth year and his royal pupil in his sixteenth. It is interesting to note that it was through the English columns of the *Dnyanodaya* on December 1, 1854 that Father Goreh wrote to his friends in India announcing his safe arrival in England on June 18, 1854. Worthy of note also is the fact that he could not endure some of the stilted Church services in England, preferring to worship there in a small Baptist Chapel; and he so longed for his dear India that after sixteen months he obtained release from his three years' engagement and got back to Bombay on November 16, 1855. Thence he travelled to Poona, his first visit to the home of his ancestors, and for the remaining forty years of his life Poona (where his father had been born) and the Deccan were among his chief spheres of service, especially after 1875. There he devoted himself to work among the modern Hindu reformers who founded the Prarthana Samaj in 1876, and among the young students who were to be leaders in the Marāthī speaking Christian Church.

Among Hindu Reformers in Poona

(17) This is not the place to deal fully with Nilkanth Nehemiah Goreh's trenchant work among the leaders of Hindu religious reform, save to mention that one of these, the deposed Mahārājāh of Satara, usually referred to as the '*jangli Rājā*' (forest king), who was an exile in Poona, had such definite limits to his ideas of Hindu religious reform that he used to lose his temper with Goreh when he called upon him. On one occasion he even threatened to throw Goreh's Bible out into the street because Goreh was so insistent on quoting it! On another occasion in 1875 in Poona where the people had raised a great tumult 'because a native Christian performed a Christian *kīrtan*,' Nilkanth Nehemiah Goreh himself, after a lecture given by him, 'got a few pokes on his side and a knock on his hat' though 'not violent,' the cause being, according to Goreh's statement of July 9,

1875, that a number of young fellows were 'angry at one of them turning a Christian'. Happily his Poona lectures seven years later in 1882 were marred by no interruption of any kind. It was, moreover, among the Prarthana Samajist Hindu reformers in Poona that he first met Panditā Ramābāi whom he profoundly influenced at a later stage: see our section on Pandita Ramābāi.

Creating Indian Christian Leadership in Maharashtra

(18) Even greater in importance than his fellowship with Poona reformers was the unique influence which this converted Mahārāshtra Brāhmin, Nilkanth Nehemiah Goreh, wielded among the young Indian students of a high intellectual calibre, both men and women, throughout Mahārāshtra. This is illustrated by the results of his visits to the Ahmednagar of the middle 19th century, described by that well known Marāthī Christian writer and grammarian, Ganpatrao R. Navalkar, in the *Christian Patriot* of November 7, 1875 as the 'Jerusalem of Western Indian Christianity'. Some of those 'spiritually awakened' by Nilkanth Nehemiah Goreh's Ahmednagar visit, afterwards shone as 'ornaments of the Christian Church', among them being the Rev. Ruttonji Nowroji, a Parsi convert later to become the friend and colleague of many missionaries in the Marāthī-speaking country; the Rev. Kasambhai Dhalvani, a Muslim convert of Satara who with the Rev. Henry J. Bruce became in 1885 joint-author of the first Marāthī Bible Dictionary; and the Brāhmin convert Shahu Daji Kukade who was destined to be the Marāthī editor of the *Dnyanodaya* from 1867 till his death in 1885. When these two last-mentioned were baptized in 1856, Shahu Daji was seized by a mob of his 'friends' and kept in confinement until he was freed by orders of a magistrate who himself shed tears on noting the anguish of Shahu's mother on account of her son's conversion. As one thinks of the rich variety among those of his fellow-countrymen whom Nilkanth Nehemiah Goreh led to Jesus Christ there comes to one's mind the thrilling message written by another Chitpāvan Brāhmin, N. V. Tilak (see p. 133), who came to Christ in Bombay on February 10, 1895, ten months before Father Goreh passed away in the same city.

Nehemiah Nilkanth Shastri Goreh on Hindu Philosophy

(19) We cannot close this section more usefully for the reader than to quote our own summary of the Rev. Nehemiah Goreh's examination of Hindu Philosophy as we gave it in our 1941 book, *Dnyaneshwar the Out-caste Brahmin*, (pp. 394-7), since the paper shortage makes a new edition of this book impossible.

(1) How far Hinduism is from assuring the soul of a Father-God is illustrated by Nilkanth Nehemiah Goreh in *Hindu Philosophy Examined* where this well known Maharashtra Brahmin convert sets forth the atheistic aspect of certain features of Brahmin philosophy. At the outset there is need of a caution expressed in the preface to the

English edition of Goreh's *Refutation* (the same book) where the translator rightly emphasizes that 'there are scores of terms belonging to the nomenclature of Hindu philosophy, precise equivalents of which have not yet been wrought out for us,' therefore 'in order really to penetrate the mysteries of Hinduism we could scarcely do better than commit ourselves to the guidance of Christianized Brahmins.' The merest glance through the 284 pages of Goreh's 1862 book serves to show how highly technical Goreh's discussion was in view of his having written the work as a *Shāstrī* for *Shāstrīs*; the list at the end of his volume of the principal Sanskrit books quoted in the work comprises some forty Sanskrit books. The work is divided into three sections and twenty chapters, and the thoroughness of the method of treatment is indicated by the fact that many pages contain only one or two lines of text, with many lines of technical footnotes explaining Sanskrit references. We give below a few samples of the line of argument concerning the six philosophical systems of the Brahmins, viz., the *Sāṅkhya*, *Yoga*, *Mīmāṃsa*, *Vedānta*, *Vaiśeṣika* and *Nyāya*.

(2) Nilkanth Nehemiah Shastri Goreh is particularly severe on the atheistic element in the *Sāṅkhya* system of Hinduism, leading its Brahmin exponents to 'conclude there was no need of a God'. In four directions 'the *Mīmāṃsakas* err greatly,' viz., *first*, 'in not acknowledging God'; *secondly*, while they do not acknowledge God, yet they believe in virtue and vice; *thirdly*, they lay 'upon the heads of men the burden of rites and ceremonies'; and *fourthly*, 'they maintain that the Veda has existed from eternity'. A little later Goreh observes: 'To find that the *Mīmāṃsa* esteems the Veda to be infallibly authoritative, and, nevertheless, decides that the gods named in it are all imaginary, and that the relations concerning them there are mere fables; and to find that, though Indra is denied to exist, yet to make offerings in his name is sufficient to ensure great reward, cannot but strike one with astonishment. Wherever, allege the *Mīmāṃsakas*, the gods and their exploits are spoken of in the Veda, it is not intended to recount actual facts; the end in view being to magnify the benefit of ritual acts, and so to allure men to engage in them. But how can anyone who has the slightest discrimination say, after reading the Veda, that the persons who originally addressed its hymns to Indra and others, did not themselves believe these to be real divinities? And who can imagine a man doing worship to an unreal god, and singing praises to a nonentity, and imploring nobody, in the expectation of receiving therefore eminent recompense?'

(3) In this second section Goreh shows how the *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika* systems in Hinduism 'are quite in the dark touching God's holiness' and he concludes his chapter on the subject with the words: 'They have transformed God into a hard-natured huckster who secures His pay from His customers, and sells His wares by rigid tale, weight, and measure.'

(4) Summarizing the *Vedānta* system of Hindu thought, Nilkanth Nehemiah Shāstrī Goreh gives the following warning: 'I warn my

readers against being misled by the notions, so prevalent among the vulgar, that, according to the *Vedānta*, Brahma was once void of qualities, and then assuming them, made the world; and that some small portion of the pure Brahma parted from him, got deluded by illusion, and then became souls; which souls, when they free themselves from illusion, will be united to Brahma; etc. etc. The teachers of the *Vedānta* do not allege that Brahma was once void of qualities and subsequently, taking them upon him, formed the universe; but they allege that to be without them has ever distinguished him, and ever will distinguish him.'

(5) On the question of the soul being one with the Supreme Spirit, our converted Mahārāshtra Brāhmin remarks: 'It is a maxim of the *Vedānta*, that "the soul is Brahma itself, and nothing other"'. How, I would ask the *Vedāntins*, can this be? For they assert that, on the one hand, the soul errs by reason of ignorance; and that on the other hand, Brahma is, in essence, ever pure, intelligent and free, and can never for a moment be otherwise. Still they maintain that the soul is Brahma; and, with intent to reconcile their contradiction, they resort to the most elaborate mystification.'

(6) In stating his considered conclusion, this 'Christianized Brāhmin' philosopher ventures to 'ask any thoughtful man, whether this scheme deserves to be called theistic. Viewed superficially, it has, I allow, a guise of theism; and yet, when investigated critically, I cannot see that it is anything but a sort of atheism. The distinctive article of theism is the belief in a God; but God is eliminated from the *Vedānta*. Its Brahma is neither creator of the world, nor its preserver, nor its lord; in short, the world is out of relation to him. Let the *Vedāntins* give to such an object the title of Brahma, or that of Supreme Spirit; still their doing so does not make them theists.'

(7) Recent examinations of the *Sāṅkhya* philosophy in Brāhminism more than sustain the crushing indictment of its atheistic elements made over eighty years ago by Nilkanth Nehemiah Shāstrī Goreh. For an authoritative investigation on this subject the reader may refer to the relevant articles on each of the six Hindu philosophical systems, viz., the *Sāṅkhya*, *Yoga*, *Mīmāṃsa*, *Vedānta*, *Vaiśeṣika*, and *Nyāya* in the thirteen volumes of Dr James Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.

PART FOUR

CHRIST AND THE THEOSOPHISTS

CHAPTER XVII

FROM THEOSOPHY TO CHRIST

Why the Indian Christian Church cannot Ignore Theosophy

(1) Some of our readers may wonder why we should give any consideration to Theosophy in such a book as this. Our reason is threefold: *First*, the intimate relation that has existed between Indian Theosophy and Hinduism; *secondly*, because of the widespread influence of nascent Theosophy in educated circles in India and among many Indian Christian students; and *thirdly*, because of the insidious influence of Theosophy on evangelical religion. One trustworthy authority affirms that 'India can claim a larger number of Theosophists than any other country in the world', and that many of those reported as members of the Theosophical Society are 'outstanding personalities'. Two of the Bombay Lodges of this Society celebrated their 71st anniversary on November 16, 1946. Because so much Theosophical teaching is so unscientific and needlessly technical we shall here concentrate on its unpractical character and realistic dangers. Any readers who would satisfy themselves concerning the abstruse character of the tenets of Theosophy, may well read thirty columns given up to the subject in the 12th volume of *The Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, edited by Dr James Hastings who obtained contributions from Mrs Besant as President of the Theosophical Society; Dr Paul Oltramare, Professor of the History of Religions in the University of Geneva; and Dr W. S. Urquhart, Emeritus Principal of the Scottish Church College, Calcutta. Dr A. S. Pringle-Pattison of Edinburgh University has three columns on the subject in the 22nd volume of *The Encyclopedia Britannica*.

'Keep Your Eye on India'

(2) In what must have been one of his latest pieces of writing, the late Dr James Hastings observed: 'Lord Beaconsfield once said, in reference to the progress of politics, "Keep your eye on Paisley." We might say in regard to the future of religion, "Keep your eye on India." For out of the ashes of the idols there has arisen a religion which claims to be more spiritual than Christianity, more philosophical also, and more scientific. In its most aggressive form it is a recent introduction into India, but it has allied itself with a religion or

philosophy (Hinduism) which was a power in that country long before Jesus Christ was born in Bethlehem. In that alliance lies its present strength and its future prospects. Moreover, it has great adaptability. Its boast is that it can gather to itself all that is good in every religion in the world. And so, while being essentially a religion of the elite, it can appeal to every grade of society and every race of man. This is the strength of theosophy, its catholicity.'

Theosophical Tolerance

(3) Dr Hastings' penetrating criticism may be regarded as expressing the ripe judgment of one of the ablest religious minds of the twentieth century. The lines we have quoted embodied Dr Hastings' own summary of what is probably the ablest examination, in a single volume, of the entire Theosophical position. The volume was published in 1922 by James Clark & Co. for six shillings net, its title being *Theosophy and Christian Thought*, and its writer the Rev. W. S. Urquhart, M.A., D. LITT., already referred to. In little over two hundred pages Dr Urquhart examines the doctrines of theosophy, their religious and ethical value and their relation to philosophy and science. Theosophy's main pillar, and at the same time its chief snare, is in its easy-going tolerance: 'No person's religious opinions are asked upon his joining, nor is interference with them permitted, but every one is required to show to the religion of his fellow-members the same respect as he claims for his own.' To continue in Dr Urquhart's own words: 'If he is a Hindu, he will remain a Hindu, if a Christian, a Christian, if a Buddhist, a Buddhist. By the aid of theosophy he will in fact be more securely entrenched in his ancestral religion, for theosophy will help him to discover its essential meaning and value. The principle of catholicity is laid down repeatedly and with emphasis, and from the theosophical point of view the result is that a man may hold any creed he pleases. We cannot, however, avoid the suspicion that theosophy would impose one limitation: *the creed must not be held too firmly*. If a man grasps his creed firmly, it is thought that he will inevitably become narrow-minded and exclusive, and, in the intensity of his devotion to his own religion, will be apt to deny or despise the truth of others. The possibility of intense devotion being inclusive of the good that is in other religions is not sufficiently considered by theosophists. Rather than run the risk of narrowness, they hold that it is better to have no creed and to sit loose to every form of faith, or at least to allow the outlines of belief to become so indefinite that, even if one's own creed contain elements contradictory to the creed of others, these contradictions will not be uncomfortably apparent. In the dimness of theosophic catholicity it will thus be comparatively easy to assert that all the creeds are but aspects of one universal body of truth.' This form of tolerance has been supported by the Theosophical promise of occult knowledge which deceived even great men like Sir William Crookes who soon discovered the

hollowness of the claim. We believe it is this 'fascination of secrecy', this 'hope of exclusive knowledge' falsely claimed by Theosophy that has formed one of its chief attractions to India.

Why Theosophy Fails to Understand Christ

(4) For those who may be attracted to Theosophy with the excellent motive of rescuing Indian students from its clutches, Dr Urquhart is a most trustworthy guide, because of his observation of Theosophy at close quarters in India. Another special qualification arises from Dr Urquhart's sympathetic point of view which found expression in the Preface to his contribution in 'The Religious Quest of India' series entitled *The Vedanta and Modern Thought* where Dr Urquhart states: 'I have no hesitation in saying that such studies as I have been able to make in Indian philosophy have confirmed me in the faith that God has not left Himself without witness in the characteristic thought of India, that much of it is unconsciously anticipative of Christian thought, and that Jesus Christ will one day be recognized there also as "the Light which lighteth every man"'. Such sympathy, faith and optimism strengthen the conviction that here is one who can lead us safely through the maze of theosophy. Because the Theosophical Society's defence of Hinduism and Buddhism has been its chief instrument in drawing India's people to theosophy, and because 'Mrs. Besant defended any and every observance of Hinduism, however superstitious', it is worth while our turning to look at Theosophy in its relation to the message of Jesus Christ. Here we can wholly trust ourselves to Dr Urquhart's guidance when he writes: 'Theosophy fails to reach a true conception of the uniqueness of Christ and of the miraculousness of His Divinity, because of its general tendency, not only to rest in theory, but to substitute creations of the imagination for objective facts The Theosophist reaches beyond his dreams only to a God who is hidden in the mist of abstractions. He is unable to conceive of a God of personal character, and when the holiness of God as above us and beyond us, as well as within us, is not realized, moral values become dim and the urgency of the moral demand is weakened. The sense of sin is less acute, and, when there is no consciousness of wrong that has to be put right, there can be no full appreciation of a Divine revelation through sacrifice, and redemption will appear to be superfluous. Within a religion which is based upon a vague sense of identity between the human and the Divine, salvation will be obtainable by deification rather than by sanctification, and in this natural process conversion will hold an unimportant place, and be regarded as of infrequent occurrence. Theosophy is content with chaotic thoughts because in general it despises the need of an objective standard by the help of which it may reduce this chaos to a cosmos. And, in the more immediately practical sphere of religion, it does not sufficiently turn its thoughts outwards so that it may grasp the facts of life, including

the sin and misery of men. Because in its subjective complacency it does not feel the need of redemption, it does not press onwards to the discovery of the Redeemer, as He came to the world of humanity and revealed the loving-kindness of God.' (E. T. XXXIV, December 1922, pp. 112-114.)

Theosophic Disillusionment and the Way Out

(5) All that is said from the standpoint of philosophic and theological thought in Dr Urquhart's book and in the revealing articles in the great encyclopaedias has been amply confirmed by an equally able book written on the basis of practical daily experience of Theosophy, by Miss Ethel Rhoda McNeile. This gifted Englishwoman came to India as a disciple of Mrs Besant, having chosen Theosophy to satisfy the mystical cravings of her soul. But when she found by daily experience that Theosophy offered 'no gift of the divine life, but merely the development of the human one', and when all her inward doubts were set at rest by a vision of Christ, she at once went and told Mrs Besant and broke off all connection with Theosophy. Miss McNeile's book has a twofold value of a high order, viz. it sets forth a deep disillusionment and sense of frustration resulting from daily life as a Theosophist, and it has the still higher value of pointing the way of sure deliverance from the mirage of Theosophy. But let us first listen to the moving story of what happened in a great storm at sea.

Sister Rhoda's Testimony in Life and Death

(6) Poona lost a valued missionary but gained a saint for its calendar when the P. and O. liner *S. S. Egypt* sank in a dense fog off the Island of Ushant in the English Channel on Saturday evening, May 20, 1922. Of the 102 lives lost on that occasion, three were those of brave missionary women, Mrs Sibley of Wai, Miss Boyer on her way to the Kodaikanal School, and Miss McNeile known as Sister Rhoda who was eagerly awaited by the Wantage Sisters at Panch Howd in Poona. By her death the Marathi Church lost a missionary it could ill spare; but by her 'sublime self-sacrifice', to quote the words of the special cable at the time, she enriched the Church Universal by 'refusing to enter the boats and asking others to take her place, as there was not room for all'. It had been 'in her heart' to help Poona and India by her missionary work, but by the testimony of her example in death she ennobled the human race, for the last that was seen of her was that she was 'kneeling on the deck in prayer as the liner sank'. Sister Rhoda had already given to India her written testimony for Christ in the 104 page book published in 1919, *From Theosophy to Christian Faith* by Miss Ethel Rhoda McNeile. A second edition of this was published in 1942, with a beautiful Memoir of 15

pages added as an introduction, and a four page Excursus at the end. Miss McNeile wrote her book at the request of the late Bishop Gore who had come to know her saintliness and scholarship. Through the kindness of the Mission in Poona with which she was connected for some years, we have had the privilege of reading her scholarly exposition and restrained exposure of Theosophy. This valuable book is published by Mowbray & Co., Ltd, London and Oxford, and could be obtained through the Christian Bookshop in Bombay for four shillings and sixpence or four and a half rupees. It is the most practical and useful book we know on the subject of Theosophy and should be read by all missionaries and others who work among the educated people of India. It can also greatly help many people in Britain and America who have been deceived by Theosophy. First, then, a few words about the writer of the book.

Sister Rhoda's Career in Outline

(7) Born in 1875 in a clergyman's home, Miss Ethel Rhoda McNeile completed her education at Cambridge University by winning the high honours of the Classical Tripos there in 1900. She then took up the work of teaching. As a Theosophist, she also lectured for the Theosophical Society. Realizing that India was the land where Theosophy was winning its way more than anywhere else, she came to India in 1904 and was soon admitted by Mrs Besant herself into the inner circle of Theosophists. Within a very few months, however, Miss McNeile became profoundly disappointed with Theosophy, both in her own soul and as a message to others. In her spiritual confusion and loneliness, the Crucified and Risen Jesus spoke to her as really and as definitely as He had spoken to Saul of Tarsus on the Damascus Road. Miss McNeile's conversion to Christ took place in June 1904, about the same time, and in the same part of India, that Sadhu Sundar Singh also had the vision of Jesus Christ which brought him such deep peace. With Christ in her heart, Miss McNeile went back to England, in order to go through special preparation for missionary work among India's people. Returning to India in 1906 she laboured first at Lahore, then at Benares (helping women and children in a terrible cholera epidemic there), and then at Agra in 1912. By 1914 she was with the Oxford Mission in Barisal at Calcutta, and then from there she was transferred to help the Wantage Sisters at Panch Howd in Poona. Here she did some of the preparation of her book on Theosophy. During the great influenza epidemic of 1918 in Poona she ministered to the many helpless children and sick. Then in order to prepare herself as a full Sister of the Community she went to England for three years' special training. This completed, she sailed in May 1922 on her fateful journey. When asked before sailing what her Poona work was to be she humbly replied, 'Odd jobs I suppose.'

Theosophy and Spiritual Frustration

(8) The sub-title of Miss E. R. McNeile's book is *A Comparison of Theosophy with Christianity*. One great value of her first edition and of the Memoir added to the 1942 edition is the clear lesson they teach on the deep sense of spiritual frustration resulting from a conscientious experiment with Theosophy. After pointing out that interest in Theosophy has declined in recent years, perhaps because it has been bereft of its most notable leaders in India, Dr W. S. Urquhart stated in a 1942 review of the new edition of Miss McNeile's book that Miss McNeile's reason for adopting Theosophy had been because of her "revolt" against an imperfect presentation of Christianity. All preachers and teachers need ever to guard against misrepresenting Christ in their message by placing their emphasis on secondary things. Happily Miss McNeile 'came to discover treasures' in Christ she had never seen before. Dr Urquhart goes on to say that in her book Miss McNeile 'points out with great fairness both the successes and failure of Theosophy, but shows clearly that the most valuable contents of theosophical doctrine, which the theosophists thought they had discovered for themselves or obtained from other sources, were really derived from Christianity'. Miss McNeile's entire book illustrates the need pointed out by Dr J. S. McKenzie in the *Hibbert Journal* of October 1926: 'There is probably nothing more important than the attempt to bring together the light that has been gathered by Western science and that which has been set forth by the saints and sages of the East. Perhaps it is chiefly in our religious and moral outlook that mutual understanding and toleration is important.'

'The Theosophical Twins'

(9) Since India is probably more influenced by Theosophical principles than any other country, it is not unfitting that we should remind our readers of some of its subtle dangers. Those who wish to make a careful study of the whole subject, will find all the relevant material in the able book by the late Dr J. N. Farquhar entitled *Modern Religious Movements in India*, pages 208-291, where documentary proof is given for all the grave charges he had to make against the leaders of Theosophy in India. Fortunately for all those who can read Marathi, an eighty-four page Marathi book, summarising Dr Farquhar's pages, written by that industrious worker in Marathi Christian literature, the late Davidrao Dhalwani, has been published for four annas by the Bombay Tract and Book Society. This valuable Marathi book should be read and mastered by all those who are working among the Marathi-speaking people. The Theosophical Society came to India in 1878. It had been founded in America in 1875 by Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott, 'the Theosophical Twins' as they have been called. A bigamist and a plagiarist, 'The mysterious Madame' had fled from Russia and then from America to escape an evil reputation. Dr Farquhar says the Theosophical 'blurring of the

distinction between truth and falsehood weakens the conscience'. How then could such a movement prove a blessing to the world? Since the only God it believes in is what has been called 'an unknowable IT', Theosophy offers no solid encouragement for prayer. Since it teaches that 'the Supreme is unknowable', what basis is there for either prayer or worship?

Theosophy known by its Fruits

(10) If Christian workers in India, be they Indian or non-Indian, are to get a correct understanding of what Theosophy really is and how it works, there is no need to do any more than to take the bare facts of the life of that resourceful lady, Mrs. Annie Besant, who from 1907 to her death on September 20, 1933 was the President of the Theosophical Society. The main facts have been known to the world, and have not been contradicted, ever since 1914 when Dr J. N. Farquhar published his *Modern Religious Movements in India* (pp. 267-291). By that time her Theosophical methods had been exposed in Indian law courts and she had turned to politics. When Mrs Besant passed away on September 20, 1933 (after which Dr George S. Arundale became President of the Theosophical Society), many were the encomiums in the Indian press expressing deep and widespread appreciation of her political assistance to India through many strenuous years. Born on October 1, 1847 in London, Mrs Besant rendered solid help towards Indian self-government, and we have no desire to minimize that contribution. But Indian admiration of her as one of its heroes so easily combines with the pantheist spirit to turn heroes and heroines into idols (against which none has protested more nobly or more insistently than Gandhiji who has himself suffered from this dangerous tendency), that we think it due to the cause of truth to emphasize proved facts of another kind. Anyone desiring this needed corrective should read one of the ablest books on Indian Reform Movements, entitled *Renascent India* ('From Rammohan Roy to Mohandas Gandhi') by Dr H. C. E. Zacharias, editor for some years of *The Servant of India* and then of the Romanist layman's paper, *The Week*. It was published in 1933 not long before Mrs Besant's death. Quite a useful study is supplied by the simultaneousness of the waning in her religious influence and of her entry into Indian politics, shortly after the Madras High Court's exposure of Mrs Besant's lack of 'common honesty', referred to below. If any of our readers feel inclined to join the Theosophists, we trust they will weigh over all such facts, for as another authority on the subject reminds us, 'Theosophists have usually filled men's minds with froth instead of knowledge'.

Theosophy in the Law Court

(11) Married in 1867 when she was twenty to an Anglican clergyman, the Rev. Frank Besant, in 1873 Mrs Besant obtained a separation from him with the guardianship of her two children. She had lost

her Christian faith and had become an atheist. After her matrimonial tragedy she got to know Charles Bradlaugh the well known British atheist and became his intimate private secretary and disciple for over a decade. Reading a Theosophical book which she had been asked to review, Mrs Besant 'passed at one leap from Atheism to Theosophy' and formally joined the Theosophical Society in 1889, leaving for India in 1893. 'First among Theosophists' to extol Krishna and the *Bhagavadgita*, Mrs Besant 'turned that Theosophy, at least in India, into something specifically Hindu'. This 'made a tremendous impression', one result among educated Indians being to 'turn increasing numbers into atheists'. Having become 'almost violently Hindu', Mrs Besant as an 'English atheist, turned Hindu', led reformers and orthodox Hindus alike to ask 'what right this lady from England had to pose as a teacher of higher Hindu thought?' Her 'chief accomplishment in the Hindu cause was the Central Hindu School which she founded in Benares in 1898, with the avowed purpose of teaching Hinduism to Hindus, to give to Hinduism a spear-head and to assure its future'. This purpose she had already made clear in her 1893 *Autobiography*; 'but when her dream of an entire Hindu University at Benares had, in 1915, come true it was not into her lap that this ripe fruit fell. A sorry affair had come to a head in 1910 to 1912, when a lawsuit raged about the guardianship of two Brahmin boys, one of whom, Krishnamurti, she destined to become a new Messiah—a role which he himself has repudiated since he reached manhood and independence. This affair, coupled with the unsavoury Leadbeater scandal, did Mrs. Besant much harm in orthodox Hindu circles At this time Mrs Besant also began to take to politics'; and for her last two decades Mrs Besant was a skilful politician (Zacharias, pp. 31-2). Before, however, we pass to the consideration of other matters, special attention should be called to (1) the episode in which 'Mrs. Besant had burned up all the documents' in an important case before the Theosophical Society. 'She had found fire a most convenient means for getting rid of inconvenient evidence. But she did not know that, before the incriminating documents were handed over to her in India, facsimile copies of all had been taken The whole fabric of gross and shameful fraud and concealment stands undeniable' (Farquhar pp. 269-71). (2) The results of the 'crop of lawsuits in Madras' showed that 'in one case the judge declared Mrs. Besant had defended Leadbeater's immoral teaching. In another the judge said Mrs. Besant had not shown common honesty in her dealings with the father of the boys.' (Mr. C. W. Leadbeater, a former Anglican curate, had become a Theosophist in 1884, and had later become a leader with Mrs Besant in the Esoteric School.) (3) 'The depths to which Mrs. Besant habitually descends,' wrote Dr Farquhar in 1914, 'in defending Hinduism will hardly be believed. There is scarcely an exploded doctrine, scarcely a superstitious observance, which she has not defended with the silliest and most shameful arguments. No one who has not scanned the files of *The Central Hindu College*

Magazine or the reports of Mrs. Besant's lectures in India has any idea of the indescribable rubbish which Theosophy has presented to its Hindu members' (Farquhar, pp. 287-8).

Conscienceless References to Christ

(12) Yet in spite of all the foregoing facts Mrs Besant could make Theosophy to appear attractive by such amazing statements as the following: 'All that is sweetest and most lofty in the world's Bibles . . . forms the ethics of Theosophy'; and 'the Theosophist strives to live by the spirit of Christ'. Concerning two such sentences we may be pardoned for remarking that, in view of proved facts, anything Mrs Besant may have written about 'ethics' was made worthless by the disclosures in the Madras lawsuits, and any reference to 'the spirit of Christ' has been emptied of all meaning by the 'blasphemy' we allude to later. While we would say nothing to detract from the social service she and other Theosophists have unquestionably rendered to India, that social service has had an inspiration entirely non-Theosophical (see Miss McNeile's remark on this point under the subject of *karma*); for Theosophy is one of the greatest borrowers among the world's religious systems, and one of the most conscienceless also, making no acknowledgment of its debts. Another relevant example of this is the Theosophical verbal emphasis on 'universal brotherhood', while it winks at caste in practice (see under 'caste' below). And if there were no other reasons why the Indian Christian Church cannot afford to turn a 'blind eye' on Theosophy and its dangers, there would be ample cause in these two simple facts, viz. the Theosophist's 'oft-repeated assertion that one religion is as good as another' (see our section on this in our chapter on 'Dr Radhakrishnan's Neo-Hinduism'); and the other widely acknowledged fact that 'Theosophy has borrowed much from the Sankya philosophy', that is, from that particular system of Hinduism which is confessedly atheistical. This 'atheistical aspect of Brahmin philosophy' we have dealt with in chapter 23 of our 1941 English book, *Dnyaneshwar the Out-Caste Brahmin*, pages 394-415. This atheistical element in some current forms of Theosophy helps also to explain the close connection of Theosophy with the atheistical aspect of Buddhism. As Prof. Oltramare points out in the article referred to above: 'Since the older Theosophy had shown that man cannot find God except in and through the Ego, Buddhism in denying the *Atman* is compelled also to deny Brahman,' said to be 'the original cause of the universe'. But this takes us into deep waters; and one great value of Miss McNeile's book is that it avoids the unscientific aspect of Theosophy with all its unprovable assertions, and concentrates on those everyday aspects which demonstrate how baseless and fruitless a system it is.

Why Theosophy Attracts Some Indian Minds

(13) India has become one of the chief centres of Theosophical influence from four causes: (1) India's uncertainty on religious

matters, an uncertainty springing largely from the complete failure of Hinduism and the other Indian religions to uproot India's long-standing social evils; (2) the widespread acceptance among India's educated people of the glib assumption that 'all religions are equally true and equally ineffective'; (3) the unworthy example of so many people from Britain and America (with many glorious exceptions); (4) a fourth reason why Theosophy has been popular is that the principles of Theosophy must not be communicated 'to any but a chosen few belonging to a chosen circle'. How this works out is described by Miss McNeile after several years as a member of the Theosophical Society. 'The disciple makes an absolute surrender of his faculties; he accepts all he is taught without question.' Hence it follows that 'Theosophical theories often depend merely on assertion without proof.' It follows of course that the example of Jesus who 'came to seek and to save that which was lost' is thrown overboard. 'Neither need we,' according to Theosophy, 'waste our spiritual energy in excessive pity for those who are down in the scale of morals'.

Hindu Principles Accepted by Theosophy

(14) Some readers may well be somewhat surprised, if not shocked, by the suggestion in the title of this paragraph that Theosophy accepts any of the principles of Hinduism. Miss McNeile's testimony in her book, based on several years of actual experience as a Theosophist, becomes authoritative. Among these Hindu principles Miss McNeile gives the following: (1) 'The twin doctrines of *Karma* and re-incarnation have been taken over by Theosophy from Hinduism,' but 'with the important modification that a man can never be reborn as anything lower than a man.' The Theosophical modifications of Hindu teaching are largely due to the inevitable Christian environment of other lands. As for example, the Theosophical leader Mr. Leadbeater says in one place, 'Every one with whom we are brought into contact is a soul who may be helped.' 'But,' observes Miss McNeile, 'in order to say that, he must abandon the very doctrine of *Karma* on which he and all Theosophists so much insist.' (2) The Hinduizing of Theosophy leads its teachers into blasphemy against Jesus Christ, for in a book of Mrs Besant entitled *The Immediate Future*, page 32, there occurs this sentence: 'When the Indian worships Shri Krishna, unknowingly he is worshipping One in whom the Christ is incarnate.' Again: 'In 1911 in a course of lectures delivered in London under the title of "The Coming Christ", Mrs Besant announced that He would come again, that He would require for His use the body of some disciple, and that the choice had fallen on a young Madras named Krishnamurti, who otherwise came to be known as "Alcyone".' The legal troubles involved, we have referred to above. This young man was actually worshipped as divine in 1912 at the Central Hindu College founded by Mrs Besant in Benares. (3) The impression made on the minds of thoughtful Indians by these and other facts

led the leading Indian daily of South India, *The Hindu*, to state in 1919, 'Mrs. Besant has been found lacking in intellectual and moral integrity' (see the *Dnyanodaya*, January 1, 1920, p. 3).

Caste, Idolatry and Karma in Theosophy

(15) Miss McNeile affirms, and it has been proved to be true, that 'Theosophists may almost be regarded as a sect of Hindus'. Her evidence for this conclusion includes the following:

(i) *Caste*.—'Caste is the very antithesis of brotherhood; and it is a very deplorable fact that Theosophy has given its unqualified approval to the principle of caste . . . Indian Theosophists do not break caste; they remain subject to its rules and liable to contamination from each other. Theosophy is doing nothing, as a movement, to break this iron fetter which is cramping and crushing the Indian peoples . . . Eloquent defences have been written of it, and it has been represented as a Providential arrangement for the division of labour, for the protection of race purity, and for the working out of Karma.' But the only thing to be done with caste is to destroy it, as *The Indian Social Reformer* said 36 years ago (*Reformer*, vol. 20, p. 423): 'An occasional European like Mrs. Annie Besant may allow her intellect to play with the idea of caste without much practical effect . . . But with one who is born a Hindu, and who believes caste to be the great monster we have to kill, only one attitude is safe and possible.' (Miss McNeile, pp. 58, 110-111.) See also our section on 'caste' in the chapter on 'Dr Radhakrishnan's Neo-Hinduism'.

(ii) *Idolatry*.—'The Theosophical Society deliberately adopts and encourages idolatry' and thus 'gives its sanction to the utterly false ideas of the nature of God which idol-worship imparts'. Miss McNeile herself saw images in the Central Hindi College at Benares, and in the house occupied by the Theosophical Society's President at Benares, and she adds, 'These things have a melancholy significance in India' (McNeile, p. 59).

(iii) We have already shown that the Hindu principles of Karma and Reincarnation have been taken over by Theosophy. Here let us emphasize that if the karma principles were true, it would be negative for ever the benefits of the Cross seen in the forgiveness that flows therefrom. For karma affirms that I myself must bear the very last penalty for my sins. There is no Saviour in the realms of karma.

Theosophy No Gospel for the Sin-Haunted 'Bhakta'

(16) Readers of the autobiographical poems of Maharashtra's Poet Saints are always deeply impressed by the sense of sin which robs them of inward peace. 'Fallen ! Fallen ! Thrice fallen am I,' cries that noble *bhakta* Tukaram of Dehu. There are almost countless similar cries of moral and spiritual despair from others. These cries are clear evidence that the Holy Spirit of God Himself was at work

in their hearts. The fact that in the teaching of Theosophy 'there is no room for the idea of sin' (Miss McNeile, pp. 30, 86) means that the millions of Hindu pilgrims who are daily haunted by their sense of guilt and alienation from God can get no comfort from the message of Theosophy. The denial of a sense of sin proceeds from a very faulty diagnosis of human nature. We should doubt the value of any religious teaching that lulls the soul into thinking that it needs no remedy for sin. Miss McNeile who wrote from her own experience of the moral helplessness of Theosophy stated: 'The sense of sin springs from the vision of God's holiness'. This is made clear by the sixth chapter of Isaiah. 'God in His mercy forgives the past, and restores the soul to union with Himself and grants strength for the future' (McNeile, pp. 90-1).

'Christian Theosophy' An Impossibility

(17) If anything could be more amazing than the Theosophical acceptance of Hindu principles as shown above, it is the starting of a quarterly magazine called *The Christian Theosophist*. This is the organ of what is called 'the Christian Lodge of the Theosophical Society'. It was organized during the period between the two editions of Miss McNeile's book. How very far from being Christian this Society and its journal are will be clear from the following:—
(i) The historical facts of Christianity are 'allegorized'. How? Because Theosophy says, 'an event may be true without being historical'. We are not told how such a miracle is performed. (ii) The empty tomb of Jesus, after His resurrection, is explained away by the unprovable statement that a first century sect called 'the Essenes removed our Lord's body for burial', a theory anticipated in St Matthew 28.11-15 and now described as the 'Theft or Fraud Theory' long since answered (as Marathi-knowing readers may see from our own Marathi book, *The Death and Resurrection of Jesus*, pages 73-74). (iii) The foregoing statements illustrate the great gulf separating this latest development of Theosophy from New Testament teaching. (iv) Theosophy says man is in identity with God; the New Testament describes men as 'becoming sons of God' by faith (John 1-12), and by the witness of the Holy Spirit (Romans 8. 15-16).

Theosophy Refuted by Personal Spiritual Experience

(18) The only sure remedy for all such misleading errors as Theosophy teaches is in (i) Fuller knowledge of Christ; (ii) imitation of the example of Jesus; (iii) penitent and trustful acceptance of the redemption effected by His Cross; (iv) daily obedience to the Indwelling Spirit of Christ, thus ensuring to us His gifts of Power and Peace, His Purity and Victory. Miss McNeile found that 'the sure answer to Theosophy is found in the victorious certainty inspired by the Spirit of Christ in the soul'. To every one who, like her, has been robbed of their inward peace by Theosophical doubt, may there be

given the triumphant assurance found in the following words on her 75th page: 'For those who are made partakers in the life of the Blessed Trinity, God the Father is the end of all their desires; God the Son (or God expressed) is their immediate *Guru*; God the Holy Spirit (or God given) is the Light-Bringer. And these Three are one.' Sister Rhoda's experience of the Indwelling Spirit of Christ is a beautiful commentary on Dr Urquhart's closing words in his notable book, *The Vedanta and Modern Thought* (p. 250), where he states: 'It is our belief that the living Christ will sanctify and make complete the religious thought of India. For centuries—more centuries of civilization and culture than have been granted, perhaps, to any other nation—her saints have been longing for Him, and her thinkers, and not least the thinkers of the Vedanta, have been thinking His thoughts. Often they have not known His name, but they have been deeply conscious of His Spirit, and their age-long thirst for communion with the living God and for realization of the nearness of His Presence will one day be satisfied. Then will the words of Jesus Christ become true also of India and her people: "Whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up unto everlasting life"' (John 4. 14).

PART FIVE

CHRIST AND HIS IMPERFECT CHURCH

CHAPTER XVIII

THE CHALLENGE OF THE INDIAN CENSUS

Three Views

(1) We are far from measuring true and enduring progress by statistics, but as the farseeing Dr William Paton once said, it is 'as unwise to ignore numbers as to over-emphasize them'. Every worker in India's Christian Movement has therefore 'amazing ground for thanksgiving' when we reflect on the following figures. India's 1921 Census showed there were 4,754,079 Christians, the 1931 Census indicated 6,296,763 Christians, and the 1941 Census 'about eight millions'. Some Indian Christian leaders hold that Mission Reports and other sources show the correct figure to be about nine millions, but for reasons given below we accept the more cautious figure. There have been three views held about the Christian figures in the 1941 Indian census. One gave the figures as much too low, the second put them probably too high, and the third is that accepted by the officers of the National Christian Council and of the International Missionary Council after interviewing Government officials on the subject. The *first* view was that of the Government Census Report, which made out that the Christian position showed little if any change on the figures of 1931 given above. That view has been quite definitely rejected and we understand that even Government officials planned to issue revised figures but the pressure of war duties and of post-war reconstruction has thus far made this impossible. Two factors at least have robbed the official figures of any real value. *First*, instead of present religious profession being asked in the census forms, each person was asked his or her tribal *origin* or connection. This factor alone was sufficient to invalidate the *Christian* returns, for what is needed is not past origin but present beliefs.

'Random Samplings'

(2) The *second* vitiating factor was what the Census Report called 'random samplings' whereby only one-fiftieth of an area was tabulated

in detail. This method of 'random samplings' adopted as a war economy to reduce the number of census workers, whereby the figures of a large area were decided on the basis of signed papers in only one-fiftieth of the area, may have been *approximately* correct concerning a religion like Hinduism found everywhere in India, but not with a religion of smaller numbers and the growth of which has differed so greatly in various sections of the country. On the other hand, the *second* view, held by certain Indian Christian leaders, that the number of Indian Christians in 1941 was about nine millions, or about fifty per cent above the 1931 figures, must be regarded in all probability as an over-estimate, due in part to overlooking certain adverse factors. We are therefore compelled to accept the figure arrived at by the late Dr William Paton and others that the Christian figure in 1941 was 'about eight millions'. With this agreed a writer in the (R.C.) *Examiner* of Oct. 14, 1944 who said: 'There are in India 4,061,000 baptized (Roman) Catholics and about the same number of Protestants.' To prevent complacency, let our readers note that the 1944 All-India *Shuddhi Sabha* reported: '1,127 Untouchables were given assistance ~~by~~ of the influence of Christian missionaries.'

Encouragement

(3) Assuming India's Christian population in 1941 to have been about eight millions, this means that while the ten years' Christian increase between 1921 and 1931 was over one and a half millions or 1,542,684, this increase was surpassed between 1931 and 1941 when the increase was nearly a million and three quarters, or 1,703,237. In the preceding decade the *annual* increase was 154,268 and the *monthly* increase 12,855; but the later decade showed that every year 170,323 were won for Christ or 14,177 each month. For those who have the statistical mind, this means 466 baptisms took place every day through those difficult ten years; that is, that 19 persons every hour were added to the Church of Jesus Christ in India, one person being baptized every three minutes of the 24 hours daily in peace and war alike. Our own reading of Mission and Church reports and similar literature leads us to affirm as an observer of the scene as a whole, that never have the Christian forces been so rigorous in their introspection about their motives and in their self-examination concerning evangelistic methods. We therefore affirm with confidence that any such unworthy methods as are described by the word 'proselytizing' have been more and more eliminated from the Christian picture in India. On the all-important distinction between 'proselytism' and 'evangelism', so often ignored, see below (p. 204 f).

The Indian Church's Pentecost

(4) If these things be true, as we believe they are, the following observations will not be out of place:—(a) Over fourteen thousand won for Jesus Christ every month during so difficult a decade as that

between 1931 and 1941, can only mean that Indian Christianity, despite all its limitations and defects, is receiving from the Spirit of God a continuous Pentecost the like of which has not been seen in any land since the days when Jesus founded His Kingdom on earth. (b) Another of our own convictions, formed on the basis of close observation and personal interviews during nearly four decades in India, is that the number of secret disciples of Jesus Christ in India is far greater than the eight millions who have accepted public baptism in His Name. If any should feel like doubting this view, we would remind them that the revered Sadhu Sundar Singh affirmed that he personally knew of a high caste association of secret Christians who numbered 24,000. (c) We would also point out that the facts revealed by the sales of the many vernacular editions of the Bible, especially of the four Gospels, all over India, can only mean that the number of Gospel purchasers and readers outside the Christian Church is probably far greater than the number of Christian purchasers. (d) Along with this we would add the publication during 1944 of a 'Hindu Life of Christ' in Marathi. The book was published at two rupees and gave a brief Old Testament summary, a chapter about the Jews of our Lord's day, and a short account of the four evangelists. After that came the Life of Christ in an entirely non-controversial spirit. Such a publication amid all the political realism of Maharashtra is a most eloquent sign of the times. (e) The foregoing considerations we suggest should bring new hope to all those of us who have been working in some of the 'harder' soils of India, of which Maharashtra may be regarded as one. While Maharashtra's Christian Movement has not yet seen the tens of thousands coming to the Cross of Christ in any 'Group Movements' as in several other parts of India, it has nevertheless been honoured in giving to India three of India's greatest Christian luminaries, of whom we have written in chapters 14, 15 and 16. (f) Therefore if Indian Christianity in Maharashtra finds cause for great searchings of heart regarding the absence of any *widespread* success of the Christian appeal, it has abundant cause for thanksgiving and encouragement regarding the Christian fruitage seen in the life and work of Indian Christian individuals and in the beautiful atmosphere and culture of a growing number of Indian Christian homes. What missionary or Indian Christian leader in Western India does not know of *many* Indian homes of nameless beauty because Jesus Christ adorns them? One of the most enriching rewards of our work in India has been our fellowship in the homes of its Christian people.

The Main Hindrance: Insincerity

(5) The definite purpose of this section is to ask why Western India is not being honoured by a worthy Mass Movement to Christ. With the editor of the Centenary Number of *The Bombay Diocesan Magazine* in 1937, 'we must pray fervently that the long awaited

movement to Christ among the Marathas and caste folk will begin'. And we must ask *why* it is that the movement is so 'long awaited'. Our own belief is that the New Testament correctly diagnoses both the *delay* and the *arrest* of Indian group movements towards Christ and that it gives a sure remedy. The New Testament answer is made clear when we compare the very imperfect Christian situation in Maharashtra with the narrative of the early Church historian in the *Acts of the Apostles*. We believe the *first and chief cause of a delayed worthy Christian Group Movement in Maharashtra* will be seen to lie in that insidious danger which was seen to beset even the first Group Movement of the Christian Church, viz. *Insincerity and Unreality*. In the fourth verse of the fourth chapter of the Acts we are told that the numbers of those who believed in Christ had reached about 'five thousand', and the last paragraph of the same chapter contains the account of the first experiment in Christian Socialism. This account shows, incidentally, two things of importance; *first*, that all *worthy 'Pentecostalism'* shows its practical value in Social Service, as it did in the case of John Wesley seventeen centuries later; and *secondly*, that twentieth century communists have simply 'stolen our thunder', *minus the Christian's inward dynamic and moral restraint*. So successful was the experiment among the early Christians that 'not one of them considered anything his personal property; they shared all they had with one another', and 'there was not a needy person among them, for those who owned lands or houses would sell them and bring the proceeds of the sales laying the money before the feet of the apostles' (*Acts 4. 32-37*). These remarkable facts of a true Christian Socialism are overlooked by those who disparagingly speak of Pentecostal religion as being merely emotional or sentimental or a species of self-absorption. But the early Church historian, in his graphic style, says, at the beginning of chapter five, that there came a dark blot on the fair picture. While the Church's members were making a full dedication of receipts from property sales, a certain couple who 'had sold some property, appropriated some of the purchase money', and, while pretending to dedicate the whole sum, 'brought only a part of it to lay before the feet of the apostles'. The moving story in the first eleven verses of the fifth chapter supplies food for much private meditation, the chief lesson being that the Spirit of God intervened to protect the infant Church from the sin which would have ruined it.

Urgent Need of Church Discipline

(6) This solemn incident in the fifth chapter of Acts suggests the first great cause why the Church of Christ in Maharashtra is not being honoured with a widespread Group Movement of the people to Christ. There is too much sin in the Maharashtrian Church; sin that is too often ignored by the Church's authorities; sin that is permitted to ruin the Church's influence on those around; wrongdoers who are left undisciplined by the rules accepted of all the Churches.

For if the Spirit of God does not directly intervene today as He did in the early Church by striking down the perpetrators of hypocrisy, it is because He seeks to intervene by those disciplinary rules which He Himself has inspired in His Church. As Dr Palmer said in the Centenary issue of *The Bombay Diocesan Magazine* in an illuminating paper entitled *My Twenty Years as Bishop of Bombay*: 'Do not think that organization does not matter. Bad organization hinders the work of the Spirit; good organization provides conditions in which the Spirit may have free course.' To anyone acquainted with the New Testament insistence on personal holiness, and with the unholiness and insincerity tolerated in some Church organizations in Western India, it is utterly impossible to expect the masses of India's people to be attracted to Christ by Church organizations that permit such things. One of the greatest needs therefore in the Churches of Western India today is to recover that discipline which is used by the Spirit of God to keep His Church pure and to make the Church attractive for the drawing of others to Christ. How true this is can be seen from any worthy Mass Movement area, where the leaders probably spend far more time over the discipline they have to exercise in keeping the movement pure than they do in exulting over the number of their converts. Think, for example, what the following figures mean concerning the reality of Church Discipline in the Telugu area of the British Methodist Mission in Hyderabad State. Out of a community of over 135,836 people won for Christ during a little less than seven decades, some 25,128 are recognized as full communicants, while as many as 66,663 are reported 'on trial' for Church membership, and the remainder are being prepared for this 'probation' stage. This means that Church membership is a solemn reality and therefore exerts a vital influence: later annual reports confirm this.

Mass Movements Arrested by Disunion

(7) Closely allied to the unholiness which hinders the working of God's Spirit among India's multitudes is the grievous sin against 'the unity of the Spirit'. One of the most tragic chapters in the history of Indian Christian Missions, if it could be fully written, would be a chapter telling how the work of the Spirit of God in many an Indian field has been arrested by the arrival of representatives from another Church who have sown seeds of dissension and misunderstanding. We could take up many pages by relating incidents that have come under our own notice when excellent work has been spoiled by the intervention of another set of workers. To quote the words of the late Archbishop Temple at the Opening Service of the Second World Conference on Faith and Order held in St Giles Cathedral, Edinburgh, on August 3, 1937: 'Our division at this point is the greatest of all scandals in the face of the world So shine in our hearts, that the rays of Thy brightness, now known to us in our separation, may be gathered into the pure radiance of Thy glory manifested through us in our unity in Thee.'

Un-Christian Europeans

(8) It is a painful thing to say about one's own fellow-countrymen in India, but it has to be said, that a *third* factor hindering Maharashtra's people from coming to Christ in large numbers has arisen, and still arises, from the life of many Europeans in Bombay and other large centres in Western India. Let us here state emphatically that an English chaplaincy of several years in Bombay enables us to affirm that among the Europeans in India there are *many* who are not only wearing the white flower of a blameless life but who in unknown and unnumbered ways are rendering Christlike service to India's needy people. Not infrequently it happens that 'God's true nobility' are found among the high officials, as when the Viceroy of the time was referred to as 'that tall Christian'. But all too often St Paul's withering words apply to Europeans in India; 'It is owing to you that the name of God is blasphemed among the nations' (Romans 2. 24); so that fewer converts are won to Christ in several large centres in India where Europeans live than in the rural centres where Europeans are few. Critical editors are entirely justified in reminding us of these facts, though they cannot possibly know how faithfully and fearlessly missionaries speak of these things when on furlough in their own home countries. Our own eyes have seen strong men weeping in congregations at home over the difficulties created for the work of Christ in India by un-Christlike Europeans in India and by much un-Christian life in Western countries. On the other hand, critical editors in India are not justified in inferring that such facts disprove the missionary's message; the truth being that Europe and America need the missionary's message as really as India needs it, and that no missionary can ever be justified in mumbling his Gospel because his own countrymen contradict it in their lives. But it remains true that India's Christward Movement is being hindered by these facts. And other good movements are being hindered too. Indian statesmen are making a praiseworthy effort, for example, to save India from the liquor temptation, and certain European newspapers by their criticisms or advertisements are discouraging this greatly needed reform, instead of encouraging it by seeking to drive home to their readers the point of a couplet by the late Lord Snowden:

There is a little public-house
Which everyone can close;
It is the little public-house
Beneath that person's nose.

Maharashtra's Mass Movement of Compulsion

(9) The *fourth* point in our diagnosis of delayed and arrested Christward movements in the Marathi-speaking area of India brings us to a historical item of sad significance. Whenever we hear people remark 'how strange it is that Maharashtra has no Mass Movement

to Christ' our own mental answer is that it is not strange at all, because history shows Maharashtra *has had* a Mass Movement, but one based on methods of external and official compulsion. Anyone who wishes to read the sad story should read up the Portuguese period of India's history when Portuguese rule had its centres in such places as Bassein, Bandra, Goa and various other centres on the West Coast of India. Those who know the facts about the Romish Inquisition in Western lands know also that in those lands there was sufficient knowledge of Christian truth to enable people to understand that the Inquisition represented a contradiction of all that was truly Christian; but one of the most tragic aspects of the Romish Inquisition in Western India was that India's people got the idea that the Inquisition terrors were a correct representation of Jesus Christ and of all that He stands for! Orientals have a highly retentive memory, and India has never forgotten the horrors of the Portuguese Inquisition when far too many people in Western India were *compelled* to accept the religion of their rulers. As the Ven. W. Ashley-Brown said in his history of the Bombay Diocese published in 1933, despite 'the religious genius of the Portuguese, . . . they made the fatal mistake of introducing the Inquisition (1560). It was abolished in 1814 through the representations of the British,' but 'the Inquisition left a heritage of bitterness and suspicion' (page 36) and 'it was unfortunate that the nobility of Portuguese missionary zeal should have been linked with the policy of the Inquisition. This policy had probably much to do in nerving the Marathas for the campaign which in 1739 dispossessed the Portuguese of their city of Bassein on the coast twenty-eight miles north of Bombay' (p. 32). It is not our purpose today to dwell on this appalling story, for we believe our Roman Catholic friends are as deeply ashamed of it as all other Christian people are. We greatly wish, however, our Romanist fellow Christians would learn the lesson that India's terrible experience of Inquisition methods has to teach. We say this because that notable Church historian, Dr C. J. Cadoux, has produced a book entitled *Roman Catholicism and Freedom* in which he gives a disturbing amount of evidence showing that, even in these later times, whenever Romanism gets power in its hands it still adopts similar methods of persecution that have marred so many pages of its history. Our main point is that Christian work in Western India today is much harder because of Romanist blunders in the past, and that today we are reaping the sad harvest from seed sown during the two and a half centuries between 1560 and 1814. In its account of those days *The Cambridge Shorter History of India* states (p. 505): 'Any Protestant adventurers might find themselves handed over to the Inquisition at Goa . . . Already in 1540 by the orders of the King of Portugal all the Hindu temples in the island of Goa had been destroyed,' this being followed by the Inquisition introduced into Goa in 1560; and it was this 'religious intolerance, . . . pushed to its utmost extreme by the jealous fervour of the Jesuits who selected Goa as their second headquarters outside Rome,' that was one of

the chief causes of 'the ultimate decline of Portuguese power in India' (*The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. 5, pp. 17-18). On this whole subject, see our Additional Note on 'India's Historic Revolt Against Religious Compulsion'.

Repellent Emotionalism

(10) Now let us consider a *fifth* hindrance to India's progress towards Christ. There can be very few readers who are able to recall what took place in certain centres of earnest Christian work in Maharashtra a few decades ago when there were great outbursts of religious emotionalism and of a certain kind of uncontrolled spiritual frenzy. The manifestations were so strange and repellent to most who heard about them that many splendid people connected with all religions, both the Christian religion and other faiths, were for the rest of their lives alienated from any form of teaching that claimed to speak of 'spiritual power'. Though some of its leaders were among the most consecrated of the followers of Christ, there can be no question that one of the unfortunate results of the particular movement we refer to was that one of the greatest and most significant words of the Bible, the word 'Pentecost' (see Acts 2. 1 and the connected passages), became in many Christian circles in Western India a synonym for spiritual disorder and for much else undesirable in things religious. So real has been the hindrance brought about by this unfortunate banning of the word 'Pentecost', and by the still more unfortunate banning of the dynamical ideas that lie behind this wonderful word, that one can affirm without hesitation that in some events connected with that movement, despite much that was truly evangelical and intensely Christian, we see a sad instance of what might have been a fine Indian Movement towards Christ arrested in its beginnings by factors which alienated many Indian people in Western India, and many missionaries also, from the deep Pentecostal realities of the New Testament.

Imperfect Christian Teaching Weakening Indian Christianity

(11) In that remarkable chapter in the Acts of the Apostles, the nineteenth, the Church's historian St Luke shows how a Movement towards Christ can be hindered or delayed by the inadequacy of Christian teaching and attainment. At the beginning of the chapter St Paul has arrived in Ephesus where he comes in contact with a group of twelve men who had only heard about repentance for sin, but about the Holy Spirit and His power to deliver the soul from sin they had heard nothing at all. When St Paul had given them the fuller message, and these twelve men had entered upon a soul-life of richer quality, then there came to that old-time university city of Ephesus 'a preaching mission' of such a remarkable character that all the inhabitants of the great Roman Province called Asia 'heard' the message (Acts 19. 8-10). There was an equally remarkable exhibition of 'spiritual healing' (verses 11-16). This Movement was so far-reaching in its practical

results that it led to the discovery and willing destruction by the owners of two thousand pounds' worth of bad literature (verses 18-20). Even the great trade of the city, its manufacture of idols, on which the city of Ephesus prided itself, was threatened with ruin by the Christian preaching of 'this fellow Paul' (verses 23-35). Such is the silent revolution brought about when the full Christian message is delivered, and when the members of the Church of God get a living experience of their full privilege and power in Christ. It is our conviction that a careful survey will lead impartial observers to the conclusion that one chief reason why a sweeping success is withheld from the Christian Church in Western India is that, along with the factors already mentioned, the full message of the New Testament is not being delivered by many workers, and by workers we mean both Indians and non-Indians. In Western India as in other parts of the world there has been allowed to creep into Christian circles a *false* antithesis between the evangelical message of the New Testament and the present-day emphasis on social service. The real truth of the matter is that there is no antithesis between these two, for the New Testament shows both to be necessary. Genuine evangelical passion will always issue in social service, and the most enduring social service is impossible without the dynamic of the evangel.

Value of Regular Bible Instruction

(12) Anyone inclined to doubt our conclusion that this dynamic message is being soft-pedalled may be advised to choose any sample group of Indian Christian young men and pass them through an elementary examination in the contents of the Bible and the essentials of the Christian Faith. They will be as pained as we ourselves have been, and others also whose duties have included this particular form of experiment. The explanation is that family prayers are widely neglected, that the crucial importance of the Indian Sunday School is not realized by very large numbers of Indian Church members, and that not enough of our Churches in Western India have the essential Adult Bible Class. Upon the Adult Bible School the Christian movement in Korea had built its host of self-supporting and self-propagating Churches in the teeth of an almost universal 'Japanization' of Korea's educational system long before the second world-war. What miracle can be effected in India by simple but regular Bible instruction has been demonstrated in the British Methodist Mission all over its area in the Nizam's Dominions by means of its system of Scripture teaching in over 700 day-schools and over 700 Sunday Schools with their 872 Sunday School teachers and over a hundred lay preachers. The result is seen today in self-supporting Churches and in thousands of transformed people who are attracting their fellow-villagers to Christ. If we in Maharashtra expect to win for Christ either the cultured thousands or the uncultured millions by means of Churches so ignorant and negligent

of the Bible as too many Indian Church members are, we are living in 'a fool's paradise'. Many Church members long and pray for a Christward Movement and yet fail to fulfil one of the chief conditions, for many Churches are utterly unprepared for teaching and guiding enquirers.

How to Win the Maharashtrian Prize for Christ

(13) There is no Church in the world that has a greater prize to win for Christ than has the Maharashtrian Church, viz. that *bhakti* soul which is the highest flower of the Hindu race. Such is the high honour God wants to confer upon His Church in Maharashtra. But only a Church of the richest spiritual qualities, a Church with its whole mind and heart steeped in God's revelation, can be worthy of that honour or win that prize. And the prize can be won. For it is being won. For lofty and truly noble as are the tenets and life of a worthy Marathi Hindu *bhakta* (saint), it still remains true that 'the least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he is' (Matthew 11. 11). The great Dr W. M. Clow of Scotland, whose able son Sir Andrew Clow has been Governor of both Assam and Bombay Provinces, tells in one of his books of an ordinary Scots farmer, a conversation with whom became a turning-point in the future life of the future preacher. In our 47 years' ministry we have known many an ill-educated man (and woman too) from whom all Hindu *bhakti* scholars we have known, and many Christian scholars too, might learn much concerning God's love and forgiving grace.

'Evangelism' and 'Proselytism'

(14) The last hindrance we shall refer to arises from a persistent confusion of terms on which we wrote as follows in the *Dnyanodaya* of September 2, 1943 on the subject of 'Evangelism and Proselytism'. We earnestly trust that the Indian Christian Church and all its workers will not allow themselves to be diverted from their main task in India by the August 18, 1943 resolution of the Bombay University Senate, 'not to permit in any educational institution, conducted by or affiliated to it, any activity which has for its object the conversion of students from one religion to another'. Our own reading of the situation (in which of course we may be wrong) is that in passing such a resolution, which was passed by 39 votes to 25, Indian leaders were under the influence of a fear complex in thus throwing away the 'religious freedom' which has been regarded as 'India's ancient tradition'. For such a resolution is in reality an indirect but very clear tribute to the steady progress of the Christian Movement in India. It surprises us greatly that such cultured men, who are rightly themselves such champions of *political* freedom, can in these enlightened days hope to restrict the *religious* freedom of Indian students under the cloak of pretending 'to safeguard the belief in India that it is a grievous

sin to change from one religion to another'. It is surely another instance of Canute striving to stop the waves of progress.

A Recurring Confusion of Terms

(a) The all-convenient word in the Bombay University Senate discussion was the word 'proselytizing'. The incident thus illustrates the habit of many in India (and elsewhere) to attach the same meaning to these two deeply differing words, 'evangelize' and 'proselytize'. It therefore becomes necessary to point out the gross error in such a usage. As this question was thrashed out a few years ago, we only need to repeat the conclusions then reached. A Secretary of one of the Foreign Mission Boards on his return from a year's tour in the East had fallen into the error of using these two terms interchangeably, and it had become all too clear that 'evangelizing' in his view was synonymous with 'proselytizing'. As the Secretary referred to was dealing with Islam, he was ably answered by such authorities on work among Muslims as Dr Donaldson then of Meshed, Dr Bowman then of Saharanpur, and the Rev. J. W. Sweetman then of Lahore. The confusion they exposed was not only a confusion in the use of words, but also an equally sad confusion of thought.

'Proselytizers' and 'Evangelizers'

(b) It is worthy of note that these misconceptions in thought and expression are held by some in India today concerning Christian work among Hindus and Muslims alike. In pointing out the fundamental error of using the term 'to evangelize' as synonymous with the term 'to proselytize', it was emphasized by the above-mentioned writers: '*Evangelism* is one thing. *Proselytism* is quite something else. The former is the simple proclamation of the Gospel message in the faith that the Word of God will pierce to the roots of personality, and work the will of God in renewal and revivification (Hebrews iv. 12). The latter is something that depends on the frailty of human method, produces its fruit after the human pattern (Matthew xxiii. 15), and is rightly condemned by the peoples of every race among whom it is tried.' In other words the *proselytizer* always has his eye on the statistician rather than on Christlikeness of character and of society. This Christlikeness in individual character and in social conditions is the supreme aim of the Gospel message and of all those Churches and Missions which keep ever before them as their ideal the evangelizers of the New Testament, St Paul, St John, St Peter and all the rest, including Jesus Himself Who came 'that men might have life and have it to the full'.

Christian Doctrine and Ethic Both Essential

(c) It was pertinently asked by the missionaries who made their reply several years ago: 'Would not the Christian be accused of hedging' if he sought to gain the Indian by permitting some truth to

go unsaid because it might prove 'repugnant to him'? Moreover, 'it is far too lightly assumed that while a theological approach to the Indian may be fruitless, the exhibition of the ethic of Christianity will be acceptable', for 'the antagonism extends equally to the Christian ethic as found in the teaching of Christ' in the Sermon on the Mount, on the ground of its supposed impracticability. But unacceptability of both Christian doctrine and Christian ethic is not limited to the East. It is only too true the whole world over that it is 'the fool who hath said in his heart, there is no God'. It is worthy of note that this denial of the greatest of all *theological* realities has for its sole basis a practical contradiction in life of all *ethical* realities. And lest we should forget how monstrous this folly is, *this* 'fool' is presented to us twice over in the Psalms, viz. Psalm 14. 1 and 53. 1.

Missionary Defeatism and the Remedy

(d) The history of both Hinduism and of Islam makes another thing abundantly clear, viz. that India will not *allow* theological questions to be shelved. But such questions are far too frequently shelved by the 'attenuated Christianity' of so-called Christian teachers who thereby compromise the message entrusted to them. What is needed is 'not less theology but better theology'. For silence on the essential saving Gospel is to be guilty of downright dishonesty. As for those who avoid 'evangelizing' lest they be charged with 'prose-lytizing', they are in reality victims of that spirit of defeatism which has ruined much well meant Christian effort in every land. The remedy for all such defeatism is in closer New Testament study, in a deeper personal experience of God's saving power by the Cross and by His Holy Spirit, and in a new emphasis on the call to Christlike behaviour.

The Maharashtrian Church's Opportunity

(15) In an important address to the Bombay Representative Christian Council in September 1938 the Rev. Frank Whittaker, presenting an interim report on the Survey of Maharashtra, stated (1) that 'those parts of Maharashtra so far visited show emphatically there is as great an opportunity for Christ in Western India as anywhere else in India'. Not even the great and successful Telugu area, which Mr Whittaker knows intimately, offers more striking evangelistic opportunity than does Maharashtra. This refers alike to the outcaste untouchables such as Mangs and Mahars, and the low caste and middle class people. All these offer an open field for the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Where the opportunity has been seized a real, even if limited, success has been seen. (2) In certain places that were mentioned a definite hindrance has appeared from the divisions in the Christian Church resulting in the unfortunate growth of denominational Churches; for the remedy see below. (3) In some other centres incipient movements have been arrested which on the fulfilment of

certain conditions might well become strikingly successful. (4) One of the most impressive facts is that the Church of Christ in Maharashtra is definitely in being, that many groups in unlikely places are receiving definite teaching, that Christian family prayer is regularly observed even in the least expected villages. (5) Some of the most beautiful work that is being done is of an entirely voluntary character, the result of which is seen in the Christian influence on various sections of the non-Christian community; at the same time this is too often accompanied by convincing evidence of the need for more definitely Christlike character to make others long for the soul-transforming Christ. (6) Such a lack in some places is offset in other places by the evident determination of new converts to leave behind all undesirable customs of the former life. There is thus ample evidence of the existence in Maharashtra of a Church which can be used of God.

Weak Spots in Maharashtrian Christianity

(16) Concerning the weak spots Mr Whittaker said: (1) the first need is a more definite conception of the chief task of the Christian Church in India. One definition of that conception is that we are to present Jesus Christ and clearly portray Him to India in every part of our Christian work and especially in every act of our daily life. (2) But we must *present him in such a way as will challenge men and women to make their personal decision*. The work suffers much from indefiniteness and from the absence of a definite appeal. We must go on with every effort begun till it brings forth fruit. (3) Christian work is in some places too fragmentary, by which is meant that in a centre where young men are comparatively neglected, young women are receiving regular teaching; in other places there is concentration upon work among men but serious overlooking of the needs of Indian women. Our work needs to be more all-round, with the family as the centre. (4) While we have rightly emphasized the individual approach concerning the claims of Jesus Christ we have too often neglected the corporate channel; though all over India it is increasingly realized that the group method is effective (as on all other subjects such as politics, economy, education). (5) Christ calls for the witness of *every* individual disciple. In some places where there is proof of a truly Christian life, the witness given is obscure, indeed there is danger of thinking that a Christian life is enough; but Jesus asks for both worthy character *and* daily witness. (6) Wherever there is a profession of Christ without practice, witness is of no use at all; for in all such cases there is a denial of Christ which ruins all efforts put forth. We need always to present to our Churches the challenge coming from India's demand for a Christlike purity on the part of every professing Christian.

Maharashtra's Need of Corporate and United Effort

(17) Mr Whittaker continued: (1) The individual witness for Christ needs to be backed up by the corporate witness of a *Christlike*

community, that is, a community based on Christlike principles. But in some places Jesus Christ is being received in a *communal* sense only, that is, by a certain community which is at the same time not willing to share the benefits of Jesus with people of other communities. All such exclusiveness is utterly against the spirit of Jesus. (2) Evangelism demands united action by Christians of all Churches in *every* District instead of the various Churches working in isolation and independently of one another. The absence of such united action is a really serious obstacle to the evangelisation of India and is a cause of needless misunderstanding in the minds of those who wish to be led to Jesus Christ. (3) For this supreme task of the Church in India we must harness the humblest members of all village Churches by encouraging *every* member to some kind of usefulness. This means that the entire lay membership of our Indian Churches must be mobilized, both spiritually and financially, a point too often overlooked.

CHAPTER XIX

MISREPRESENTING JESUS CHRIST AMONG MUSLIMS

I. An Invaluable Book

There was no more searching aspect of the 1941 Indian Census than its disclosure of how inadequately the Church of Christ is discharging its responsibilities for evangelizing India's nearly one hundred million Muslims. Let us consider, then, some of the chief obstacles. One of the most important books in recent decades bore the title *The Eclipse Of Christianity In Asia*, its sub-title being *From The Time Of Muhammad Till The Fourteenth Century*. Its author was Dr Laurence E. Browne of the Henry Martyn School of Islamics who for five years laboured in helping to lay the enduring foundations of that splendid institution before he left India to become a Professor in the Comparative Study of Religion in British Universities. It is a book of about two hundred pages and is published by the Cambridge University Press at half a guinea. Some might say it is one of the saddest books they have ever read. We would rather describe it as one of the most illuminating; *first*, because it shows that if certain blunders have been avoided in the presenting and representing of Jesus by His followers He would probably have attracted to Himself millions of Asiatics who have either completely misunderstood Him or have not heard about Him at all; and *secondly*, because it is a book that shows us how imperative it is that we of today get rid of certain defects in our daily living and in our presentation of the Christian message if we are to draw men to the light of the world. 'For in spite of the calamitous blunders made concerning Jesus Christ among the Muslim peoples, He has nevertheless won unto Himself large numbers of Muslims all over the world, such as no other teacher could have done in face of such colossal disadvantages. The book mentions so many hindrances still operating among Muslims and other peoples that it might well become a handbook among the Churches in all lands on the subject 'How Not To Evangelize.' And the saddest of all misrepresentation of Jesus arises from the fact that so many of His followers in India seem to forget that nearly one hundred million Muslims in India need the blessing that Christ alone can give, and that these blessings are not being offered as they should be.

Causes of Failure : Intellectual Cowardice and Untranslated Scriptures

(2) Let us see how it happened that although Jesus Christ was winning so many Muslims to Himself, His cause suffered so grave a setback among the Muslim peoples of Asia. How amazing that such

cess will be seen from the fact that between the 4th and 15th centuries Muslim lands had several Christian centres. Under the second Khalif after Muhammad's death there were in Mesopotamia and Iraq about a million and a half of Christians and Jews, the former probably predominating (p. 9); while an 11th century bishop stated that in the western districts of Egypt 'about 40,000 churches and monasteries' were destroyed (p. 60). The Church in the West today which sends missionaries to Eastern lands should note that the very first hindrance to the cause of Christ indicated in Mr Browne's book is that 'the Eastern Church suffered from the failures of the Church of the West to live up to its Christian standard' (p. 3). An almost equally important matter is touched upon by 'the interesting suggestion that one cause of the failure of Eastern Christianity may have been their intellectual cowardice' (p. 4); for the way too many Churches today shirk the all-important task of relating the Christian message to the religious standpoint of other faiths is an illustration of the fact that this same 'intellectual cowardice' is all too operative at this very hour. We fear also there is something operative the method of a 9th century Christian Ecclesiastic who commissioned a man 'to write a treatise against Islam' though the man 'understood very little of Islam and only knew the Koran through Greek translations' (p. 112). No wonder such literature was fruitless. Perhaps the most illuminating explanation of all regarding the failure of Eastern Christianity is 'the fact that the Bible had not been translated into Arabic, a lamentable fact indeed, for if the Christians had been quick to seize the opportunity and had made the first Arabic book the Bible instead of the Koran, the whole course of the religious history of the East might have been different' (p. 14). This basic blunder on the part of Christians of that time illustrates the cardinal importance of all the work of Bible Societies today, their work of translating, revising and circulating the Bible in every possible language. A similar mistake is being made today whenever Christians neglect to read the Bible that has come to them as a result of much effort and sacrifice. For in certain sections of so-called Christian society today the Bible is the most highly praised and yet the least read book of our time.

Veneration of the Virgin Mary

(3) In reading Dr Browne's historical study it is important to remember that 'under the commanding influence of Muhammad' the 'Arabs were for the first time united,' that 'they were united by a bond which they had never known before, loyalty to a single God' (p. 24), and that 'it was the new monotheistic religion of Arabia' which 'made their conquests possible' (p. 28). Against such a background it is easy to understand how disastrous must have been the effect of 'the veneration for the Blessed Virgin Mary' which in at least one Muslim country, Abyssinia, 'reached extraordinary proportions' (p. 21); and yet really

wonder whether this undue 'veneration' of Mary was more harmful to the cause of Christ among Muslims a thousand years ago than it is among them today, or than it is all over idol-ridden India where the same 'Blessed Virgin Mary' is all too often 'venerated' by so-called Christians in such a way as to lead India not to Christ but from Him. While our Romanist friends need to learn this lesson, there are other Christians in India who need to learn that 'the practice of the veneration of images' among Christians was a grave hindrance to the work of Christ as early as the sixth century, an 'edict against image worship as being idolatry' being issued in 725 by the Byzantine Emperor Leo, for 'in Muslim eyes the veneration of any kind of image was idolatry' (pp. 74-5). Dr Browne's verdict on this whole question is all the more weighty by reason of the fact that he laboured as a S.P.G. missionary and his verdict is that 'if we look at the question, not from the point of view of the ancient controversialists, but simply asking ourselves whether the veneration of pictures or images of Christ does tend to an understanding of the incarnation, we are bound to answer in the negative. The incarnation is a union of God with the whole man, and not merely with the material part of man. . . . The claim that the use of images of Christ is a logical result of a belief in the incarnation is not true, for the image is only material. We must look to see the incarnate Christ shown forth, not in some merely material symbol, but in human life, in the life of regenerate humanity, i.e., of Christians in whom Christ is born. . . . The prevalence of this practice (of image-worship) did almost more than anything else to offend the Muslims. That it was a real stumbling-block to Muslims cannot be denied; and one cannot help feeling that if the Nestorians had had a more Christian spirit they would have abandoned the cult of images out of respect for the feelings of the Muslims, even though they believed the cult permissible for themselves, in the same way that St Paul dealt with the question of eating meat offered to idols. . . . It appears that the Nestorians (in Egypt) not only had crosses and images of Christ, but also images and pictures of the saints. . . . In modern times the Nestorians. . . have abandoned the use of images, only using the Cross to which they pay the greatest reverence. . . . When the Roman Catholic missionaries went to Malabar they found that the Nestorian Christians there did not use images and said, "We are Christians. We do not worship idols." Probably they gave up the use of images in view of the prevalence of Hindu idolatry' (pp. 75-9).

Compromise in Life and Testimony

(4) Closely linked with this compromise in Christian teaching was the shameful compromise in Christian life and testimony seen in that 'most surprising of the conditions imposed on' and accepted by some Christian leaders of those early centuries, 'that they should build no new churches, though 'they might repair and rebuild existing churches, but not erect churches on new sites' (pp. 45-6). A religion willing

thus to muzzle and limit its message and influence was inevitably marred by other compromises as well, and one Caliph says of certain so-called Christian officials in his realm: 'They are neither Muslims nor Christians' (p. 53). The historian of the time tells us that 'the result of Christians holding high positions at court was that they gained great political power,' but that 'it was possible for Christians to gain positions at the court and retain their faith; yet he has also to say of 'many whose Christianity was feeble' that they 'conformed to the state religion in order to gain the Caliph's favour' (p. 52). These searching facts have their clear lesson for the Indian Christians of today who hold a greater proportion of official posts (5.8 per cent in the Indian Civil Service and over three per cent in the Indian police, railways, posts, telegraphs and the Government Secretariat) than the Indian Christian proportion of the population (which is 1.4 per cent). These were the pre-war figures which are probably higher now. And if God has put Indian Christianity into such a position of influence, that influence must be exerted only as 'the salt of the earth'. In view of the foregoing disclosures of the historian it is not surprising to learn that some 'Christians were not too ready to declare themselves openly,' but it is encouraging to read on the same page (p. 62) that 'gradually the Christians were emboldened to come forward, and many who had embraced Islam returned to Christ,' some amply atoning for their grievous error. 'It has often been remarked that Muslims could not be converted to Christ because the penalty for such an act was death. . . . Under that law many Christians were executed in Persia; and in the height of persecution the officer in charge of the persecution and of the executions was so struck by the bearing of the Christian martyrs that he suddenly stopped his work and confessed Christ, and was himself executed' (p. 63).

Worldly Success, a Foreign Church, Disunion

(5) As we trace the dismal story through the centuries it becomes clear that the deepest explanation of the practical extinction of Christianity from Asiatic lands during the centuries under review lies in the absence of spiritual power, the failure to rely on the power of the Holy Spirit as shown 'particularly in the fact of conversion and the vitality and heroism of the Christian converts' (pp. 80-4). On the other hand, worship was offered to that kind of power seen in 'the pagan idea that God's favour is shown by worldly success.' Even one of the greatest and noblest of India's Muslim leaders, the late Syed Ameer Ali, once said, 'Success is always one of the greatest criterions of truth,' and there are still Christian people living who believe with an early ecclesiastic in Muslim lands that Eastern 'nations need to see a little worldly pomp and show, to attract them and to make them draw nigh willingly to Christianity' (pp. 85-90). Probably it is to this wrong conception of true influence and lasting power that we must trace the lack of enduringness in the success of Christian Missions in China by

the Nestorian Church of the 8th to the 11th centuries. For a famous Nestorian monument erected at Si-ngan-fu in A.D. 779 shows there was 'a considerable Christian community right in the heart of China at that time.' On that monument some 75 names appear, all of which seem 'to be the names of foreigners,' and here we come against another secret of weakness which missionaries in all lands may well take note of: 'Among the causes of this first failure of Christianity in China must be placed the fact that it was a predominantly foreign Church,' for 'they learnt to rely on' this foreign factor 'instead of on the might of the Spirit, and so they were found helpless when the Imperial favour was withdrawn in A.D. 845.' After the foreignness of the first Church in China there came terrible disunion, from which India may learn much. So intolerant became the Nestorian Christians 'towards other Christians' that one contemporary testimony states: 'They have grown so powerful that they will not allow a Christian of another ritual to have ever so small a chapel, or to publish any doctrine different from their own.' Yet in the work of the same intolerant people, says our author, 'we have one of the worst examples of a mass movement in which converts were received into the Church without due preparation or teaching. . . . The failure to hold up the whole Christ as the example of righteousness, and the failure to experience the power of the working of the Holy Spirit, allowed these missionaries to accept converts without making sure that Christianity was a spiritual reality in their lives (pp. 93-108). Eventually even the memory of Christianity was wiped out of China, so that when the Jesuit missionaries went there at the end of the sixteenth century they were led at first to believe that Christianity had never existed there before their own day' (p. 173).

'Muhammad's Misunderstandings' of Christian Teaching

(6) Unquestionably one great cause of the Muslim victory over the Christian religion lay in Muhammad's borrowing so much from Christian teaching, a borrowing which he not only did not acknowledge but which was also accompanied by his mutilating, distorting and parodying of various Christian truths. What are facetiously called 'Muhammad's misunderstandings of Christianity' provide too large a subject for more than a brief reference, but a few words are necessary, for 'there are in the Koran certain statements about Christ' which can only have come from heretical sects, and 'it is a question whether these were actually taught by any Christian sect in Muhammad's day. Of these the most serious is the denial of the death of Christ on the Cross, which has resulted in a denial by Muslims up to the present day, not only of one of the most certain facts of history, but of the fact in history which is most vital to the human race. . . . It is almost certain that Muhammad's denial arose from a preconceived notion on his part that God would not have allowed a prophet to die such a shameful death'; and so Islam teaches Jesus was saved

miraculously from the Cross and taken up to Heaven while another was crucified in His stead. The second heretical statement is in Sura v. 116: 'O Jesus, son of Mary, hast thou said unto mankind, 'Take me and my mother as two Gods beside God?' Dr Browne has the comment: 'The common explanation... is that some Christian heretical sect in the days of Muhammad believed in a Trinity consisting of God, Mary and Jesus.... We may safely conclude that this curious Trinity of God, Mary and Jesus was simply a misunderstanding of Christian teaching on Muhammad's part. Two suggestions have been offered as to how this misunderstanding may have arisen. The one is that in Abyssinia the veneration for the Blessed Virgin Mary reached extraordinary proportions, and, as we know that Muhammad had close relations with Abyssinian Christians, the misunderstanding may have arisen in this way. The other suggestion is that the misunderstanding arose through the feminine gender of the Syriac word *rūḥa* for *Spirit*. On this see page 32 in the notable book by Windrow Sweetman, *Islam And The Christian Message*; also Dr Hastings *Encyclopedia Of Religion And Ethics*, volume 8, page 477. A somewhat different view of the Koran is taken by Dr C. C. Torrey of Yale University in his 1933 book, *The Jewish Foundation Of Islam*, where he maintains that the Koran was chiefly of Jewish origin, its contents being mediated to Muhammad by Jewish teachers, and that whatever Christian elements are in the Koran were derived through Jewish channels.

Muslim Longing for Christ : Opportunities Missed

(7) On the other hand, Dr Browne points out that 'Christian life had made a great impression. Many elements of Christian morality had been accepted. Strangest of all there was a wistful looking towards Jesus to supply something that was not to be found in Islam. . . The wistful longing of Muslims towards Christ strangely suggests that they might have responded if Christ had been more truly presented to them. In that sense it was a day of opportunity missed by the Church. If only at the end of the eleventh century there had been a revival of true Christianity in the East, or such a missionary movement from the West as could have presented Islam with a vision of the living Christ, Islam might at that time have accepted Him as Lord' (pp. 135-6). Another illuminating explanation of how this 'day of opportunity' was 'missed by the Church' also 'throws a flood of light on the historical problem of the cause of Christian failure in the face of Islam.' This explanation is given when Dr Browne tells us (on p. 111) about preachers 'arguing against the man instead of preaching the gospel.' This is a practice much too prevalent even today, and it means winning one's argument but losing one's man, a result which indicates absence of true evangelical wisdom and fervour. For what matters about losing an argument if we can lead someone into the personal experience of the love of Christ which will supply any man with

new arguments of his own of the most convincing kind? No wonder that two centuries after Muhammad one noted writer exclaimed, 'The monks today are not missionaries, for instead of presenting Christ on the basis of their own personal experience as confirming the New Testament message, they had to fall back on second-rate arguments, a method in which the Muslims excelled. This is one great reason why Muslims have never understood the proofs from personal experience regarding the Deity of Christ, the Personality and Power of the Holy Spirit. Had preachers to Muslims always based their message on the dynamic place in personal experience of the Son of God and the Spirit of God, the Muslim difficulty about the Trinity in Unity would always have been met with a prompt and convincing reply.'

The Tragedy of the Crusades.

(8) Another factor which alienated the Muslim world from Jesus Christ for several centuries came into operation when the Crusaders at the end of the eleventh century (A.D. 1095) heard the call of Pope Urban II to deliver the Holy Land from the Turks, to establish the rights of Palestinian Christians, and to make pilgrimages possible to the Holy Places. Of course 'the first intention in the minds of the Crusaders was to win for Christ a kingdom by the sword,' the very method Jesus rejected in His temptation: 'All these things will I give thee if thou wilt fall down and worship me.' But 'one cannot help regarding the Crusades as the greatest tragedy in the history of Christianity, and the greatest setback to the progress of Christ's kingdom on earth. . . . The real tragedy lies in the approval by the Church of an undertaking that was a complete denial of Christ', initiated by the trumpet call of a Pope.

Islam and Slavery

(9) The seeds of decay that lie concealed in the Muslim conception of 'religion and worldly empire as one' yield their fatal fruit in the tragic fact that today Islam has been one of the chief defenders of slavery. We are often told by those Muslim propagandists who wink at the facts of history that Muslims are the great equalizers and democratizers, and that Islam offers the ideal brotherhood of men. How comes it to pass, then, that Muslim lands have been the chief supporters of the slave traffic today and that in Muslim sacred cities like Mecca and Jedda even in recent times slaves have been sold in the open market? On July 31st 1934 there was a midnight service in London to celebrate the night much to be remembered when the peal of bells rang out from a London Church steeple to commemorate the liberation of all slaves in the British Colonies on July 31, 1834, an example followed by other nations under Christian influence. But there were still six million people held as slaves, and Muslim slave masters provided the hardest problem of all. In connection with those centenary celebrations, Lady Simon sent a notable letter to the London *Times*

which *The British Weekly* commented on as follows: 'Why do the Islamic countries lag behind the rest of the world in their toleration of slavery? We have heard of modernising movements and even of spiritual advance among the Muslims of Egypt and Arabia. It is sad to read that 5,000 men, women and children are annually shipped across the Red Sea to be sold into servitude. Slave markets flourish in Arabia, and one of these is at Mecca. Human beings are bought and sold like cattle. Sir Richard Burton tells of an Arabian legend which attributes the rustling of the black coverings of the Kaaba to the waving of angels' wings. Things are happening near the shrine which would make angels weep. When will some good and learned Mullah preach an anti-slavery campaign throughout the East?'

Christian Influence a Continuing Dynamic

(10) Happily in the world-wide setting of Dr Latourette's *History Of The Expansion Of Christianity* we get a much more encouraging picture. In the last of his seven volumes, entitled *Advance Through Storm* Dr Latourette was able to write as recently as two years ago: 'Eventually Muslim culture became stagnant while the culture of which Christianity was so prominent a part displayed a continuing dynamic. After a few centuries nothing new came out of the one, while from the other fresh creations of the mind and spirit poured in ever increasing abundance. The essential difference seems to be that in the one Islam was the dominant religious factor and in the other Christianity' (p. 471). 'If the differences here outlined between Christianity and Islam are valid, the question inevitably emerges: What feature or features absent in the one and present in the other are responsible for them? Facile generalization is dangerous. May one venture to suggest that the major contrast is in the fact that Islam postulates a vast gulf between God and man which is spanned, on the divine initiative, by revelation through prophets, of whom Jesus was one but Mohammed was the greatest: whereas Christianity, also recognizing the gulf, declares it to have been bridged, partly by prophets but also and chiefly by the incarnation? The Koran denies that God can have a son, Christians have insisted that in Christ God became man that man might become like God (p. 472). 'The two were at opposite poles in the method and the goal of that revelation. To the Muslim, revelation did not lift man to God (although Sufis, influenced by Christianity and Hinduism, sought that experience). To the Christian, God had redeemed man through His incarnation in Christ, the Cross, the Resurrection, and the giving of His Spirit. Through that redemption it was possible for man, if he availed himself of God's free gift, to be born anew and to begin an endless life in which the divine likeness would be progressively perfected. The enhancement of personality and the infinite dignity accorded man by the Christian faith go far to account for the creative vigour in a civilization which had that faith as a prominent constituent' (p. 472).

Islam's Lack of Spiritual Power

(11) How great an opportunity in present-day Islam awaits a truly dynamic Church of Christ in India has been shown by another scholar who has greatly helped the Indian Church by his books, among them perhaps the chief being *The People of The Mosque*. On his page 269 Prof. Bevan Jones states: 'The most serious defect in the body of Islam is the absence of a channel for the inflow of re-generating power for men enslaved by sin, and what is worse the lack of the sense of the need for it. There is in Islam no sense of the glorious redemptive purpose at the heart of God, no idea of God yearning to save men from the thralldom of sin, no idea of His purpose to make man "a new creature" by the power of His Holy Spirit.' For the Marathi version of this last statement see our 1939 Marathi book, *The Call Of Jesus Christ To Our Muslim Brethren* (pp. 41-42). Now that India and its four hundred millions of people are under the joint rule of Hindus and Muslims, the challenge to India's Christian Church is stronger than ever to share with both Muslims and Hindus those enriching blessings of forgiveness and deliverance from the power of sin which is the message the Spirit of Christ calls upon every one of us to give by lip and life. How we shall best apply to the Muslims of India this message of the Love and the Power of God, Dr Zwemer, the apostle of Christ to Muslims, has shown in his latest book published a few months ago entitled *Heirs of The Prophets*, on page 7 of which Dr Zwemer shows us that one part of the genius of winning souls is the genius for friendship: 'My conviction after forty years in Arabia and Egypt, including visits to North Africa, India, China, Iran, and Java is that the key to the understanding of the masses lies in personal friendship with their clergy, the so-called imams, mullahs and sheikhs.'

CHAPTER XX

IS THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH OVERLOOKING
THE PARSEES?

A. Brief Survey of Forgotten Facts

1. If the 1941 Indian Census figures show that the Church of Christ is most inadequately fulfilling its evangelistic duty towards those Muslims who make up one out of every four of India's population, a study of the same Census from the standpoint of our duty to the Parsees shows that the Christian Church is carrying out its programme almost as if the 114,890 Indian Parsees did not exist, though they have increased by nearly 15,000 since the Census of 1911. The figures also make clear that the Christian Movement in Western India bears a special responsibility, for the greater part of the Parsee race, 86,270, of them live in Bombay Presidency, 59,813 in Bombay City itself.

2. Another fact that should emphasize the reality of Christian responsibility for the Parsees is the conclusion of Christian scholars that the Parsee race includes among its ancestors the 'wise men' mentioned in St Matthew's second chapter. 'The Greek word *magoi*, plural of *magos*, took its derivation from the old Persian *magus*, so there is some justification for Dr Moffatt's rendering 'magicians.' Occasional contacts for nearly 39 years have brought home to the present writer the fact that if the Parsee race is one of the smallest, it is at the same time one of the most fascinating, races in the India of today; and their astonishing generosity to all kinds of good work has often reminded us of the 'gifts of gold' which their ancient ancestors offered to the Infant Jesus. Their nobility of spirit shines forth in incidents of great beauty one of which we saw a few days before writing these lines. A missionary who had worn himself out for India's neediest, his only relatives being thousands of miles away, had just been placed in his coffin; and just as this was being sealed, a Parsee lady came and placed in the lifeless hands a beautiful rose. Some readers might ask, What good did that do? None to the missionary who had passed away, but it brought untellable inspiration to two missionaries who saw the incident. Yes, this highly cultured race is still offering its varied 'gifts' to Him Who best knows how to appraise them.

3. The salient facts about the Parsees and their faith are admirably summarized in Dr Hastings' *Encyclopedia Of Religion And Ethics* in the articles under such terms as *Parsees*, *Zoroastrianism*, *Avesta*, *Dualism* (Iranian), *Ages Of The World* (Zoroastrian), and especially the article on *Jesus Christ And Zoroastrianism*. On the religious position of the Parsees of today the reader should consult the late Dr James Hope Moulton's *Treasure Of The Magi* in 'The Religious Quest Of

India' series, and thirty pages (pp. 235-266) in Dr Macnicol's enriching *Living Religions Of India*.

4. Missionaries who have laboured among the Parsees have been a small and chosen band, one of the noblest being Miss Mary Dobson who passed away on August 22, 1923 after 23 consecrated years in the Missionary Settlement For University Women in Bombay. Miss Dobson's explanation of the Parsee hesitancy to accept Christ on the one hand and on the other hand of their persecution of Christian converts was that the active spiritual desire of Parsees had been 'diverted into Theosophy.' If the number of Parsee converts to Christ have been few, their spiritual quality has been of the highest order; e.g., only to mention here Miss Susie Sorabji the Poona educationist, and Miss Gulbai Vakil who astounded the Parsees of Bombay by publishing her letter to the Parsee High Priest when she was baptized on October 5, 1913.

5. One of the most valuable contributions made by Miss Una Saunders' biography of Miss Dobson was the light it threw on the personal self-discipline experienced by one who for over two decades gave herself to self-forgetting labours among the Parsees. Miss Dobson learned for herself and exemplified to others the truth emphasized in his later years by the late Dr William Temple that it is no light matter to receive the fulness and guidance of the Holy Spirit: 'We cannot call upon the "Creator Spirit by Whose aid the world's foundations first were laid" in order to use omnipotence for the supply of our futile pleasures or the success of our futile plans. If we invoke Him, we must be ready for the glorious pain of being caught by His power out of our petty orbit into the eternal purposes of the Almighty.' How completely this profound and dynamic principle dominated Mary Dobson's life is shown by Miss Saunders' beautiful biography which makes clear how the Bombay missionary in her last four years of suffering 'interpreted to herself God's guidance through a poem, the last line of which became a refrain in all her letters:'

'O Way, dim seen, that I must tread,
O Cross beside, O Star before!
The voices of the holy dead
Speak to us as they spoke of yore:
"Lo! this is what we sought afar,
The End to which all questings are—
The Way, the Cross and then the Star!"'

B. A New Year Message to Parsees

A Parsee Festival

(1) On September 13, 1928, we had the unusual but gratifying experience of receiving a pressing invitation to attend a large annual gathering of the Parsee community of Bombay City in Sir Cowasji Jehangir Hall, the largest Hall in the City, for the purpose of giving

a Christian address on the Parsee's threefold creed, 'Good thoughts, good words, good deeds.' There were some four or five hundred Parsees present representing every part of this remarkable community. The meeting was organized by the enterprising 'Rathestar Mandal' on the occasion of the annual festival called the 'Khordad Sal,' the sixth and final day of the Parsee New Year celebrations in honour of the birth of Zurthust or Zoroaster, the Prophet of the Parsee people. The invitation itself was clear evidence of open minds ready to receive new truth. We give in the following paragraphs our address practically as it was delivered.

Parsee Friendship to Christian People

(2) I regard it as a very great honour and privilege to be invited to speak in a Parsee gathering such as this. As I stand before you I feel a most unworthy representative of the Cross and still more unworthy of representing the Saviour Who died on that Cross. There was a great friend of yours who was a great friend of mine. I refer to that great Christian scholar the late Dr James Hope Moulton. He was one of the most brilliant ministers of the same section of the Christian Church to which I belong and came out to India in the autumn of 1915, with his heart sore from a great bereavement, to plunge into the self-forgetting task of investigating, understanding and interpreting the Zoroastrian Faith by living for a few months among the Zoroastrians of this city. In our Bombay climate he wrote his wonderful book, *The Treasure Of The Magi*, which has interpreted the Parsee faith and people to many in the West as no other book has done. Of that book he prepared three copies most Providentially, one being posted before he started on his fateful journey back to England, one being left behind in case anything happened, the third going down with him when he was torpedoed in Passion Week, 1917, in the Gulf of Lyons. Every time I think of that book I think of it as a costly offering on the altar of consecrated Christian scholarship, for the help of the Parsee race. And I want to take this opportunity of thanking you that it was mostly in your beautiful, happy homes that my great friend and yours enjoyed most of the home-life he had on earth during the last eighteen months of his life.

Parsee Generosity

(3) I want also to take this opportunity of expressing deep gratitude to you generous Parsee friends, on behalf of very many in our Christian community, grateful missionaries and Indian Christian leaders, for your noble Parsee benefactions. Christian hospitals and other Christian institutions all over Western India bear upon them honoured names of your community, for you have given to every needy cause, and given lavishly, without any distinction of race or religion, of caste or creed. And not only have you given generously of your possessions, but also of your wisdom, sanity and foresight in India's

public life, and many have been the glimpses given me into India's political history of the past fifty years during talks with that noble veteran and friend of every good cause, Sir Hormasji Wadia.

India's Tolerance and Her Need for More of It

(4) You have most generously invited me, a Christian missionary, to come and give you a Christian interpretation and application of your threefold creed, 'Good thoughts, good words, good deeds.' The first application I would make of this beautiful creed is in its bearing upon the national situation in India at this hour of India's destiny. I am always deeply moved when I think of the romantic story of your Parsee Pilgrim Fathers, those ancestors of your race who felt they had to exile themselves in the seventh century in order to escape compulsory conversion (by Muslims). My dear friends, that historic event in your past is a reminder of what India expects from you today, for it was India that offered you a home when you were exiles just as it offers me a missionary sphere of service. That means you and I are called to help India with all the powers at our disposal. Especially in these days of communal strife and intolerance on many matters have you a great work to do, if only in gratitude for the tolerance that gave you shelter thirteen centuries past. For your Parsee race owes to religious tolerance the very beginnings of its relation to India, and therefore it is for you with all your wonderful talents and influence to do everything you can to breathe into the heart of Indian Society that same spirit of tolerance that gave you shelter, the spirit that enables you to listen to another message from such a one as myself, a tolerance that can see good in faiths other than your own. This spirit of tolerance, which India so deeply needs today in her politics and religion, will help to spread your own threefold principle of 'good thoughts, good words, good deeds,' in an atmosphere where I often find myself almost longing that I did not possess a white skin so that I might be able to speak out more plainly in condemnation of some things I feel to be hindering India's life and to condemn them without the danger of being misunderstood. You then as a Parsee race can do a great service for India by helping to spread and deepen that tolerance to which both you and I owe our presence in India.

Sharing the Blessings Jesus Gives

(5) As I think of your noble Pilgrim Fathers, and admire your marvellous Parsee generosity to so many needy causes, and contemplate the richness and variety of the service you can render to India, I long to claim all these things for Jesus Christ by sharing with you the blessings I have received from Him. I can never forget what one of the most distinguished ladies of your own Parsee community, who had lost her only daughter, said to a missionary friend of mine not long ago: 'Can't you tell me *something* that will comfort me?' My dear friends,

the message of comfort I bring to you from my own personal experience is that Jesus Christ is an ever-living present Friend Who dwells within us as our Saviour from sin, as our Companion in sorrow, and Our Inspirer in service ; that He has atoned on His Cross for my sin by suffering in my room and stead, and that He is now living daily in my heart by the presence and power of His Spirit. How Jesus Christ does this for all who love Him, thereby solving the ever-recurring problem of *how* to think 'good thoughts,' *how* to speak 'good words,' *how* to do 'good deeds,' was illustrated recently in the Chinese upheaval. Two or three hundred Bolshevik troops had broken into a Christian school and had gone up to a Chinese Christian lady, very slight and apparently absolutely helpless. Putting a bayonet against her breast, they threatened to pierce her. 'Wait a bit,' she said, and then gathered all the girls together ; and while these men were standing round she raised her hands and said, 'Let us pray.' Having prayed she said, 'Now girls, line up two by two and march out of this building singing "Onward Christian soldiers." The girls did it while the men stood dumbfounded. Then she said to the Bolshevik leader quietly, 'Confucius could never have helped us to do that.' Concerning the help and comfort Christ gives in sorrow, I can never forget the touching story I heard from Dr James Hope Moulton as we sat out in the gloamings of a hot Bombay night. He told us how, just before he had received in Bombay the cable announcing the death of his son in the war of 1914-18 his heart already broken by the loss of his wife a year before, he felt he had been prepared for this sad cable message from the front by learning of the simple prayer offered by a missionary child of seven or eight years old. This child was staying in the home of relatives in Ireland when the news came from France that her Uncle Hamilton a doctor, had been killed. At prayers that night, no one having instructed her what to say, the dear little thing who had every night in her prayer put in a petition, 'And Jesus, bless Uncle Hamilton,' now of her own accord altered the petition to the words, 'And Jesus, give my love to Uncle Hamilton.' Dr Moulton added in broken voice as he told the story, 'That is the last word on the subject.' It is the 'last word' just because those who have gone from us are still *one with us in Christ Jesus*. Those who love Christ never say 'Good-Bye' for the last time.

The Sacred Fire that India Needs

(6) When those Eastern Pilgrim Fathers of your own Parsee race fled to India in exile they brought with them to India the Sacred Fire first lighted by Zurtusht as the symbol of the religion of your race. My dear friends, there is nothing India so greatly needs as it needs fire, that fire which is a symbol of a living religion and of the inspiration that Christ by His Holy Spirit gives to all who seek to walk in His footsteps. Your sacred symbol of fire reminds me of one of our Christian hymns which embodies one of our holiest prayers, our prayer for

holy fire, the fire of the Holy Spirit. It is by Charles Wesley as follows:—

'O Thou who camest from above
The pure celestial fire to impart,
Kindle a flame of sacred love
On the mean altar of my heart.

There let it for Thy glory burn
With inextinguishable blaze ;
And trembling to its source return
In humble prayer and fervent praise.

Jesus, confirm my heart's desire
To work and speak and think for Thee ;
Still let me guard the holy fire
And still stir up Thy gift in me.'

So, you see, just as the main concern of your religion is about your sacred fire and how to guard it, so is it with me :

'Still let me guard the holy fire,
And still stir up Thy gift in me.'

The gift is the love of God in His only Son, and assured to our own inmost spirit by the Spirit of God dwelling on the altar of the heart. And this gift of God's love by God's own loving Son being imparted to the penitent and trustful heart by means of God's own Spirit is what inspires us 'to work and speak and think for Thee.' There, you see, is the enabling secret of *how* to think the 'good thoughts', and *how* to speak the 'good words', and *how to go on repeating* the 'good deeds'. Speaking to the students of the Royal Academy Sir Frederick Leighton once said, 'Whatever fire is in our hearts will burn also in our work ; whatever purity is ours will ennoble and exalt it ; for as we are, so will our work be.' And as one of the poets has expressed it :

'This his test for every thought :
Will it lift him nearer to God or not—'

nearer to 'those shining tablelands of which God Himself is Moon and Sun.' And it is this holy fire on the altar of the heart that will inspire the true service that India needs and will ensure a continuance of your abounding generosity all down the generations of the Parsee future. As was said of Wellington, 'That man would serve his country with a pick-axe and a spade if he could serve it no other way'. The spirit of service which is India's need will be ensured by the holy fire within us that Jesus Christ kindles.

A New Year's New Beginning

(7) If the purity of your sacred fire needs to be preserved from all possible alloy by means of that remarkable number of ninety-one purifying processes, of seven times thirteen, no less do we need to learn

that the fire on the altar of our hearts can only be preserved pure and holy by the work of the Spirit of God Himself dwelling within us. And such an experience will be sufficient for all experiences.

A tender child of summers three
Seeking her little bed at night
Paused on the dark stair timidly ;
'Oh, mother, take my hand,' said she,
'And then the dark will all be light.'

We older children grope our way
From dark behind to dark before,
And only when our hands we lay,
Dear Lord, in Thine, the night is day,
And there is darkness nevermore.

In this closing gathering of your Parsee New Year's Festival, shall we not one and all make new resolves, seeking the forgiveness that comes from God the Father through God's loving Son, assured to our hearts by God's Holy Spirit ?

He came to my desk with a quivering lip,
The lesson was done—
'Dear Teacher, I want a new leaf,' he said,
'I have spoiled this one.'
In place of the leaf so stained and blotted,
I gave him a new one all unspotted,
And into his sad eyes smiled—
'Do better now, my child.'

I went to the throne with a quivering soul,
The old year was done—
'Dear Father, hast Thou a new leaf for me ?
I have spoiled this one.'
He took the old leaf, stained and blotted,
And gave me a new one all unspotted,
And into my sad heart smiled—
'Do better now, My child.'

CHAPTER XXI

THE SECRET OF CHRISTIAN UNITY AND VARIETY

Indian Christianity : Free Church, Anglican, Romanist

(1) Our brief review of the hindrances to the work of Christ in India has shown the overpowering urgency of the widest possible realization of spiritual oneness in the Christian forces at work among India's people. Should any Hindu or Muslim reader raise the objection that they do not know which Christian Church to choose, the Free Church, the Anglican, or the Romanist, let Hindus remember that there are also various types of Hinduism, to mention two of which will suffice, viz. the Shaivite springing from the worship of Shiva, and the Vaishnavite springing from the worship of Vishnu and his incarnations such as Krishna, Vithoba, etc. Yet who would venture to say that the term 'Hindu' cannot possibly apply to *both* of these, the Shaivite and the Vaishnavite, equally ? And let Muslims recall that there are two schools in Islam, viz. the Sunnis and the Shias, not to forget the third notable section, the Sufi (or mystical)* type, to which we in Western India owe our beloved Bishop Subhan. Just as all Shaivites and Vaishnavites are recorded as Hindus in India's Decennial Census of the population, and just as all Sunnis, Shias and Sufis are reported as Muslims, so also are all Free Churchmen, Anglicans and Roman Catholics reported as Christians. For, despite the unfortunate distinctions between Romanists and other Christians, it is common ground that on the fundamental truths of the New Testament, viz. the Sinfulness of Man, the Cross and the Saving Work of Christ, the Power of the Holy Spirit, and the Supreme Duty of every follower of Christ to witness for Him—on all these basic truths all Christians are in agreement. So true is this that in listening to a sermon over the radio it is sometimes difficult to decide whether the preacher is a Free Churchman, an Anglican or a Romanist. No impartial hearer can fail to be impressed by the similar emphasis on the dynamic truths just mentioned, whoever be the preacher, as also by the pre-eminent place given to the Christian dynamic in the work of Indian social reform by speakers from any section of India's Christian Church. India's eight million Christians are believed to be fairly equally divided between the Romanist and the non-Romanist Churches, and the real 'fruit of the Spirit' (Galatians 5. 22) has blest the work of all three sections in recent decades.

Heart Experience the Basis of Unity amid Variety

(2) In all those Churches where the problem of Christian Unity has been solved—and there are thousands of such Churches all over

* On the Sufis, see under this word in the ERE., vol. 12, pp. 10-17.

the world—the secret of unity is found to be in the heart-experience of Christ set forth in the New Testament. Except on this basis of personal faith in Christ as Saviour and Lord, it is a waste of time and effort to work for either Christian Unity (by which we mean oneness of heart whether in local Churches or between groups of Churches), or for any form of Church Union (by which we mean various schemes of union between different organizations). That was the only basis upon which St Paul by the help of God's Spirit built the miraculous union between Jew and Gentile. 'Ye are all one in Christ Jesus' (Galatians 3.28) was his astonishing description of Jews and Gentiles; and equally important is his other description: 'God has sent forth the Spirit of His Son into your Hearts' (Gal. 4.6). 'You are all sons of God by your faith in Christ Jesus' (Gal. 3.25). Here then is the New Testament secret of unity: You are united because you are all redeemed by the same Saviour, because you are all inspired by the same Spirit and because simple faith in Christ makes you all sons of God.

You who were previously enemies are united to one another because you are living in heart-union with the same Saviour, and because you are filled with the Indwelling Spirit of the same Lord. That was the apostolic basis of Church Unity, and it is the basis of true Church Unity in thousands of Churches all over the world, hence the unique influence today of the Church Universal; and wherever we fail in Church Union efforts, the failure is probably to be traced to wrong aims, wrong emphasis or wrong methods.

Apostolic Unity

(3) This evangelical and dynamical conception is developed to the full by that apostle of Unity, St Paul, in his circular letter to a group of Churches, the Epistle to the Ephesians. It is the present writer's growing conviction that if the Churches of Christendom would concentrate in united prayerful study of this Pauline letter, the problem of Church Union would come to be viewed in its right proportions, assuming of course that Christendom resolved to act according to the new light obtained. This means that Christendom would resolve, by divine help, to concentrate on the threefold secret of Unity, viz. that we owe our spiritual life to the One Redeemer, to the one union with Christ, and to the one Indwelling Spirit of God. Two notable expositions of Unity as the chief theme of the Ephesian letter have been given to Christendom by two very different types of scholars the late Bishop Charles Gore in his book, *Ephesians*, and the late Dr G. G. Findlay on this epistle in *The Expositor's Bible* series. Dr Gore expounds this Pauline letter as 'Paul's Gospel of the World-Wide Church', the future society for all mankind. The Church is meant to be so because Christ is 'the Only and Universal Mediator', for 'in Christ all things hold together' (Colossians 1.17); 'cohere' says Moffat; 'in and through Christ the universe is a harmonious whole' says Weymouth; 'in Him are all things knit into one whole' says

A. S. Way; 'in Him all things have their unity as a system' says Dr Gore, because 'sovereignty belongs to Christ in the spiritual kingdom of redemption'. Therefore the redemption effected by Him is universal in range and extends equally and impartially to all; hence Paul's message of the world-wide Church, the brotherhood of all men in Christ. Hence also Paul's metaphors, showing that all Christians are citizens in the one Commonwealth of consecrated people belonging to one family, and built into one sanctuary (Eph. 2. 19-20); a divine commonwealth, a divine family, a divine sanctuary; these three metaphors suggest the combination and consecration of organic and individual differences in the real unity of a redeemed humanity (Gore, 118). The 'mystery' or 'divine secret' disclosed to and through Christ's messengers is that this means 'the brotherhood of all men in Christ' (Gore 126-8). This true brotherhood springs from a definite relation to 'one God and Father' Who is 'the Father of every family on earth' (Eph. 3.15), as it is also a brotherhood whose inner springs flow from the 'indwelling Spirit' of Christ (3.16). This brotherhood is made up of Indians and Japanese and Africans and Chinamen, all bringing their national gifts and characteristics into the one City of God, hence the missionary obligation of the brotherhood in, and to, every land. No wonder Dr Gore prayed: 'Come then, O breath of the Divine Spirit, and breathe upon these bones of the Christian Church that they may live,' and upon 'the Christian Churches that forget they are evangelists of the nations, welding naturally antagonistic elements into one world-wide fellowship' because 'they actually share one common supernatural life, the imparted life of the Holy Spirit' (Gore, 137-143). And 'all members of local Churches, better and worse, are regarded as members of the Universal Church' as Dr F. J. A. Hort emphasizes in his epoch-making book, *The Christian Ecclesia* (p. 169).

Variety in the New Testament

(4) This all-inclusiveness of the Universal Church of Christ, which is sometimes in danger of being overlooked today in our efforts after organic union, has been emphasized in a scholarly volume published two or three years ago by Dr Ernest F. Scott entitled *The Varieties of New Testament Religion* (Scribners, New York, two dollars and three quarters). Paul's word in 2 Cor. 3-17, 'Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty' (or 'freedom is enjoyed', as Weymouth renders it), means that one aspect of spiritual liberty is seen in spiritual variety. It is always right to stress the unanimity of the New Testament teaching, but it is just as important to remember its variety, if we are rightly to apprehend the riches of Christ. The varieties seen in the New Testament presentation of Christ help to make it the universal Book it is, thus ministering to all varieties of mind. And this has its all-important lesson on the union of the Churches. Variety 'is involved in the very nature of religion,' says Dr E. F. Scott. For

the aim of the Church is to make personalities. . . . It is true that the Church unites men, but it also aims at preserving and encouraging the variety of their gifts and genius. The result is seen in the fact that in the New Testament itself apostolic varieties of presentation are 'tolerated without bitterness'; hence the wonderful richness in the variety of emphasis seen in Paul, James, John and Peter and the different emphases they give to the richness of Christ, not contradictory but mutually supplementary to one another; and so we today inherit 'the many-sided richness of the mind of Christ'. So that while mourning 'our unhappy divisions' whenever there is un-Christlike attitude, we should yet rejoice in, and encourage in every way possible, happy variety within the One Universal Church of Christ. Above all we must remember: 'The Spirit leads to all truth, and in every age' and every land the Spirit of Truth 'leads by a new road'. As the final Apocalypse of the New Testament reminds us, there are 'twelve gates into the city' where the Only Lord, the One Sacrificial Lamb, is enthroned for ever. How this spiritual unity in variety is achieved is set forth by Dr G.G. Findlay who has been described as the writer of 'a perfect commentary'. The richly variegated 'Commonwealth of Christ' is set forth in Dr Findlay's three chapters expounding Ephesians 2.11-22 under the titles 'The Far and Near, the Double Reconciliation, God's Temple in Humanity'. Paul's keywords in those three crucial sections are: 'Within Christ Jesus, you who once were far away have been brought near by the blood of Christ' (2.13). The *first* secret of Unity, then, is that we are all sinners redeemed at the Cross; and 'it is through Him (Christ) that Jews and Gentiles alike have access through one Spirit to the Father' (2.18, Weymouth). The *second* secret is that all mutual antipathies are being overcome by the 'one (sanctifying) Spirit'. Thus 'by union with Christ, you (Gentiles) as well as we (Jews) are being together built up, to form a habitation where God will dwell by the presence of His Spirit' (2.22 A. S. Way). The *third* secret means that within 'God's Temple In Humanity' varieties of gifts, of race, and of viewpoints are consecrated and united into one grand 'Commonwealth of Christ' by His Indwelling Spirit. As a Dean of Llandaff, quoted by Bishop H. C. G. Moule, once said: 'Where that Spirit is, *there* is the Body of Christ, and *only there*'. It is thus by the Church, wherever it be and however small or great its numbers, becoming the Home of the Spirit of Christ on earth, that Paul's ideal for the Church becomes actual, that is by individual Church members being inwardly united with their Risen Lord, by the spirit and practice of a real brotherhood among all Church members, and by every Church member recognizing and fulfilling his mission to the world (*Great Texts of the Bible* pp. 13-16 on Eph. 1.22-3). Such is the miracle Paul sets forth as actually accomplished among those who once were Christless, hopeless, godless. For the blood of Christ has bridged the gaping chasm between the sinful man and Holy God. Greek and Jew, Indian, Chinaman, Japanese, African, Russian, German, French, American

and British, have 'found themselves weeping together at the foot of the Cross, sharing one forgiveness, and baptized into one Spirit' (Findlay, p. 130). Because 'Christ is our peace' (Eph. 2.14), therefore 'He brings about a universal pacification,' creating '*in Himself* one incorporate humanity, neither Jew nor Gentile, Englishman nor Hindu, priest nor layman, male nor female; but simply *man*, and *Christian*.' They are 'reconciled to God in one Body through the Cross' (2.16). This means for today that 'in the Churches a new federal catholicity' is to take shape 'that must displace the false catholicism of external uniformity' (135). That 'Christ is our peace' (2.14) means also that 'if He is in our hearts, we must needs be sons of peace. "Behold the secret of all true union! It is not by others coming to us, nor by our going over to them; but it is by both them and ourselves coming to Christ that peace is made (Monod)"' (138). When St Paul tells us that we are to 'form a habitation for God in the Spirit' (2.22) he means, says Dr Findlay, that 'the Holy Spirit is the supreme Builder of the Church, as He is the supreme Witness to Jesus Christ (John 15.26-7). The words *in the Spirit*, closing the verse with solemn emphasis, denote the agency engaged in building this new house of God. With "one chief corner-stone" to rest upon, and one Spirit to inspire and control, we are all to work together, inspired by the indwelling Spirit of Christ in the task of 'building a habitation for God' among all the races of the world, the one Universal Church with all varieties of race, of talent, of organization, contributing to the beauty of the slowly rising spiritual edifice.

When will Roman Catholics and Protestants Unite in India?

(5) On political questions the answer is that the wonder has already taken place. This therefore is our first answer to those of our readers who may be tempted to think that the present writer is in danger of being certified for lunacy when he affirms his belief that it is our duty to Jesus Christ as well as to India no longer to evade the problem of Indian Romanists and Indian Evangelicals cooperating and uniting in spiritual fellowship. The second answer is that an equally 'impossible' thing happened when St Peter at Caesarea and St Paul at almost every stage of his amazing career were the agents of God in ministering the message of God's Son to both Jews and Gentiles. The explanatory factor is that both these men accomplished the miracle under the guidance and by the power of God's Holy Spirit. The proof of this in St Peter's case is supplied by Acts x. 19 and xi. 12 where we read 'the Spirit told me'; in St Paul's case a sample proof is found in Romans xv. 16 where the apostle's 'aim is to make the Gentiles an acceptable offering consecrated by the Holy Spirit', and in verse 18 where we find St Paul 'securing the obedience of the Gentiles . . . by the power of the Spirit of God.' In each of these four passages the Initiator is the Holy Spirit and the apostle is the obedient and therefore the effective agent. St Peter was not

without critics concerning the revolutionary step he took in admitting a Roman (therefore non-Jew) into the Church, thus far the spiritual home of Jews only; and St Peter's answer to his critics who 'fell foul of him' (Moffatt's phrase in Acts xi. 2) for such an action was that when the spiritual revolution was initiated 'I was praying' (Acts xi. 5). Similarly when Paul wants to 'escape unhurt from those in Judaea who are disobedient' to God's plans for the Gentiles he 'entreats' his 'brethren by the love which God's Spirit inspires, to help me by wrestling in prayer to God on my behalf' (Romans xv. 30). We emphasize the Spirit-inspired guidance of the apostles and the Spirit-inspired cooperation of their fellow-workers because it is our deep conviction that the Indian Christian problem of Romanist and Protestant cooperating and uniting in India is in the last analysis a spiritual problem. This conviction is deepened and confirmed when we place side by side the entrancing stories of heart-conversion to Christ in India, for it is insufficiently realized in India that the literature of both the Roman and the Reformed Churches in India has been greatly enriched by books which for sheer interest compete with any type of fiction, books that bring home to the unprejudiced reader the fact that heart-conversion in both types of Churches has been conversion to Christ as the only Saviour of both alike. Of course there is a theological aspect of this whole question which no true friend of Indian Christianity will wish to evade, and on this we have something to say.

Cooperation Between Roman Catholics and Other Churches

(6) The Indian Christian Church may well strengthen its cooperation on political questions and in other directions by developing an Indian movement parallel to a union of two movements in Britain, one called 'the Sword of the Spirit', a movement of Roman Catholic laymen which came into existence in 1940 to work by prayer, study and action on Britain's social and public questions; and another movement called 'the Religion and Life Movement' formed by the other Churches of Britain. A Joint Statement on Cooperation dated May 28, 1942 urged Cooperation between all Christians in applying Christian principles to national and international questions, and a Joint Committee on Cooperation was formed consisting of 18 members drawn from the Roman Catholic Church, the Anglican Church and the Free Churches. The germ of such a movement already exists in India. Twenty years ago it was our privilege to sit on a Joint Committee (as representing the Bombay Representative Christian Council) along with representatives of Roman Catholics, of Hindus and representatives of other religions. This Joint Committee was called the Vigilance Association, its programme being to work for a purer Bombay and a purer India. One task committed to a reformed Hindu and ourselves was to bring in a report with suggestions how to deal with the problems of immorality arising from the *devadasis* or temple-women in Bombay City and Presidency. In recent years the

same Joint Committee has done notable work concerning obscene literature and other evils. The Roman Catholic Bishops' 1946 Conference at Bangalore expressed encouragement of the ideals and methods of the 'Catholic Social Action Section' in all its efforts to apply Christian social teaching to India; and in this field there are unlimited possibilities of united action with other Indian Churches.

Political Cooperation Between all Indian Christians

(7) It is worth while to linger a little over the *political* aspect of this vital matter of cooperation between all three main sections of Indian Christians. For if the baffling problem of political cooperation in its initial stages is yielding to treatment, even in the vortex of contemporary Indian politics, why should Indian Christian leaders or their missionaries acquiesce in a spirit of hopelessness concerning the still greater responsibility of extending and intensifying such cooperative action so as to cover *all* India's political problems, and even to apply them to spiritual matters? The present writer feels indeed, that if the ground already won is to be retained, the existing cooperation will need to be made more far-reaching and dynamical. This conviction is forced upon us by the simple fact reported by all those Indian Christian leaders who are in intimate touch with India's national leaders in the Interim Government, the Constituent Assembly and the Muslim League. All these latter are persistently saying that they do not know exactly with whom to deal as representing the Indian Church in order to get real solutions of Indian Christian political problems, or precisely with which Christian Church to cooperate in order to ensure the political cooperation of the entire body of Indian Christians. A most unusual challenge is therefore presenting itself to all the leaders of the contemporary Indian Churches to bridge, and bridge adequately and permanently, the long existing gulf between the different groups of Christians in India. For ourselves we are optimistic that the leaders of contemporary Indian Christianity will rise to the full height of the opportunity of this great hour in India's history. The grounds for our optimism are found in three decades of close observation of the Indian Christian scene. One need mention only such facts as the increasingly successful initiative shown in developing the system of National and Provincial Christian Councils covering the whole of India, the growing part taken by Indian Christians in the village, civic and national life of their country, the actual achievements of such Indian Christian stalwarts as N. V. Tilak, K. T. Paul, S. K. Datta, Pundita Ramabai, and last but by no means least Sadhu Sundar Singh, to mention only those who have 'won their crown'. These and many other facts blow to atoms the theory once expressed by a sincere Jesuit missionary that 'the whole of modern mission work in India has gone to pieces on the rocks of rigid Europeanism' (quote by Prof. F. Heiler in *The Gospel Of Sadhu Sundar Singh*, p. 230). Happily such pessimistic theories are finding their proper place among

the curiosities of history because India's Christianization is taking place so manifestly under the influence of India's own sons and daughters. Perhaps these facts are meant to show us that missionaries may have been more concerned with 'forming a synthesis of Indian and Christian thought' (to use the phrase of Principal A. C. Underwood, formerly of Serampore, in his volume, *Contemporary Thought of India*, p. 214), than with the equally necessary synthesis of the differing types of Indian Christianity. If this should subsequently be seen to have been the Providentially assigned task of the present generation of Indian Christians we surely must rejoice. And if below we refer briefly to some of the pitfalls to be guarded against, it is only to help in ensuring that the desired synthesis shall be sufficiently comprehensive and enduring. Who among us, twenty years ago, would have believed it possible, either that the various schools of Indian Christian laymen would be able to discover such methods of united action during 1945 and 1946, or that the Roman Catholic hierarchy would ever sanction such a thing? But both these 'miracles' have happened before the eyes of a wondering world, reproving us all for having underestimated the powers of adaptation of the laymen on both sides and the willingness of the Roman Catholic Bishops. The useful resolutions passed, and other forms of united action taken, by 'the Catholic Union of India' and 'the All-India Conference of Indian Christians', encourage the hope that the spiritual resourcefulness of these two bodies of Indian Christian leaders will ere long prove to be equal to their political ingenuity. We have thus in India a happy parallel to the cooperative movement for social uplift in Britain by Roman and Reformed Christians under the significant title of 'the Sword of the Spirit'. Again the question presses: If Indian Christian laymen of both Roman and Evangelical persuasion have come to realize that their very existence as Christians in India imperatively calls for a cessation of isolated action, surely an equally cogent imperative demands their cooperation and unity in the spiritual realm, if Indian Christians are to succeed in building Jesus Christ and His mighty ethic into the fabric of India's national life. This question presents the biggest challenge that has ever confronted Indian Christians in their corporate capacity. Our own optimism concerning their facing it squarely, arises from such considerations as we have set forth above, from our confidence in their sincerity and fidelity, and from the fact that many of them individually faced bravely and triumphantly a challenge at least comparable when they decided one by one to follow Christ at whatever cost.

The Theological Difficulty

(8) In considering the *theological*, which is a crucial, aspect of this whole question, we summarize below very briefly three discussions that have taken place during the past quarter of a century, viz. one by a Roman Catholic theologian, a second by a Reformed

theologian to whom Roman Catholicism had been his 'spiritual fatherland' but who became a Reformed Church leader, and a third by one of our ablest Free Church theologians. *First*, then, the Roman Catholic point of view. This was ably set forth in 1921 in a notable volume entitled *Essays and Addresses on the Philosophy of Religion* by Baron Friedrich von Hugel, LL. D., D.D. (1852-1925) who was born in Florence, Italy, but who moved to England. Though a Roman Catholic theologian who accepted the Papacy he viewed the Roman Catholic Church as over-centralized and he showed a deep and generous sympathy with all seekers after truth. His position on the question before us has been pithily expressed as follows:—'If it is possible to put into a single sentence the fundamental difference between the Roman and the Reformed Churches, this might be the sentence: 'The Roman Church holds that some Christians are called by God to a higher degree of holiness than other; the Reformed Church believes that all are called alike to the highest possible holiness. In face of that difference all other differences are of small account.' In other words, 'The Roman Church makes what might be called a specialty of saints, and the Reformed Church does not.' Concerning the Roman specialty of saints as seen in the history of the monasteries, the Gospel record of Christ's teaching points out a very different path of duty for Christ's followers, and history has supplied an equally convincing correction. For Baron von Hugel summarizes history by saying: 'With the decay of the Middle Ages, from about A.D. 1300-1450, and then on into the Renaissance and the Protestant Reformation, men grew largely weary of the monastic ideal; and . . . they at last determined to dig up the very roots of all and any monasticism.' Thus, despite some good features and achievements of the monastic ideal, 'that very distinction between a higher and a lower call, which meant so much to Baron von Hugel, was lost sight of' (*E. T.* vol. xxxiii, Jan. 1922, pp. 145-6). In view of the Roman Catholic ideal of sainthood having failed to save the world, let us turn to the other two presentations with more hope for the possibility of spiritual cooperation and unity of all Christians in India.

'Evangelical Catholicism'

(9) Dr Friedrich Heiler, so well known as Professor of the Comparative History of Religion at the University of Marburg, had been brought up as a staunch Romanist. His religious pilgrimage from Rome to the Reformed faith included several halting-places until he reached the haven of what he called 'Evangelical Catholicism'. In response to the earnest suggestions of the Archbishop of Upsala, Dr Soderblom, he set before himself the aim of re-uniting Christendom on the basis of Evangelical Catholicism which combines the excellent feature of Roman Catholic piety and Evangelical convictions. In a summary of Dr Heiler's 1920 position as presented by that master of German, our own Handsworth College Professor, Dr J. G. Tasker

begins by pointing out that the guiding principle of Dr Heiler's 'formidable task in comparing the relative merits and demerits of Protestantism and Romanism' was Harnack's dictum: 'The false method in controversy is the comparison of the good *theory* of one's own Church with the bad *practice* of another. Theory ought to be compared with theory and practice with practice.' While Martin Luther fought and won the battle of personal religion, it still remains true that 'the ideal of a universal evangelical Church has not yet been realized'. And the challenge that comes to the Indian Church is to help in weaving the personal form of Christianity with universal Christianity into one grand synthesis. With such an end in view the ideal of 'Evangelical Catholicism' offers a worthy goal. The purpose of Dr Heiler's fourth lecture on 'Catholic and Evangelical Christianity' as summarized by Dr Tasker is to show that Catholicism and Evangelicalism are different forms of Christianity and that the Roman Curia has no more right to deny that Evangelicals are true Christians than Protestants have to assert that Catholicism is a relapse into heathenism. A hopeful aspect of Dr Heiler's exposition is when he shows that the existence of an evangelical element in Catholicism implies the possibility of its reformation. Many earnest Romanists long for a 'religious Catholicism', which means a Catholicism freed from pagan superstition, from Jewish legalism, and from Romish hierarchism. Owing, however, to the unyielding attitude of the Roman bureaucracy, Heiler thinks it is more likely that the goal of an evangelical Catholicism will be reached by building on an evangelical foundation a new great Church which will embody the ideals of the Petrine Church (the Roman Catholic), of the Pauline Church (the Evangelical), and of the Johannine Church, that is, the ideal Christian Church. In view of Rome's claim to infallibility (referred to below) endangering the possibility of a universal Christian Church, it becomes all the more important to strive for the union of the non-Roman Churches. Such a union would be a living society which, notwithstanding the differences which separate its members one from another, would be conscious of its oneness in Christ its Head... The fundamental difference between the Romish and the Evangelical principle of authority is that, in the former case, it is institutional, and in the latter it is personal. Heiler's case is summed up in the words: 'The Church which is at once Evangelical and Catholic, Christian and universal, the Church whose soul is evangelical and whose body (or organization) is Catholic (or universal) this is the ideal Church' (*E. T.* vol. xxxiii, Jan. 1922, pp. 179-181).

The Obstacle of Papal Infallibility

(10) In 1870 the Vatican Council of the Roman Catholic Church laid down the dogma of the infallibility of the Pope, and Dr Heiler stated in his 1920 book that this claim of infallibility and the consequent insistence on unconditional submission to the Pope make impossible

Rome's ideal of a universal Church. There is deep comfort in the thought that although *Rome's* plan for a universal Church is impossible, this does not mean that *Christ's* plan for a universal Church is impossible. Such an impossibility is ruled out of court by the fact that Christ prayed for such a Church: 'that they may all be one' (John 17. 20-21), for what *He* prayed for can never be impossible. Those who would find their way with unfaltering step through the maze of Papal Infallibility should read and study the massive article of over twenty double-column pages in the 7th volume of Dr Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* (pp. 256-78). Two luminous sentences from that authoritative article must suffice here: 'In the Vatican Council of 1870, and in the Roman Catholic Church outside that imposing assembly, the conflict resolved itself into a bitter opposition between the scholarly, and the administrative, genius of the Church; the former as hostile to the definition of papal infallibility, as the latter was urgent in its favour' (*E. R. E.*, vol. 7, p. 257 (b)). That shows how impossible of acceptance is the doctrine of the infallibility of the Pope. The next sentence shows us what is the only infallibility that finite minds can accept: 'In all that constitutes spiritual influence, the infallibility of Jesus Christ and His Spirit is the common faith of Christendom' (*E. R. E.*, vol. 7, p. 277 (b)).

'The Old Catholic Church'

(11) The sordid methods by which the Papal Decree of Infallibility was arrived at, led, among other things, to the excommunication of great scholars who could not conscientiously accept it, and to the consolidation of a separate ecclesiastical organization called the 'Old Catholics' by those who could not bow the knee. (See *E. B.*, vol. 16, pp. 762-4 and *E. R. E.*, vol. 9, pp. 483-6.) 'The Old Catholic Church' unites two sections of non-papal Catholics which broke off from Rome, one early in the 18th century and the other in 1870. It repudiates Papal Infallibility, the dogma of the Immaculate Conception (see our note below), and the Pope's universal jurisdiction over the Christian Church; its centres of work and worship being found in Germany, Austria, France, Holland, Russia, Switzerland, America and a parish in London. Their main emphases include the principle that such Christian truth as 'has been believed everywhere, always, and by everybody is Catholic', and that the union of all Churches on this basis of the 'universal, unvarying and unanimous' teaching of the Church is opposed to Rome's innovations. On this basis full inter-communion was established in 1932 between the Old Catholic and the Anglican Communions. In view of these facts, and of the fact that Papal Infallibility is a dogma only 77 years old, we may leave the issue of the conflict to the Eternal Spirit, for He is also 'the Spirit of *Truth*'. As recently as 1946 the Christian Church has had an illustration of the harmfulness of Papal Infallibility. A few months ago there was published by a Roman Catholic leader in England, Father Ronald

Knox, a new English translation of the New Testament. All who knew Ronald Knox's previous writings knew his new translation would be of the highest quality as far as English was concerned. But the sad blot on his translation is that the Roman Catholic authorities would not allow Ronald Knox to base his translation on the Greek manuscripts, which are the real authorities concerning the new Testament first written in Greek, but they limited Ronald Knox to a translation of the Vulgate, which gives the Bible in Latin, and was not written until between A.D. 382 and 404 by St Jerome whose life is dated A.D. 340-420. This one instance out of very many that could be given shows how unsafe a guide is the supposedly 'infallible' Church of Rome. What was stated last year by that fine scholar Dr Ernest F. Scott is applicable here. In expounding St Paul's word in 2 Corinthians 3.17, 'Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty,' Dr E. F. Scott says, 'Unless religion can hold its own with the best culture of its time it degenerates sooner or later into a superstition.' The Bombay Romanist weekly *Examiner* very warmly commended Ronald Knox's English translation to the Indian Church. But surely, since the Roman Catholic Church acts like this, and yet claims to be 'infallible' it is not the Church for an ever advancing India.

Note on 'The Immaculate Conception'

(12) On December 8, 1854, the Pope Pius IX declared as a doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church that Mary the Mother of Jesus had herself been born sinless. This Roman Catholic doctrine is rejected by all other parts of the universal Church of Christ. It is rejected (1) because there is no evidence to support this in the New Testament; (2) because the Bible makes clear that except Jesus Christ 'all have sinned'. (Rom. 3.23). The whole subject is examined in the article 'Immaculate Conception' in *The Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 7, pp. 165-7.

Free Church Convictions

(13) The ideal Church for India's variegated millions must be 'evangelical' in its personal dynamic and inspiration, and 'catholic' (that is, universal) in its mission to all lands and peoples and problems. The classic statement of the Free Church case is in a 1934 book of 208 illuminating pages with the striking title *The Evangelical Church Catholic*, published by Hodder & Stoughton, Limited, London. The book contains the 13th series of the Chalmers Lectures, by Dr P. Carnegie Simpson, Professor of Church History in Westminster College, Cambridge, the six lectures having been delivered in the four Scottish Universities at Edinburgh, Glasgow, St Andrews and Aberdeen. His earlier book, *The Fact of Christ*, had already inspired Christian teachers all over the world, and in these Chalmers Lectures Dr Carnegie Simpson established the dynamic principle that Jesus

was not done with history when His thirty years on earth were ended, for the 'Jesus of History' has been proved to be also the Jesus of all the centuries since. To summarize in a few paragraphs 208 pages by such a master of English and on such a theme is well-nigh impossible and we shall do our best by using throughout Dr Carnegie Simpson's own words, urging every minister and every Indian Christian layman to buy and digest this six shilling book for themselves. Dr Simpson points out that the Church was called on to die for Christ before it was called on to define Him, and that one of His later definers was Martin Luther (1483-1546), a man of mountainous magnitudes, who showed that Christ has the power of impressing Himself on men, directly and dynamically, in every century as He did in the first. Ignatius, despite his stress on outward organization, in his Letters (A.D. 110-117) had set forth the principle, 'Wherever Jesus Christ is, there is the Catholic (or Universal) Church,' a truth which the Reformation rediscovered. Such a principle means on the one hand that we unhesitatingly recognize the Society of Friends as within His Church; and on the other hand it means that we do not unchurch Rome, even though Rome unchurches us with its anathemas abundant. That prince among Free Church theologians, the late Principal Denney, also expressed the principle in relation to the Cross when he said, 'I had rather preach with a crucifix in my hand and the feeblest power of moral reflection than have the finest insight into ethical principles and no Son of God Who came by blood.' The principle of Ignatius finds its inspiring source in St Paul's great declaration, 'Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty' (2 Cor. 3. 17). For the basal fact of the Church fellowship created by Christ is not organization but a personal experience of Christ, common to all who love Him. Therefore the essential thing in the Sacraments is not what *we* say or do in them but what God in Christ says or does in them. In the Sacrament of Baptism, the Heavenly Father says, 'This is My child, and the cleansing and saving grace of My Spirit is given to it.' In the Sacrament of the Supper, Christ Himself by His Spirit is giving Himself to the penitent and trusting soul for whom there was offered the sacrifice of Calvary which we remember with adoration and consecration in that sacramental service. There at His Own Table Christ Himself presides by His Unseen Spirit. He is both the Host Who invites us and the Food of which we partake in our hearts by faith. On every such occasion Christ Himself is 'spiritually present' (as is stated in the Westminster Confession of Faith), and by 'spiritually present' is meant that Christ is present by the agency of His Holy Spirit. Hence in a letter to *The Church Times* in 1936 Dr Carnegie Simpson writing on 'Intercommunion' stated: 'The Holy Table is *the Lord's* Table, not ours, not the Anglicans', nor the Presbyterians', nor anyone else's; therefore we have no right to debar from His Table any who are His. . . . There must be something wrong with any Church rule which makes it unlawful for any disciple of Christ to be associated with a sacramental service with which the Lord, the

Church's Head, is manifestly associated.' In the Sacraments therefore, and also in the New Testament, we have the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of Christ Himself, speaking to the soul. And when the Church recovers its convictions on these things, and when it gains the inward experience of the Power of the Spirit of Christ, then the Church may rewrite its creeds.

The 'Fruit of the Spirit' seen in all the Churches

(14) Another most important consideration in the whole subject of Intercommunion is that the history of the Church in all lands, India included, teaches the lesson that the Holy Spirit has made no vital or appreciable difference between His using of a Church of one type of ecclesiastical order and His using of a Church of another order. This fact is so far-reaching in its significance that to evade it is not spiritually honest. Church history shows very clearly that Christ Himself, by His Holy Spirit, has identified Himself with Churches of varying types of Church order. Such a fact is basically important in the formation of all true ecclesiastical theories and in reaching decisions about Church practice. These facts and considerations are of the highest importance in all Free Church discussions with both Anglicans and Roman Catholics. For example, the authority regarding what is called absolution, or the declaration of forgiveness of sins, was given to a company which St Luke tells us comprised, not the apostles alone, but also 'them that were with them' or 'the eleven and their friends'; this fact we learn by joining together Luke 24. 33 and St John 20. 19-23 concerning which passage Dr Westcott in his commentary on St John (p. 291) says: 'The commission must be regarded properly as the commission of the Christian society and not that of the Christian ministry.' Similarly, when we sincerely deplore the divisions in the Church of Christ, we need to remember that the same Lord Who prayed that His disciples should be one 'in order that the world may believe' (St John 17. 21) has also blessed the work done by means of those very divisions. These divisions, though accompanied by human faults, the Spirit of God has unquestionably owned and used for the ends of the Gospel; for the divisions were brought about by men and women who felt they must be faithful to the truth and the honour of Christ. The essential thing is therefore not outward organization, but obedience to, and union with, the Spirit of Christ; and this essential experience is created by the Indwelling Spirit of Christ within individuals who are connected with differing organizations, be they Free Church, Anglican or Roman Catholic. Varieties of organization are used by the Spirit of Christ as are also varieties of mind. For Christ is the Redeemer not only of the individual soul, but also of society in all its varieties in every land; as the Redeemer of the world, He is the resource and rescue of the richly variegated civilization of every race and people. As Alfred Noyes has expressed it, 'There's but one way: God make us better men.' Or in other

words, now famous round the earth, 'World-changing through life-changing'. This is the Church's real work, through all kinds of organizations, in its Master's Name and by the Power of His Holy Spirit.

Christ the Monopoly of no one Church

(15) This line of thought received impressive emphasis in a 1946 volume entitled *Christian Witness in the Post-War World* (published by the Student Christian Movement, 3s. 6d. net) edited by Dr. A. C. Craig and Dr Hugh Martin. It took the form of an 'Ecumenical Symposium' with several distinguished contributors. In his Introduction on the Religion and Life Movement of Britain Dr Craig singled out the most conspicuous mark of the war years as being that of 'inter-Church cooperation, central and local', based on 'a cluster of persuasions' one of which was the following: 'Christ and His salvation are manifestly the monopoly of no single communion, and prisoner to no particular ecclesiastical polity. On all the branches of the Church the fruits of the Spirit appear, . . . so that by the dominical test of identification by fruits none can vindicate claims to hegemony. The only reasonable inference from the facts is that the separate stems of the Church spring from a common root-system and convey the vital saps of the Faith.' Therefore Christians today 'must make a common witness to Christ and salvation through Him'. In reply to 'the denominationalist' who restricts salvation to those within his own pale, and to the 'conservative ecclesiastic' who limits blessing to his own circle, Dr. A. C. Craig ably insists that those who today hail the vision of a Universal Church of Christ, transcending all differences of organization, include men of affairs, earnest Christian believers, and the young generation 'which the Church must win or die'.

Dr Stanley Jones' Proposal for Uniting the Churches

(16) Dr Jones wrote in the *N. C. Review* for August 1946: 'A very intelligent low caste group debated for years which faith they would adopt. They debated the relative merits of Buddhism, Islam and Christianity. They finally made the decision that Christ offered the best way of life. After the decision was made a lawyer arose in the meeting and asked: "You say that you have decided to adopt Christianity; may I ask, Which Christianity? If you live here you will be Anglican, if there you will be London Mission, if the other place you will be Syrian. Now you are united as a caste, then you will be divided into denominations." That simple question stopped a movement that involved 800,000 people. Division costs the Christian movement dearly. Three things then emerge from the facts: *One*, we are united. *Two*, we are used of God and acceptable to Him to the degree of our surrender to Him, and not according to what body we belong. *Three*, the outer expression of this inner unity

has a rich diversity. These three things underlie the situation. We must build on them. There is a growing conviction that the next great step within the Christian Church is to unite. There is another fact emerging: The truth is beyond us all—it is Christ who is *the* Truth. What we hold are truths about *the* Truth. Thus we need to pool our truths so that our pooled truths will be a closer approximation to Him who is the Truth. There seem to me to be these possible alternatives: (1) Amalgamation, (2) Federal Association, (3) Federal Union. The first, namely, amalgamation, seems to me to be impossible. Amalgamation of all the Churches in one Church with one ritual, one ordination, one creed is not practicable; and yet, as far as it could go, I would encourage it. But it seems to have definite limits. Nor will a Federal Association do. What would the principle of Federal Union applied to the Churches mean? How would it work out in practice? Since we all belong to Christ we would express that inner unity in outward fact and all belong to 'The Church of Christ. But since we are in India we would call it "The Church of Christ in India". There would be one Church and only one Church: "The Church of Christ in India". "The Church of Christ in India" would have constituent elements in it. It would have branches—"The Lutheran Branch of the Church of Christ in India", "The Baptist Branch", "The Anglican Branch", "The Nazarene Branch", etc. They would no longer be Churches, they would be branches of the *One* Church—"The Church of Christ in India". The central renunciation is made—they cease to be separate entities and become part of one Church.' Dr Jones went on to apply his proposal to the whole world: 'Over all these national expressions would be "The World Assembly of the Church of Christ". This "World Assembly" would be made up of delegates from each of the national assemblies. In this "World Assembly" world questions, confronting the Church as a whole, would be dealt with. Here the Church would speak with a united voice. Suppose it could do that now in this confused world situation! It would be listened to, for the Christian Church represents 600,000,000 people—the greatest single unit of the world. This then would be the general structure of the Church: The Local Church, The City Assembly, The District Assembly, The Provincial Assembly, The National Assembly and The World Assembly. Concerning exchange of ministers and members and intercommunion, the probabilities are that there would be free interchange of ministers and members and intercommunion straight off among perhaps 90 to 95 per cent of the branches. The remaining small percentage we would leave to time and the Spirit of God. As to the doctrinal basis of the Union we could make it as simple and as ultimate as Christ made it. When Peter made the great confession, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God" the reply of Jesus was, "Upon this rock I will build my Church." What was the rock upon which the Church was to be built? Upon Peter, the man? Hardly. The rock was the rock of the confession he had

just made, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God." The rock upon which the Christian Church is founded is that rock—the rock of the confession that Jesus is the Christ. This is only an outline. Much will have to be filled in. Much may have to be changed. It has difficulties. But the difficulties of disunity are a hundred times as great as those of unity. For disunity is an everpresent paralysis upon us—it cancels out our effectiveness and unfits us for having moral leadership in a world desperately seeking unity. A divided Church in a divided world lacks moral authority.' We have abbreviated the foregoing suggestions in the words of Dr Jones himself, lest our own summary might mar the presentation of a scheme which once more comes as a challenge to the perplexed Churches and Missions in India. Since Dr Jones first laid his idea before us all many futile efforts have been made for 'organic union of one kind or another, and so little 'organic' progress has been made that Dr Jones' plan merits the fullest possible examination. Our own impression is that it would probably solve more problems than any other previous scheme.

CHAPTER XXII

HISTORY'S LESSONS ON THE POWER AND UNITY OF
THE SPIRIT**The Perennial Pentecost**

(1) Every Sunday should be a celebration of that Festival of the Universal Church called the Festival of Pentecost to which the birthday of the Church of Christ is traced in the New Testament pages. Let us remind ourselves and one another of the two Pentecostal essentials—Power and Unity. 'Ye will receive Power when the Holy Spirit comes upon you' was one of the Saviour's latest assurances in Acts 1, 8; and in a circular letter to the Churches St. Paul urges us 'to preserve the unity of the Spirit' (Ephesians 4. 3). Power and Unity are two of the most imperative needs in these post-war years. Pentecost must be a perennial festival. That this Power and Unity are far from being non-existent was shown on Feb. 16-19 last year (1946) at Geneva when the World Council of Churches met with the Interim Committee of the International Missionary Council. The occasion illustrated what the late Dr Temple used to point out, that the fact of the Universal Church of Christ was one of our modern discoveries. There were three proofs of this at the Geneva meetings. The first was in the power and unity of Christian people shown in their generosity during the great world-war by the Churches of Britain, America, Canada, Sweden, Switzerland, which had helped 'orphaned missions' (those cut off from their Home Churches) to the extent of nearly two crores of rupees; four and a quarter million dollars or £1,200,000 had been raised and administered up to the end of 1945. These funds had aided missionaries of Finland, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Germany and France to carry on when financial assistance was cut off by the Nazi occupation of those continental countries.

The Ecumenical Movement of Prayer

(2) The other two proofs of Power and Unity supplied by the February Geneva meeting were Bishop Berggrav the Norwegian and the brave German leader Martin Niemoller, both of whom had come very near to martyrdom, had given signal proofs of the sustaining power of God during their long imprisonment, and for both of whom the Christian Church all over the world had united in constant intercession. Both of them again and again affirmed, 'Not I, but God.' The Gestapo officials had forbidden Berggrav, all in vain, to quote from the Bible in writing to his wife. Bishop Berggrav's most touching story was of the woman who brought his milk to the prison window. One Sunday night she whispered as she handed in the milk: 'Bishop!

My husband is now listening in on his illegal radio set! He says that the Christians in England are praying for you.' 'That' said Berggrav, 'is the Ecumenical Movement' or in other words the Church of Christ in united action. The brave Niemoller told this moving story: After he had been submitted to a gruelling inquisition by the Gestapo in the Oranienburg concentration camp, his father was allowed to see him for twenty minutes. 'My dear son,' he said, 'be of good courage. I know that the Eskimos in Alaska and the Bataks in Malaya are praying for you.' As one says: 'This too was an "ecumenical movement" that every Christian can understand—and join.' The prayer-battle surely won the Church's campaign in the war. This is inspiring. But while Geneva on Feb. 16-19 gave encouraging proof of Christian Power and Unity, there are other facts which show their grave lack. Let us look, then, at the lack of Power and think of the urgent need for Unity.

The Atomic Bomb and Religious Powerlessness

(3) The foregoing encouragements may help us to turn to something deeply searching. Has the Universal Christian Church half sufficiently realized that when the atomic bomb fell on Japan on August 6, 1945, it probably gave the greatest blow that Christian influence and example have suffered for the past hundred years? That is very clear to anyone who reads Indian newspapers. For that bomb had been manufactured in Christian countries and when it fell on Hiroshima and Nagasaki it killed 102,150 people outright and maimed 77,425 others. It will not do to shrug our shoulders and wink at the problem by saying, 'That is only what war means.' It should rather bring home to us the fact that the whole world has come to realize that this was a plain misuse of beneficent atomic energy for destructive purposes. Should anyone suggest that this bomb brought to an end the world-wide war, the answer is that of the soldiers themselves who say the war was won before that bomb dropped. But what has that bomb got to do with Christian work? The truth of the matter is that the atomic bomb of August 6, 1945 demonstrated the utter impotence of much *so-called* 'religion'; it also demonstrated the fact that the supreme need of our time is spiritual power. And one chief witness to the truth of this discovery is science itself. One of the remarkable things of our time is that science, which for so long was regarded as the enemy of religion, and then as the competitor of religion, has now begun to emphasize some of the very things that Jesus said. For some years before the war, successive Presidents of that great body of scientists called the British Association for the Advancement of Science were emphasizing that knowledge was getting ahead of character, that the secrets of science concerning the destructive forces of the universe were not being sufficiently controlled by the spiritual power that comes from our relation to God. All this has been terribly emphasized by the events at Hiroshima and Nagasaki

in August 1945. Science is thus preaching to us the need of spiritual power to restrain the use of destructive knowledge. This was well expressed by President Truman on March 6 at Columbus in Ohio State when he told the Conference of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ: 'The gigantic power which man has acquired through atomic energy must be matched by a spiritual strength of greater magnitude to save a world beset by so many threats of new terror and destruction.'

The Need of a Religion of Power

(4) Many preachers the past few months have emphasized the same truth. One of them, Dr H. E. Fosdick, preaching from the words of Jesus, 'Except ye repent ye shall all likewise perish,' told his congregation: 'That is precisely what science is saying to us: "You had better repent; those spiritual values, those inner secrets of life's moral and spiritual control, those are necessities now. I can give you power, says science, but by myself alone I cannot guarantee what will be done with it. Something more than myself must decide that, something that mankind has always called its religion. . . . If you still believe in God, says science, "take Him seriously". Man has proved to be so insane and corrupt that the more power you give him, the more he will destroy himself. And now the flash of the atomic bomb lights that up with frightening clarity. Each one of us needs something greater than science gives. Something deeper, more inward. . . . The towering question before mankind today is not physical power, but spiritual power to handle it. For science has come to be frightened at its own discoveries.' Therefore 'science demands religion, but it must be *great religion*. No other kind will do any good in this emergency. Our sectarianism, our conventional Christianity, has no relevance to the vast crucial problems of our time. . . . It is *Christ or chaos now*; Christ, or mankind's suicide.' What this preacher demanded in what he called 'great religion' is surely satisfied only by the 'Power from on high' which Jesus died and rose to bring; the Power of God the Holy Spirit in the soul, purifying society the world over, sanctifying the life of all mankind. So the war's main lesson is the need of spiritual power in the world and the Church.

Bombed into Spiritual Oneness

(5) One of the greatest essentials in the New Testament is set forth in Ephesians 4.3 which has been translated in the following ways:—'Be earnest to maintain the unity of which the Holy Spirit is the Author' (A. S. Way). 'Earnestly striving to maintain the unity given by the Spirit' (Weymouth). 'Zealous in love to preserve the unity of the Spirit' (Moffatt). In every country in the world the war has brought home to us the frightful urgency of Church Union. Or had we not better say 'Church Unity'? For after years of dis-

cussion, too often fruitless, 'Church Union' so often suggests *organic union*, and organic union confronts us with so many problems of organization, and deflects our attention from that region of the heart which is emphasized by the New Testament idea of 'the *Unity of the Spirit*'. This great phrase surely emphasizes that *spiritual oneness* which is born at the Cross, is nourished by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, and shows itself in all forms of practical co-operation, even in presence of a manifold variety of organization. One of the greatest victories of the world-war has certainly been in the realm of 'the unity of the Spirit', manifested so often and so beautifully by fellow-Christians to the worshippers in blitzed church-buildings. The late Bishop Gore is reported to have once said that perhaps the Church's divisions would only be healed by 'very evil times forcing us together'. And this is precisely what happened in many cities, towns and villages of bombed Britain, where blitzed congregations were at once invited to worship in neighbouring churches. What a lesson these facts have for us in India in our war with sin and evil custom and false philosophy! For as we look over the past history of the Church of Christ in Eastern lands we see what tragic mistakes have been made by a guilty lack of 'the unity of the Spirit', by which St Paul meant that heart-unity which can only come from the inspiration of the indwelling Spirit of Christ.

The Palestine Problem the Result of Church Disunion

(6) What the spirit of division has done 'to the Church of Christ standing over against the non-Christian world' is illustrated by two events described by the great historian Dr Latourette as 'the first and second great losses of territory'. We can all see now that one of these led to the loss of the Holy Land and led on to that problem of Palestine which now baffles the world's statesmen. That loss of our Lord's own home-land on earth was caused by the Church of the Nestorians on the one hand and the Church of the Romanists on the other severing their connection with each other, so that several middle Eastern lands became 'overrun by the Muslim invader' and became Muslim lands instead of being Christian countries; it was thus an early Church division of spirit that left us the heritage of a hostile Islam. That was in the years after the rise of Islam in the 7th century A. D.

Muslim Lands Lost because Churches could not Unite

(7) The second great loss was the conversion of the Mongol rulers of Asia to Islam in the latter part of the 13th century. How many of us realize that 'in the year 1271 Pope Gregory X received a request from the ruler of the greatest empire the world has ever seen, Kublai Khan, "whose rule extended from the China Sea to the River Danube"? This great Kublai Khan sent ambassadors to the Pope asking for 'a hundred men skilled in your religion. . . . I shall be

baptized, my barons and great men will be baptized, and there will be more Christians here than there are in your parts.' In other words Kublai Khan in the 13th century requested that there be a Mass Movement in his Mongol countries. But this unique opportunity of a Mass Movement in Asia was lost. Why? Because of the jealousy and disunion between Romanists and Nestorians in those lands. This unique opportunity for Christians was lost, all because 'two branches of the Church were unable to come together in united witness'. The present writer believes that in India today an almost equally great opportunity is being lost, simply because differences of outward organization are being emphasized more than unity of heart and of Christian purpose. For the foregoing story in more detail, read pages 46-50 in Dr John Foster's *Then And Now*, a three-rupee book at the Bombay Christian Bookshop.

The Church Fallible, but the Holy Spirit Infallible

(8) If, then, the Church of Christ in history has shown itself on many occasions, some of them crucial occasions, to be so weak and fallible, what is the remedy? The answer to this question was supplied by that great Scot preacher, Dr A. J. Gossip who, writing in *The Expository Times*, vol. 56, p. 17, said: 'There has been a tremendous revolution and upheaval in the religious world within my lifetime. In some ways it has been more fundamental even than the "Reformation", a revolution in which folk were shaken worse than ever, till they were taught that there is an Infallible Spirit, Who works indeed through erring men and a poor fallible Church, but is Himself Infallible.'

Unity amid Diversity

(9) The Infallible and Guiding Spirit of Truth has already pointed out the path to true unity, even between diverse organizations. As the Very Rev. Dean W. R. Inge asks in one place: 'Has the Church of Christ ever been divided in the chambers where men shut their door and pray to their Father in secret? Do we not all pray . . . the same prayer of prayers? . . . Has it ever been divided on the shelves where we keep our books of devotion? . . . Do not Biblical scholars . . . work side by side in the cause of truth? Are we divided in philanthropy and social service?' 'Other sheep I have,' said Jesus, 'which are not of this fold; them also I must bring, and they shall hear my Voice; and they shall become one flock, one Shepherd' (John 10.16). 'There shall be one fold,' which was the Authorized Version, was pronounced by Dr Westcott 'a disastrous mistranslation', and the latest commentator Dr G. H. C. MacGregor says 'the ideas of the fold and the flock are deliberately contrasted. The bond is not in a common organization, but in a common relationship to one Lord. There may be various folds, though but one flock and one Shepherd.'

Christian Unity and Controversy

(10) One rich secret of Christian unity is suggested in St Paul's prayer in Philippians i. 10 where he prays that Christians may 'have a sense of what is vital', to quote Dr Moffatt's translation. Much religious controversy would have been avoided if preachers and writers had concentrated on 'what is vital' and kept away from controversial questions. How many Church divisions might have been prevented if Christian people had emphasized the essentials and let other points be reserved for private judgment. This was once made clear by that great Anglican, Bishop Lightfoot, who wrote such wonderful commentaries. He said on one occasion: 'There is nothing so dangerous as the desire to make *everything* right and tight. I find that my faith suffers nothing by leaving a thousand questions open so long as I am convinced on two or three main lines.' We are sure that the guidance of Bishop Lightfoot on this matter increases in value with every passing year.

The Church of Christ in United Action

(11) While stupendous efforts have been going on in India and other lands for the *organic* union of the Churches, the Spirit of Christ has been slowly forging a new instrument of spiritual Power and Unity. As we look over recent decades we can discern the fact that the Spirit of Truth has been guiding the Churches all over the world to united action by means of Christian groups drawn from all the Churches. With the minimum of organization these groups have increasingly resolved to find out God's Will for this generation by the devotional method of 'the morning watch' and the daily guidance of the Holy Spirit. One inspiring though incidental result has been that this definite devotional method has enabled the groups to rise above a storm of criticism in every land, and another equally satisfying result has been the wonderful way the movement is uniting Christ's disciples of varying ecclesiastical types. The Moral Re-Armament Movement which is the lineal descendant of the Oxford Group Movement found a good expositor in that great friend of Poona, Father Jack Winslow, in his 125-page book *The Church in Action*. The first four chapters set forth 'Life-Changing' as the Supreme Need, and the last six chapters describe 'a Life-Changing Church'. The second part describes vividly the spiritual revolution brought about by the Spirit of God in village, town and nation, demonstrating that human nature can be drastically and permanently changed by the Indwelling Spirit of Christ when people listen to God afresh in each day's morning quiet. The coming of the Spirit of God has been seen in such unexpected ways in this movement as to recall other great movements in history like the Evangelical Movement of the 18th century. National leaders in countries like Canada and Norway have openly declared that this Spirit-inspired M. R. A. Movement had effected such national transformations as to make the task of Government easier. The 1942

secret attack by the German Nazis on the Christian principles and democratic programme of the Oxford Group has come to be more and more recognized by men and women of spiritual vision all over Britain as a remarkable vindication of the Oxford Group. As the Oxford University publication called *Isis* said on March 6: 'It is a very remarkable tribute indeed to be singled out for special attention by so destructively efficient an organisation as the Gestapo and it is particularly significant that they identified the Group with the Christian idea behind democracy.' The Group and its latest programme in the Moral Re-Armament Movement have thus come to be recognized as part of the mighty vanguard of 'the Church of Christ in action' all over the world.

The Oxford Provost and the Oxford Group

(12) One of the most interesting publications during the war was a 1943 publication of 64 pages entitled *One Fight More*. It gave a vivid word-picture of that great scholar of Oxford University, Dr B. H. Streeter, Doctor of Divinity, the Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, and author of several notable books on Philosophy, History, Comparative Religion, Psychology, Ethics, Mysticism, etc. The book was written by a fellow-don of Oxford, Alan Thornhill, Chaplain of Hertford College, who was most intimate with Dr Streeter in his last five years. His narrative helps readers to understand what made Dr Streeter one of the most formative minds in the Church of England during the first three decades of the present century, so that when he and his wife were killed in a plane accident over the Alps in early autumn, 1937, it was universally felt that one of the greatest minds in world-scholarship had passed from our human scene. For his books entitled *Reality*, *The Four Gospels*, *The Primitive Church*, *Adventure*, *The God Who Speaks*, etc., had each made new history on their separate subjects.

Searching Words about the Cross

(13) When on July 11, 1934, Dr Streeter appeared on the platform of an Oxford Group meeting held in Oxford University, before an audience of the wise and learned from five continents, it was felt to be an important moment in the Group Movement. The learned scholar declared that after prolonged observation of the Movement from the standpoint of 'what diplomats call benevolent neutrality,' something like that 'taken up towards the early Church by Gamaliel, that most amiable of Pharisees,' he had concluded, 'I ought now to cease from an attitude of benevolent neutrality towards what I have come to believe is the most important religious movement of the day.' Dr Streeter's accession to the Movement ensured for it not only a scholarly emphasis but a new evangelical emphasis on the Cross of Christ that some critical observers felt (rightly or wrongly) had been missing. On one of his visits to Scandinavia he gave a moving address

applying the Crucifixion of Christ to the events of our own day. Here are Thornhill's words: 'Dr Streeter went on to analyse the reasons for the Crucifixion of Christ. It had been called the greatest crime in history and no doubt it was. But the people who were the actual agents of the greatest crime in history were not members of the criminal classes. They were zealous Churchmen, business men with vested interests, a politician with an eye on public opinion . . . So in the modern situation, few really wanted another war or a class war'; but 'the prejudices of one class or set of people, the financial interests of another, too great deference to public opinion in one way or another, might precipitate a world-war.'

The World's Need of Revival

(14) How grave the words of this far-seeing man became was shown when in another of his Scandinavian speeches Dr Streeter said: 'Modern civilization can only be saved by moral revival; but for this, it would suffice if every tenth or hundredth was changed. For each such person raises the level of those whom he touches in the home, in business and in public affairs. . . . But the opportunity must be seized during the period of uneasy respite from major calamity which at the moment appears to lie ahead.' Alas! that the warnings of Dr Streeter and of many others like him went all unheeded! Had their message been listened to, civilization might conceivably have been spared the horrors of the second world war. But 'the only lesson of history seems to be that men never learn the lessons of history'; said a book review that one day impressed Dr Streeter. What he himself wanted to show in a projected book that never got written was that 'there is one lesson of history which men may yet learn, the lesson of God-control'. Or as his biographer the fellow-don expresses it: 'How to present the fact of God's guidance as a practical working alternative to chaos for individuals and nations.'

How to Build a World-Fellowship

(15) If all our scholars today in every land will imitate B. H. Streeter in consecrating their stores of knowledge to practical and spiritual purposes, they can become like him masters in the threefold art of life-changing, listening to God, and building an unbreakable fellowship throughout the world. In this threefold art, Streeter employed various methods, and not the least effective of these methods was his gentle but unanswerable reproofs to a certain class of critics who far too long stood outside world-transforming movements. To one speaker who acknowledged that in the Group the Spirit of God was at work but who had urged that 'we must guide the Spirit into safe, familiar channels,' Dr Streeter spoke with burning passion: 'Who are *you* to guide the Spirit of God? When are *you* going to let the Spirit of God guide *you*?'

Under the Holy Spirit's Control

(16) If it be asked *how* the Spirit of God will guide us, then let one well known to India answer. Says Dr Stanley Jones in one of his books : ' Following Christ as an example won't do it, for this is more or less outer. It has to be deeply inward and permanently inward. Even seeing the Holy Spirit as an influence coming now and again into the life won't do it. The Holy Spirit as a living Person must permanently abide in the depths of our being, assuming control, and cleansing, directing and co-ordinating the powers of the instincts to the purposes of the Kingdom of God. The disciples after Pentecost were not mechanically trying to copy Christ in their actions, they were joyously expressing a new life that welled up from within. The Christian life was not a force-pump, but an artesian well. Therefore their lives were not mechanically and jerkily trying to copy an Example, they were rhythmically and harmoniously giving vent to an inner life. . . . They were Spirit-filled men.'

Two Decades of Blessing

(17) When the announcement was made in Britain in 1946 that a team of about a hundred Group workers were shortly to open a campaign, a well-known English physician wrote to the Church papers an appreciation which must have expressed the feelings of many when he said : ' Some of us have received great spiritual help through contact with this movement in the past, while others would disagree with the Group on various points of emphasis or method. But I think that anyone who examines the records of its activities over the past twenty years will be convinced that it has been used by God to bring about among many people a revolution in personal life, in home life, in industrial and even in inter-racial relationships. A movement whose efforts to reach a Christian solution of the personal and social problems of our day have been so effective in recent years deserves our co-operation. During the war the Oxford Group was attacked by some critics with all the abuse which met the Wesleys in the early days of the Evangelical Revival. But it has survived all these attacks.'

Moral Re-Armament and India

(18) For ourselves we believe the Moral Re-Armament Movement is offering a sure antidote to the growing atheism among Indian students. So true is this that after a successful series of M.R.A. meetings in the Punjab, that notable Premier of the Punjab, the late Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, declared his belief that this was ' the only Movement which will save the old and new world from catastrophe ' ; for the Movement was providing for Punjab students ' a constructive basis for living and for reality in God.' Dr Foss Westcott, the former Metropolitan, has greatly helped as a leader of M.R.A. in India, so that not students only, but for many others in this land of moral

and spiritual dangers the M.R.A. Movement is helping to solve that perpetual problem of the competing claims of introspection and service. On this problem one of the best writers of our time has said : ' I am sure the saints are right when they call us to introspection and self-examination ; but I have a sneaking sympathy with Wilberforce who being asked by some lady at the height of the anti-slavery campaign how it fared with his own soul replied, " Madam, I have been so busy that I had almost forgotten that I had a soul." Perhaps the story is apocryphal but somehow we have to steer our way between being morbidly introspective and being unduly careless about our souls.'

Organization and Spiritual Power

(19) The lessons of this chapter from both past and contemporary history establish a truth often forgotten, that is perilously easy for religious organizations to become so much lumber, and a grave hindrance to the work of Christ. Addressing himself to this problem, after concluding the official business of the Synod of which he was Chairman, a personal friend of the present writer told his brethren it was easy, and sometimes tempting, to sneer at organisation and to ask ' why cumbereth it the ground ? ' But though life preceded organisation, it mostly, if not entirely, worked through it. What is our organisation expected to accomplish ? The answer is very little if we depend on the organisation alone. The machinery in our great mills needs driving power to make it effective. So does the machinery of the Church. The remarkable description of mechanism in the first chapter of Ezekiel's prophesy revealed a vast, complicated, and seemingly fantastic machinery, so involved that there were ' wheels within wheels '. But the whole of the mechanism was mightily effective, because ' the Spirit of Life was in the midst of the wheels ' (Ezekiel i. 20). It is that Spirit of Life that is so much needed in the organisations of the Church today, and the more complicated the machinery the more the necessity for *this driving Power*. The age and place in which we live and work are not more difficult than the age and place Ezekiel faced, with people ' rebellious ', ' impudent ' and stiff-necked. Nor are they more difficult than those which St Paul faced. People may need the Gospel, but they do not *want* it. To say, as some do, that if only preachers would preach the Gospel the people would flock to hear them, to say that the crowd is hungering for Jesus, is to speak what is a long way from the truth. But difficult as our mission is, we make a profound mistake, and subject ourselves to undue depression, when we think only of our difficulties, and little or not at all of the forces of the Omnipotent Spirit of God at our disposal. That old story of Elisha and his servant, and the different ways in which they faced a seemingly disastrous situation, has much to teach us today. The difference was not outwards, for they both saw the same opposing forces. The difference was inwards. One said, ' Alas, master,

how shall we do?' The other said, 'Fear not, they that be with us are more than they that be with them.' And when after prayer the young man's eyes were opened, what a *vision of invisible forces* he saw! Cannot we see the same? Every mighty soul that has made an impact on his age has been one who endured and conquered as 'seeing Him who is invisible'. Let us daily go forth to the work in our respective spheres, singing triumphantly with Charles Wesley—

'Lo, to faith's enlightened sight,
All the mountain flames with light;
Hell is nigh, but God is nigher,
Circling us with hosts of fire.'

As we each seek to play our part in the divine organization of the Church of Christ, let us by daily prayer ensure that the particular portion of the organization represented by ourselves is daily dominated by the Spirit of Christ. Should we be in danger of being depressed by a sense of our limitations let us recall a story told about that master among British organists, Sir Frederick Bridge, who once went into a village church and asked permission to play on the little organ. 'The old verger listened in astonishment to the music. 'I never knew,' said he, 'it was such a good organ.' That is just what happens when we permit the Master musician to play on the instrument of our lives by the power of His Indwelling Spirit. Hidden in every one of us are divine possibilities which He can elicit and evoke.

PART SIX

NEW TESTAMENT DYNAMICS

CHAPTER XXIII

THE SPIRITUAL DYNAMICS OF INDIAN CHRISTIANITY

Introductory : On Individual Christian Responsibility

Observation during nearly four decades in India has led us to the following conclusions :—(1) Divine Providence and the Divine Spirit have placed in the hands of Christ's disciples in India a treasure-house of truth called the Bible which is a storehouse of unique moral and spiritual dynamic power, the daily gift of the Inspiring Spirit Himself, the appropriation of which gift is exactly proportioned by our faith and loyal obedience. (2) Moral and spiritual superiority on the part of individuals and Churches over their religious environment is strictly determined by their abiding appropriation of that Spirit of Power resulting in spiritual radiance and triumphant service; and the converse is equally true, that whenever the individual or the Church fails to appropriate that unique Power by translating it into character and service, they become so much spiritual lumber, 'a name that thou livest and art dead' (Revelation 3. 1). (3) Alike in the New Testament and in the Indian Churches of today we see a unique spiritual Power transfiguring the individual and society alike whenever the Power is allowed full sway; and side by side with these we see, both in the first century and in the twentieth, Churches and the individuals composing them who fail to appropriate this transfiguring Power; thus providing an explanation of the phenomenon that individuals and Churches who do not avail themselves of the unique Power offered in their sacred Book are in no sense morally or spiritually superior to the followers of those religions from whose Scriptures this transfiguring secret is notably absent. (4) These facts involve all those who are only Christians so-called in the more solemn responsibility of closing their eyes to the example of the most sublime religious Figure in history, 'Jesus Christ placarded before their eyes' (Galatians 3. 1), and refusing to appropriate the message of the most dynamical Scriptures in the world. (5) In this chapter we shall therefore seek to set forth those secrets whereby the Bible levels of spiritual resilience, of Christlike character and of sacrificial service are being attained in India today, and can be attained by all who fulfil the conditions. We shall limit ourselves to four such secrets, viz. corporate worship, private prayer, the message of the Cross, and the empowerment of the Holy Spirit.

THE MISSIONARY'S PRAYER-LIFE

Ordination Service at Benares

(1) In the following paragraphs will be found the first portion of an Ordination Charge we delivered at Benares on Wednesday, August 16, 1939. It was preceded by a Retreat from 7-30 in the morning until two in the afternoon at which the four ordinands, were joined by the missionaries and Indian ministers in several hours of Preparation and Prayer. This Ordination Charge was delivered a fortnight before the outbreak of war, but as Prayer is the deepest secret of peace and victorious living at all time we print the Charge as delivered.

Personal

(2) My dear brethren, for each one of you this is one of the holiest days in the entire life of a Christian minister. And for every one of us, today's Quiet Retreat has brought a renewal of God's call and of His empowerment. Never have I felt so unworthy to stand up and deliver God's message. Sacred memories have been crowding in upon me. When I was ordained in 1904 I felt utterly overwhelmed by the prayer and affection pervading the entire service, but above all by the Divine Voice I heard in my secret soul; the words specially emphasized for me were the words: 'Be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of God.' They have been to me a life-long inspiration. Concerning my subject this evening, He who is our 'only Ordainer' has persistently directed my mind to the striking passage in Luke xi. 1, which Weymouth renders as follows: 'When Jesus rose from His knees at a certain place one of His disciples said to Him, Master, teach us to pray.' One main reason why I seem to have been compelled to choose this text is because I feel such an infant in this deepest of all missionary secrets, the prayer-life of the missionary.

The Deepest Thing in Life

(3) The first of the four chief things I am to tell you is that *the Deepest and Divinest Thing in a Missionary's Life and Work is To Learn How to Pray Like Jesus*. This remarkable request came from inside a circle of disciples who in a measure had probably been praying people all their lives, but on finding out how Jesus prayed they discovered they had never known what prayer really was and what mighty things it could do. Moreover this would appear to be the one and only matter on which the disciples requested Jesus to teach them. Many problems they propounded for His solution, many hard knots they asked Him to disentangle, but it would seem as if the one and only thing on which they asked any definite teaching from Jesus was on this subject of prayer, the definite consequence of watching Jesus Himself pray. As they noted how Jesus prayed they began to understand

His personality and His methods. They discovered what prayer meant to Jesus and the measureless resources that prayer opened up for Him, and they came to see that the best explanation of their Master's character and of their own unlikeness to Him lay in His prayer-life. For Jesus Christ remains the loftiest embodiment of what Samuel Taylor Coleridge referred to when he said that prayer is the highest energy of which the human mind is capable. The first and last secret of Christ-likeness lies in the energy of prayer.

A Missionary's Hardest Battlefield

(4) As I look back over the 39 years of my ministry, I see clearly that the hardest battlefield of my ministry has been on this very matter. Certainly it has not been with the difficult types of people I have met, for I have found no temperament so difficult as my own; nor has my hardest battlefield been in the subtleties of the Marathi language or the profundities of the Indian religions, though these have meant years of toil; no, my hardest battlefield has been the regularity and conscientiousness of my prayer-life. I vividly remember hearing the late Thomas Cook, the saintly evangelist who under God's Spirit founded Cliff College, tell the ministers when I was in the Sheffield Synod, about 34 years ago, how the Holy Spirit had often called him away from all his tasks in order to spend time in prayer and intercession. 'Every time,' said Thomas Cook, 'that I obeyed the Voice I found it was always followed by some special season of blessing in my work. And I have noted with sorrow,' he added, 'that when I did not obey the Voice, some special opportunity came and found me unready.' The story left an indelible impression on my mind, and there has been no part of my Bible where I have oftener turned than to those eight occasions where St. Luke is the specialist on the prayer-life of Jesus. Our text is one of the eight and I would advise that the next few days you ponder over the others, for every one of the eight is full of meaning for missionary workers, especially the first instance in Luke 3.21 where we see it was on a praying Christ that heaven opened and the Holy Spirit descended; and one of the last is Luke 22. 31-32 where we hear the Master's cry of intercession for failing Peter, from which we may learn the secret of victory in dealing with the imperfect individuals and workers who make up the Church on the Mission Field. A study of those eight instances shows how Jesus found prayer to be the preserver of His inward peace, the source of all His wisdom and the channel of daily spiritual power.

The Best Solution of Indian Church Problems

(5) One of the most urgent needs in all our missionary work is that we missionary workers should talk to the Indian Church about this vital matter, and talk as if we meant it, viz. the message that the deepest and divinest thing in all our Christian life and work is to learn how to pray like Jesus. Above all else the Indian Church must be convinced that we do it ourselves. In a lovely four-anna book of 48

pages just out of the press (C.L.S., Madras) called *Children of God*, 'a book for leaders preparing others for membership', Miss Sallie Anstey of Dudhgaon on the Godaverī has this fine sentence: 'The leader who will best guide candidates into the path of prayer is the one who has himself learnt to pray, and who prays.' How simple it sounds, yet how profound! As I read the Christian situation in India today it is in the devotional life that we missionaries are most in danger of losing our battle, the battle of how to set the best kind of example. And yet if only we fully realized it, it is just here in the prayer-life that our best weapon lies. Is it not here that we can best solve our Church Union problem? For are we not nearest to one another when we pray? Is it not also in the devotional realm that we have our best point of contact with that devotional spirit which is the deepest part of the worthiest type of Hindu and Muslim? And is it not in this realm of prayer that we can best show our people how to prepare that Indian leadership which we so gravely need? Yet do we not often elbow out this dynamical secret from our Church and Mission programmes?

The Undefended Front

(6) Sinhgad, or Lion's Fort, commands the whole of the Poona District. So Shivaji the Maratha king decided that it must be taken, and for the well-nigh impossible task he chose Tanaji who was given a thousand picked men. Nestling on the summit of unscalable rocks, it is guarded by precipices nearly fifty feet high. A thousand fine Muslim and Rajput soldiers formed the garrison on the top, and a part of the cliff steeper than the rest was considered to call for less watchfulness because of its impossible steepness. Imagine their chagrin when they discovered that the lion-hearted Tanaji and three hundred others with him had devised a rope ladder and had climbed stealthily into the Fort. That strategic fortress was lost by those Rajputs and Muslims because they had left one front undefended. And we missionaries in India today are in danger of losing many a fortress because of an undefended front. We are in danger of losing the strategic fortress of Indian Christian leadership and we should find out the reason why. Christian leaders in every land have been born and reared mainly in Christian homes where there was an atmosphere of piety, but are we sure that in *all* Indian Christian homes there is regular family prayer? If what my Indian brethren themselves tell me be true, then the neglected family altar represents an undefended front. Why do I mention such a thing here? Because we do not emphasize it half enough. We missionaries and Indian Christian leaders are so busy with lots of important things, but the all-important thing of the prayer-life of the individual and of the Church we are in danger of *assuming* is all right. But are we not far too often leaving this front undefended, while the battle of Christ for the soul of India, nay, our entire missionary campaign, is being endangered? I plead with

our ordinands as I plead with myself: Watch the undefended front of your private prayer, of your family prayer and of the Church prayer meeting.

Help Needed by Eastern Thinkers

(7) II. The *Second* main point we stressed in this Ordination Charge at Benares was that a *Prayer-Life like that of Jesus will illumine for the missionary that Central Problem of our Lord's Divine-Human Personality which perplexes many educated seekers after Christ and many of the Indian Church's educated leaders.* This is one of those big questions on which the Christian Movement in India must give help if the Indian Church is to win and retain the leaders it needs for the next generation and you four ordinands will have to face this task. In Christian Missions 'the unoccupied fields are not merely geographical, they are also intellectual,' says Professor Roderick Scott, Professor of Philosophy in the Fukien Christian University at Foochow, China, in *The International Review of Missions* for July, 1939. Dr W. E. Hocking has something equally searching when he says: 'The missionary movement has shirked the labour of thought. It has evaded its hardest problem; it has addressed the multitude, the poor and the outcast, as it should have done; but it has avoided the Scribes and Pharisees, as it should not have done.' Professor Scott of Foochow quotes a Board Secretary who, after completing a tour of the world, said, 'One of my positive convictions is that we must provide missionaries who can give a high philosophic interpretation of Christianity to thinkers in non-Christian countries.' I agree with this if the philosophical interpretation of Christianity takes care to include the dynamical secrets of Christ Himself, for one of the perils of the Church in India is that of emphasizing Christianity rather than Christ.

A 'Missionary Theology' Required

(8) 'A theology for the Church Universal is one of the supreme missionary tasks,' says one of the Church's most evangelical leaders. That missionary theology must exalt Christ as Lord in history and as Saviour of the soul. The savagery of the past 25 (now 33) years in our so-called civilized world has demonstrated anew the sinfulness of the human heart, and Evangelical theology has once more proved that people must first see themselves as sinners before they can be converted into saints. It is also to Evangelical theology that the Church on the Mission Field owes its deliverance from 'an un-Christian hope' on the one hand and from 'an un-Christian despair' on the other. The apostolic Gospel is thus as great a need of our time as is a prophetic ministry to apply that Gospel to social needs. And one of the essential aspects of that Gospel for India is to emphasize with a recent book that in Christ we see 'our search for God is not a oneway traffic; for on Jacob's ladder there was coming down as well as going'

up'. India needs the message that 'while we are seeking God, God is no less seeking us and it is because God is seeking us that we are seeking Him'.

The Gospel of Our Lord's Prayer-Life

(9) Here comes in the sovereign value to every missionary in India of a prayer-life like that of Jesus, for it will only be as we seek to imitate the constancy and unfailing regularity of His prayer-life on earth that we shall acquire sure faith in His Divine adequacy to meet the needs of India's thinkers. Thousands of earnest religious minds among India's educated people have real difficulty concerning the miracles and Deity of Jesus and I know of no book better calculated to help such baffled souls than that by Dr Cairns entitled *The Faith That Rebels*. There Dr Cairns shows how the faith of Jesus rebelled against the very idea of man being held down by any tyrant—disease, sin, or death; and the faith of Jesus is always triumphantly seen at work in the miracles He accomplished. It is in this connection that our Lord's prayer-life has a Gospel of its own for every missionary who has to deal with India's honest doubters. But that prayer-life of Jesus must be imitated in its constancy and intensity if we are to understand and demonstrate its deep significance.

The Prayers and Miracles of Jesus

(10) On the question of our Lord's miracles, the four Gospels emphasise a fact to which the Church has given inadequate attention, the fact that He never wielded his miraculous power without intense and constant prayer; so that the miracles of Jesus were not only the manifestation of His divine glory but the fruition of His praying life, the outflow of His intimate communion with the Spirit, and He appears to have performed them only by great expenditure of spiritual energy. 'Power is gone out of Me; someone touched Me' (Luke viii. 46). This fact of our Lord's prayer-life helps to explain the miracles He performed at a distance, how, for example, the seventy became agents of miraculous power in their Master's absence. They became such in answer to the intercession of the Leader, who while He prayed saw Satan swiftly over-thrown and rendered helpless: 'I beheld Satan fallen as lightning from heaven' (Luke x. 18). It was in His spirit made radiant by unceasing communion that Jesus saw His arch-foe lying fallen and defeated. 'Whilst you were working against the lesser spirits of evil I was watching the downfall of their chief.' When Jesus performed the greatest miracle of His ministry, the resurrection of Lazarus, He not only prayed immediately before the miracle, but He prayed in such a way as to intimate that He always had secret communion before those mighty efforts: 'Father, I thank Thee that Thou hearest Me and I knew that Thou hearest Me always' (John xi. 41-42). As Dr Garvie says, these words mean that 'prayer was habitual with Jesus in the exercise of His supernatural

power.' His reproof also to the disciples after their failure with the dumb and deaf spirit, 'This kind can come out by nothing save by prayer' (Mark ix. 20), was born of His own experience.

Jesus was an Incarnate Prayer

(11) The close interrelation and interaction between our Lord's intense prayerfulness, His fulness by the Holy Spirit, and His working of miracles, are fraught with deepest meaning for the future growth of the Christian Church in India, 'Greater works than these shall he do who believes in Me' (John xiv. 12). As Dr Adamson in his great book of many years ago, *The Mind in Christ*, says: 'Jesus really was an incarnate prayer . . . One might almost say He was in His humanity an embodied prayer . . . His prayers were the prayers of a prayerful being. Prayer meant in Him intensity of undivided concentrated desire. His spirit was always in a state of prayerfulness.' With the return of the seventy from their successful mission, we see the prayerfulness of Jesus after His victories as well as before, a lesson we shall all do well to learn from one of the richest passages on Christ's prayer-life: 'He thrilled with joy at that hour in the Holy Spirit, saying, I praise Thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, for concealing this from the wise and learned and revealing it to the simple-minded; yes Father, I praise Thee that such was Thy chosen purpose!' Then turning to the disciples He said, 'All has been handed over to Me by My Father: and no one knows who the Son is except the Father, or who the Father is except the Son, and he to whom the Son chooses to make a revelation' (Luke x. 21-2). Here we plumb the depths of self-revelation by Christ and it is worthy of note that our Lord's unique revelation of the Father was as closely related to prayer as was His performance of miracles. His divine knowledge as well as His divine power came to Him through the channels of prayer, and every one who assimilates that truth in all its force has entered on a new chapter of life and work.

Snatching Victory out of Defeat

(12) III. *A Prayer-Life That is Christlike Will Always be Redemptive*, for the simple reason that it is sacrificial in spirit and is linked with the Calvary Sacrifice. One morning in Bombay when I was reading St Luke's story of the Cross for family prayers, including the prayer of Jesus, 'Father, forgive them', three Marathi authors called on me, and after prayers were over they remarked, 'If your Bible had no other story but that, it would be a unique book.' You remember much the same thing was said to one of the M. E. bishops who met a Sadhu in the hills. When the bishop had answered the Sadhu's enquiry as to why he was in India, by telling the story of the Cross, the Sadhu replied: 'Then get out of India; for your Jesus will conquer all our Hindu gods.' Those two stories help to explain why prayer that is in the name of Christ cannot be any other than

redemptive. As St Paul puts it in Colossians 1.24, we are each called to 'make up the full sum of all that Christ has to suffer'. That does not mean our Lord's work is imperfect but rather that it is to be continuous, in and through you and me, and as missionaries we need to remember that redemptive work is never swiftly successful. Not even the Cross itself was that. Rheinhold Niebhuur has pointed out that the Church in every age lives as did its Lord, 'by snatching victory out of defeat'. Out of the dark tragedy of the Cross came the glory of Resurrection and Pentecost, and it will only be as we learn to pray and work with the praying Christ, that we shall learn the secret of victory out of defeat.

Filling up Gaps for God

(13) Many years before Jesus came, Ezekiel (in 22. 23-30) depicted a national crisis in which his prayer-life was so sensitive to the footfalls of Jehovah that he overheard the Eternal complaining about priests who 'made no difference between the sacred and the secular' as in 'Totalitarian lands today; and 'where the prophets applied white-wash' to the national evils of their time. In that crisis Ezekiel overheard the Eternal crying out, 'I have looked for a man to fill up the gap and I could not find one.' As Isaiah expressed it (59.16), 'He saw there was none to intervene.' God sees many gaps that need filling in India and all over the world today. Some are greater, some are smaller. One of the smaller gaps was filled up by an urchin in Liverpool. He was found playing with a broken piece of glass and using it as a mirror to let the sun flash upon it. When asked why, he said it was because up in a bedroom in a sunless alley close by there lay a crippled boy who had never seen the sun. So the urchin was catching the sun's rays and reflecting them on to the sufferer's bedroom window. That Liverpool urchin was filling up a gap on God's behalf. And since I was last in Benares, which was in the year 1909, it seems to me there must have been a great deal of redemptive sunlight flashed upon despised Doms. There has been such a transformation and a transfiguration, with some of them in High School today and one of them even entering this sacred ministry.

Crowned to Die!

(14) When Jesus succeeded in filling up the gap between our souls and God, was it not in the strength that came from prayer? 'In the days of His flesh, with bitter cries and tears, He offered prayers and supplications to Him who was able to save Him from death' (Hebrews 5.7). That prayer-life was costly. This same epistle to the Hebrews, so fittingly called 'the fifth life of Christ', has another sentence laden with gold, to discover which all the scholars have wrestled, and I adopt the meaning given by such men as Moffatt and A. B. Bruce and George Matheson. The sentence is in Hebrews 2.9 which Dr Moffatt renders: 'Jesus has been crowned with glory

and honour that by God's grace He might taste death for every man.' If we had been writing that epistle today we should have said, 'Jesus tasted death for every man in order to be crowned with glory.' But this writer puts it the other way: 'Jesus was crowned with glory in order that He might suffer.' Crowned to die! There is probably a deep reference to the Transfiguration, for was not the subject of the fellowship on that summit His 'decease at Jerusalem?' As Dr Matheson puts it: 'Jerusalem was His earthly *burden*, the dark spot in His future'; and up to the mountain top Jesus carried His heavy burden. In His deepest soul Jesus had resolved on a course which He knew could have only one end. And He went up that mount in order to wrestle with Himself and the whole problem, to pray about His coming death at Jerusalem that was so certain because He could not swerve from His message nor recede from His ideals. Therefore 'He went up to pray, and as He prayed, the fashion of His countenance was altered' (Luke 9.28). It was the glory of an all-absorbing communion with His Father. The transfiguring of His outer being by the metamorphic power of prayer was the result of His heart's burden being transfigured, the burden of His Jerusalem. And that hard thing became all irradiated. For the topic of the transfiguring fellowship was not only the death but 'the exodus', the event that lay beyond the death, the event that death led on to. It was the assurance of resurrection.

Prayer-Power for Unbearable Loads

(15) Are there unbearable loads in our missionary work day by day, whose haunting reality sometimes disables us? Then let us betake our hearts with Jesus to the holiest place we know, and commune with God of the hard duty and the heavy burden. By the power of prayer we shall become reconciled to what has before weakened us, and there will steal over us a transfiguring peace. How often we fail in showing the spirit of Jesus to others, because we have not let prayer transfigure within us those 'Jerusalems of pain' that can only be endured as we stand on the transfiguring mount with Jesus. A few years ago there died in South India a missionary named Dr G. N. Hardie. His secret of forgetting his own weakness lay in attending to the needs of others. For years Dr Hardie kept the following words of Phillips Brooks pinned up on his writing desk: 'Do not pray for easy lives. Pray to be stronger men. Do not pray for tasks equal to your powers. Pray for powers equal to your tasks. Then the doing of your work shall be no miracle. But *you* shall be a miracle. Every day you shall wonder at yourself, at the richness of life which has come to you by the grace of God.'

'My God! My God! Why?'

(16) IV. My Fourth and last point is that *a Spirit-Inspired effort to imitate the Prayer-Life of Jesus Christ can always be sure of*

its fruit, sooner or later, because God Himself is at work in it. Assured of its fruit, *sooner or later*. In the case of Jesus Himself it was later, but all the more sure, though on the Cross His heart-cry was: 'My God! My God! Why?' I wonder how many have seen that very tender story told by Dr J. Alexander Findlay in *The British Weekly* a few days ago. He was showing how we may get help from the profoundest utterance of our Lord's prayer-life, 'My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?' (Mark 15. 34). He told of an old lady who had passed through such grief that she nearly lost her reason: "'Then," she said, "I remembered, just in time, that Jesus had cried on the Cross, 'My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?'" The old lady added, "and He found Me there". And,' says Findlay, 'Any Saviour must be one who can get inside our prison with us, and yet be God . . . and just because He was God He had no one but Himself in the dark . . . God was there already,' Himself suffering; and in that fact lies our Gospel for a suffering world.

The Supernatural Value of Prayerful Action

(17) How even our imperfect prayer-life in India, and our service with all its self-discipline, may become redemptive in value if it is all *in* Christ and *for* Christ and *with* Christ, is explained by that notable saying of Faber that the supernatural value of our actions depends on the degree of our union with God at the time we do them. How completely we may each pray and work in union with Christ, is clear from the parallel between the incarnation of Christ in history and the timeless incarnation of the Holy Spirit in our hearts. If Jesus washed disciples' feet, think of the mean service we impose upon our indwelling Guest, of washing our unclean hearts. Just as Jesus shed His precious blood for us, the Spirit gives us what is equally precious, His very breath. 'O Breath of God!' Both blood and breath are symbols of life. The Son of God suffered *for* us and the Spirit of God suffers *with* us, entering into all the burdens of our lives, if we will allow Him. Thus our faltering prayer-life can have redemptive value, because the indwelling Spirit brings Christ to us and forms Him anew within our hearts. This intercession of the Spirit of Christ within us is an echo of the ceaseless intercession of Christ Himself at God's right hand? As Dr Hastings puts it: 'It is His unceasing intercession which shows itself in our prayers, and gives them a power they never had before. And He does this through His Holy Spirit.' Connect all this with what St James says in 5.16 about 'effectual fervent prayer'. The late Dr James Hope Moulton rendered that passage: 'The inspired supplication of a righteous man exerts a mighty influence'; and Dr Hastings translated it: 'The prayer of a righteous man is of great influence when he throws his whole energy into it.' Such prayer has influence because the energy thrown into it is the energy of the indwelling Spirit of God.

The Holy Spirit's Intercession in the Heart

(18) Our greatest triumphs in prayer are often achieved when our heart's longings are too great for our poor human speech; but, on those occasions, Another there is in our hearts who is praying on our behalf through those desires that baffle speech. How often in our missionary battles with ourselves and our difficulties we have to fall back on those inspired words of St Paul in Romans 8.26-27! I find it exceedingly helpful to ponder over the different translations of that passage, it is so rich with meanings. Three renderings are to me particularly suggestive. Take first Dr Moffatt's: 'So too the Spirit assists us in our weakness; for we do not know how to pray aright, but the Spirit pleads for us with sighs that are beyond words, and He who searches the human heart knows what is in the mind of the Spirit, since the Spirit pleads before God for the saints.' Dr Arthur S. Way translates: 'Yes, and His Spirit too—for His compassion matches our yearning—is ever taking our human frailty by the hand. We are not even sure what becoms should rightly be the object of our prayers; but His Spirit—His very Spirit—is pleading ever for us with sighings such as no language can shape into words. Ah, but He who tracks the labyrinth of the heart needs no words to divine what the Spirit means; He knows that His Spirit intercedes for His hallowed ones in just the way that God desires.' Drs Sanday and Headlam paraphrase Romans 8. 26-27 thus: 'Left to ourselves we do not know what prayers to offer or how to offer them. But in those inarticulate groans which rise from the depths of our being, we recognize the voice of none other than the Holy Spirit. He makes intercession; and His intercession is sure to be answered. For God who searches the inmost recesses of the heart can interpret His own Spirit's meaning. He knows that His own will regulates the petitions, and that they are offered for men dedicated to His service.'

The Hidden Spring of Intercessory Prayer

(19) When we think of such a redemptive prayer-life as was lived by St Paul and his fellow-apostles we begin to see the force of the statement by Prof. William James who said he was against the big organization method in Christian work, because he had come to see that those individuals who work faithfully are 'underdogs always, till history comes and puts them on the top'. How it is that they *are* 'on the top' is explained by the Tambaram Conference Chairman, Dr John R. Mott: 'For many years it has been my practice in travelling among the nations to make a study of the sources of the spiritual movements which are doing most to vitalize and transform individuals and communities. At times it has been difficult to discover the hidden spring, but invariably where I have had the time and patience to do so, I have found it in an intercessory prayer-life of great reality.' They tell the story in Ongole in the Madras Presidency that when the Christian people went to hold their Prayer Meetings at the top of the

hill overlooking the Ongole bazaar, the caste people gathered in the bazaar and watched that hill-top, pointing to it as something supernatural. They said, 'Their God is hovering over them. Our opposition is useless. They are bound to conquer.'

The Patience of Prayer

(20) But don't let us get the idea that a Christlike prayer-life will always mean *visible* success in missionary work. It did not mean that in the case of even Jesus Himself. 'Jerusalem! Jerusalem! how often would I . . . and ye would not!' (Matthew 23.37.) Yet His unbroken communion with His Father enabled Him to close His Upper Room fellowship with the words: 'In the world, trouble for you. But courage! I have conquered' (John 16.33). Prayer gave Jesus the assurance of victory before the last dread ordeal had even begun. And Christlike prayer-life will give you and me a similar confidence as we realize the tremendous odds His Kingdom has to face in India. Gethsemane intercessions enabled Him to go to Calvary, there to die for people He could not win without sinful compromise with His ideals. And if apparently fruitless toil in India should be our lot, we can still by prayer win the peace and power that shall enable us to offer ourselves on the altar of a redemptive love. Such peace and power will win India when all else fails.

'It takes great love to stir a human heart
To live beyond the others and apart,
A love that is not shallow, is not small,
Is not for one, or two, but for them all;
Love that can wound love for its higher need.
Love that can leave love though the heart may bleed,
Love that can lose love, family and friend,
Yet steadfastly live, loving to the end;
A love that asks no answer, that can live,
Moved by one burning deathless force—to give.'

CHAPTER XXIV

'SUPER-VICTORY' THROUGH THE CROSS

The Cross in the New Testament and Today

(1) Every missionary and every Christian worker in India will do well every now and again to ask himself the question: Has the Cross of Christ the same place in my Christian teaching that is given to it in the New Testament pages? Nearly one-half, and that the first half, of the New Testament is given up entirely to the picture of Christ, indicating to all Christian workers the place that Christ must have in the Christian message. And in that first half of the New Testament, more space is given to those few days which comprise the story of the Cross and its historic setting than to any other aspect of the work of Jesus. In St Mark's Gospel, for example, to take the Gospel which was probably the first completed, out of sixteen chapters no less than six are occupied with Calvary and what immediately led up to it and resulted therefrom. That this was to be the final, culminating element in the work of Jesus is shown also by the fact that even in the chapters preceding these last six, He Himself thrice foretells the Cross (St Mark 8.31; 9.31; 10.33) and He definitely and resolutely braces Himself to face it (10.32, compare St Luke 9.51). A very striking fact is that Jesus saw clearly that the Cross was both God's way for Him (St Mark 14.36, compare St John 18.11) and God's way for every one of His followers (St Mark 8.34), although, according to the universal view of that time, the Cross was nothing but a symbol of shame. In the words of Cicero: 'Let it never come near the body of a Roman citizen, not even near his thoughts or eyes or ears.' But with Jesus it came to be His one supreme method of accomplishing His purpose, the 'crowning proof of His love, of His loving determination to shrink from nothing by which He could reach us'.¹ By the Cross He was to pay a ransom-price: 'to give His life a ransom for many' is His own remarkable phrase in St Mark 10.45. 'My covenant-blood which is shed for many' (His own words again in St Mark 14.24) inaugurates and seals a new relation of man to God. Under the impact produced by these words of Jesus, we ask again: Does the Cross occupy this unique place in the testimony of India's Church and missionaries?

Raising the Level of Possibility

(2) That great scholar of Scotland, Dr Cairns, has stated somewhere that one of John Wesley's greatest achievements for the Christian

¹ Fellowship of the Kingdom Pamphlet (published by The Epworth Press, London) on which these first two paragraphs are based, with adaptations.

Church was to 'raise the level of possibility'. To 'raise the level of possibility' is India's greatest need, and if we are to supply the need we must do what Wesley did, we must call the Church back to 'the New Testament experience of God in Christ', and we must seek to recover 'the power of the New Testament Christians over men and women'. Both these things were the result of the pre-eminence of Jesus in the early Church and of the centrality of His Cross in that Church's story of Jesus. Adapting the words of Baron Von Hugel, 'a Person came and lived and loved and died and rose again, and lives on by His Power and His Spirit for ever within us and amongst us, so unspeakably rich and yet so simple, so sublime and yet so home-like, so divinely above us precisely in being so lovingly near'. Whenever and wherever we meet souls who have made Jesus and His Cross their inner secret, whether it be in the New Testament age or in any later age, souls 'deeply fixed in the warm, nourishing soil of the New Testament', we meet with those who have had the answer to that reverent and agelong Hindu prayer of the early Upanishad: 'From the unreal lead me to the Real, from darkness lead me to Light, from death lead me to Immortality.' In describing the experience which results, language always fails, for they speak of 'unsearchable riches', of a divine something that 'passeth knowledge' and 'passeth understanding'. They can use only superlatives, for in their experience they are 'more than conquerors'. They have an experience of 'super-victory', for they are drawing upon God's illimitable resources. And if our readers are strangers to this experience we urge them to *read the New Testament through from the standpoint of this one idea, and see whether it does not convey a secret which lifts the whole of life to a new level of possibility.*

'More than Conquerors'

(3) How well we remember reading the inspiring news last year about the Victory celebrations in London, and yet the adjoining columns in all the daily newspapers about the dismal state of things following on the Peace. We therefore could not help thinking of St Paul's wonderful phrase in Romans 8.37, 'we are *more than conquerors*'. As we reflected on the defeatism so dominant in the world, our minds went to an inspiring message delivered by the late Rev. W. H. Findlay, who was a Secretary of the British Methodist Missionary Society, to a gathering of British Methodist missionaries and Indian Christian leaders during the 1914-18 war. We have summarized this message in the following paragraphs, adding a few clauses of our own.

The Post-War Challenge of Christ

(4) Life today is giving to the Bible new and startling applications and implications. It is forcing us to discover just how far we will stake everything upon it. Thus are we challenged today; and out of this crucible we must come either the detected and disheartened

professors of a religion too great for our puny grasp, or enriched with new treasure, and jubilant in the adequacy of our faith for all extremities. This challenge will be brought home to us if we measure against these strange new times the phrase of St Paul's words: '*More than conquerors*'. How often, how glibly perhaps, we have read, quoted, sung the words; how easily we have accepted them as true, and have supposed we were experiencing them! But 'amid all *these things*', the things of today, to be not only conquerors, but '*More than conquerors*!'

Coming out 'On Top'

(5) Do we, does the Christian Church, find it, I will not say easy, but even possible, to share Paul's experience today?, '*More than conquerors*!' It would mean that, instead of being crushed under the present situation or struggling desperately to hold up our heads in it, we should be exultantly 'on top' of it. Is that where the pulpit is today? Or the religious press? Or the multitudinous war-pamphlets? How many among us are there whose bearing and utterance and action keep step with this music? But would St Paul himself not lower his high trumpet-note, if he had to face the world that fronts us today? Not for an instant. Look soberly at his life and times, and you will see that St Paul had vividly before his vision a range of adversity and evil wider than our utmost horizon. Look at it: 'Tribulation, anguish, persecution, famine, nakedness, peril, sword, killed all the day long, sheep for the slaughter, death or life' (Rom 8.35-36). Does that list of evils not cover what is happening in the world today? It does, every pang, every threat, every mystery of it. And St Paul gathers all he sees into a great heap, and he mounts on top of it 'more than conqueror' (8.37).

Paul's Universals and Superlatives

(6) Do you suggest that Paul is prone to extravagant language? True it is that he pours out magnificent universals and superlatives in unfolding the grace and love of God: 'Able to do exceeding abundantly *above all* that we ask or think' (Eph. 3.20); 'having always *all* sufficiency in everything, abounding unto every good work' (2 Cor. 9.8); 'My God shall fulfil *every* need of yours' (Phil. 4.19); 'in *everything* and in *all* things have I learned the secret that I can do *all things* in Him Who strengthens me' (Phil. 4.13); 'the transient feather-weight of our afflictions worketh for us *more and more exceedingly* an eternal weight of glory' (2 Cor. 4.17); 'all things are yours . . . *all* are yours' (1 Cor. 3.22). Language could surely not go further. Must we then take a discount of these super-words? Let St Paul hear any such suggestion from you, and his words '*God forbid*' will flash out at you!

Not Temperament, but Redemption

(7) Nor is it on Paul's own temperament or confidence or experience that this great challenge stands. It stands on the great *fact* which Paul preached and which we profess to believe. Look steadily at 'Christ Jesus our Lord', take the measuring rod of 'the love of God'; unfold the map of 'the redemption that is in Christ Jesus'; and you will confess that such utterances as Paul's 'more than conqueror', so far from being fanciful, or idealistic exaggeration, are the strictly logical corollaries, the necessary, literal, actual inferences from those overwhelming facts; for human speech has not the vocabulary to utter the full tale of *what redemption by Christ has won for us*. To dismiss Paul's language as not designed for days like our own, is to judge ourselves, and to confess that the wonder of the Gospel has not yet dawned on us. If we cannot honestly subscribe to the apostle's declaration, that means that we are not living up to the everyday, every-soul rights and privileges of our redemption. It was after St Paul in First Corinthians, chapter fifteen, had expounded the full meaning of the redemption accomplished by the Risen Lord that the apostle exclaimed, 'Wherefore,' that is, because of the super-victory accomplished by the Risen King, 'my beloved brethren, be ye steadfast, unmovable, *always abounding* in the work of the Lord' (1 Cor. 15-58).

The Fallacy of Limited Resources

(8) In light of this super-victory, we realize the fundamental fallacy we often make about the prospects of God's work. It may be called the fallacy of Limited Resources. Get St Paul's wide perspective, and you will discern that there are always *unlimited* resources available for the Divine campaign. For Calvary means calling upon the overwhelming resources of the Lord of *Hosts*. In presence of the dismay and defeatism that *might have* cowed the spirit of the Church, there is described in the Book of Revelation the super-victory which exclaimed, 'The Lord God Omnipotent reigneth', (Rev. 19.6). And in war days as well as peace days, the Lord God Himself is Unfailing Master of the situation. 'Shortage', applied either to workers or to financial resources, is a word not needed in the vocabulary of God's work. Hence it was in the era of the great Napoleonic wars that Divine Providence and the Divine Spirit inspired the founding of several missionary societies and that in both World War No. I and World War No. II one missionary society broke all its records of income.

The God Who 'Laughs'

(9) Such things are among the doings of Him about Whom it is said, 'He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh' (Psalm 2.4). He laughs, for example, at those enemies of the Gospel in India who

declare they will see to it that 'this work of conversion must stop', as if the Almighty had assigned unto *them* full sovereignty over the human heart and conscience. Our privilege it is to 'laugh at impossibilities, and to cry, It shall be done'. Why? Because 'Thy Right Hand, O Lord, is glorious in power' (Exodus 15.6). Therefore 'be always *abounding*' with the energy of exultant, expectant confidence in the work of the Living Lord; and 'so shall ye be more than conquerors'. 'This is the super-victory that overcometh the world, even *our faith*' (1 John 5.4). The key to *our* super-victory thus lies in our faith, a faith whose ultimate secret is in the words, 'through *Him that loved us*' (Rev. 1.5). 'He loved *me* and gave Himself for *me*' (Galatians 2.20).

Jesus hath died for you and me :
Believe—and conquer all.

The Secret of Super-Victory

(10) Should any reader feel inclined to be discouraged by the loftiness of the spiritual possibilities set forth above, let him remember that the same Paul, whose lofty language we have been considering, was once in such deep despair about his own moral and spiritual weakness, in Romans 7.15-25, that he cried out, 'Who will rescue me from this body of death?' Paul himself gave the answer: 'God will, through Jesus Christ' (Rom. 7. 24-25). And so grandly *did* Paul experience this 'rescue' that he could say in Philippians 4.13, 'In Him Who strengthens me I am able for anything.' What lay between his cry of despair and his shout of 'super-victory' *for each one of us today*? Romans 8.2 where Paul tells us: 'The law of the Spirit of Life in Christ Jesus has made me free.'

CHAPTER XXV

'THE SPIRIT OF GLORY AND OF POWER'

A Meditation on I Peter 4. 14

(1) There can be no more profitable exercise in spiritual meditation whenever the Church of Christ celebrates the Pentecostal descent of the Holy Spirit, than to think out the full implication of the threefold title given to the Divine Spirit in that remarkable verse in St Peter's first epistle (4. 14) where the once fallen Apostle encourages the persecuted 'exiles of the Dispersion' by reminding them that there is 'resting' upon them 'the Spirit of Glory, even the Spirit of Power, the Spirit of God Himself'. Dr Moffatt has done the Church of Christ a real service in restoring to the rendering of this verse the middle clause. And it is worthy of note that it was a weak, scattered, persecuted and greatly despised community that was so described as full of *power* and crowned with *glory*. Nor was this condition described in the future tense, for the 'shoots of everlastingness' were already seen upon these despised and scattered exiles. 'Under their drab persecuted lives, they were always conscious of a great victory; they were always hymning in their hearts a great deliverance, as the Athenians sang hymns about Marathon.' And as Bishop Winnington Ingram says: 'It is just as much a glorious thing to be a Christian as it was two thousand years ago.' Bishop Ingram continues by drawing a moral from the 'old world story' of Gideon telling his men 'to hide all their torches in their pitchers. Who would suppose that such a blaze of light was coming? But in a flash, at the cry, "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon" the pitchers were broken and the power of God shone forth upon an astonished enemy.' So just as for a time the torches are so concealed that few know the glory which shall be revealed, so 'the Church shines with a subdued light, but all the time the glory is there. The flame of faith and hope and love burns very quietly in many a dining-room or pantry or kitchen, but one day at the voice of the Archangel, the pitchers are all broken, and from the Church on earth a million million torches will flash forth to the glory of God.' Let every preacher and every Christian worker emphasise not only on Whitsunday but on every Lord's Day that for the Church in India, as for that in every other land, the Springs of Glory and the Springs of Power are to be found in the Spirit of God alone.

Source of Power in Preaching

(2) Whilst every member of the Church has a definite responsibility for the fulfilment of its mission in the world, the pulpit has a special responsibility. Careful study of the New Testament shows

that the only possible secret of inspiring preaching is what is again and again described as being 'filled with the Holy Spirit'. In an able article some time ago on 'The Minister's Message for Today as Inspired by the New Testament', the Professor of Systematic Theology in New College, Edinburgh, Dr H. R. Mackintosh, made the following striking statements: 'Two incidents recur to me at this point. Some years ago I was talking to a busy doctor who was a religious man, when he said with a kind of abrupt vehemence: "If I were a minister, do you know what I'd preach? The Holy Spirit." Later, a noted philosopher remarked to me: "I hear people preach all kinds of things, only not the Spirit; yet there's more need for that than for anything else."' And Dr Mackintosh adds his own testimony in these words: 'Nothing will happen except as Divine power enters his (the preacher's) words, and gives them momentum. He not merely feels this; he feels that the Spirit's enabling power is literally there for him to take. Now we invariably preach with greater effect truths which we have discovered in our private life. Here is the thought of unseen power available for weak men in the Holy Spirit. It is a central fibre in the message of the New Testament, and never was it more required than at the present hour. In the first century we can see the opening of the spring. "Ye shall receive power" is the promise, and the echo of testimony is "I can do all things":'

The Inward Test of Christian Experience

(3) A similar diagnosis of the whole Church's present-day need is reached by that fine English scholar, Dr Glover, who in his book, *Paul of Tarsus*, goes so far as to say: 'What the modern Church makes of the Spirit, when it is not merely reciting quotations, it is hard to say; very little, might be the answer, if we were truthful. One great theologian of our day, at any rate, says bluntly that no original work has been done by the Church upon the Holy Spirit since the days of the Apostles.' Then Dr Glover has an invaluable note, invaluable because with his knowledge of Greek he can speak with authority on the subject. He is dealing with St Paul's searching words in the eighth chapter of Romans where St Paul states: 'Ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if the Spirit of God dwelleth in you. But if any man have not the Spirit of Christ he is none of His' (Rom. 8.9). As so many people insist on reading these words as if Paul had meant the term 'the Spirit of Christ' to be read with a small 's' it is important to note that Dr Glover affirms: 'The Spirit is here at once and equally the Spirit of God and of Christ, as elsewhere; and the indwelling of the Spirit thus doubly described is also the indwelling of Christ.' And Dr Glover adds: 'A modern attempt to get rid of the difficulty by giving "Spirit" of Christ a small letter would not be true to the Greek; that idea is conveyed by Paul as "the mind of Christ":' And since we are here dealing with well-known but commonly misunderstood passages from the New Testament, let us

refer to some of the most commonly quoted words of Holy Writ, those words from the Lord's Prayer, 'Hallowed be Thy Name'. During his later years the late Dr James Hastings favoured an interpretation of this phrase which is worthy of the attention of every earnest Christian. He did not think it referred either to the name of God as Jehovah or even the name of Jesus Christ. He did not even favour its referring to the name 'Father'. He connected the Name with the following petitions, and believed that 'the Holy Spirit came in power that the prayer might be fulfilled'. And then this great Scotsman, leader of the scholars of our time, said: 'And this is the name that is to be hallowed. For there is nothing higher than spirit. "God is Spirit" is the highest revelation that has been made of Him. But Spirit has to be differentiated. There are different planes of spirits. What sort of Spirit is God? The answer is that He is a Spirit that has to be hallowed. He is a *Holy Spirit*. Whatever the disciples of Jesus understood, this is what He meant them to understand when He taught them to pray, "Hallowed be Thy Name". And this is what we are to understand: "Hallowed be Thy Name, Thy New Name of Holy Spirit." And it is well known that one of the early manuscripts in giving the petition, "Thy Kingdom come", renders the phrase, "Thy Kingdom come, that is, Thy Holy Spirit".'

St Cyril on the Holy Spirit

(4) As we each one play our own part in the Church's story we shall get much help by remembering the beautiful imagery of St Cyril of Jerusalem (about A.D. 315-386), when writing of the Holy Spirit. St Cyril likens the Holy Spirit and His work to rain which comes down upon the earth. 'It is everywhere the same rain, but it looks different—it is red in the rose, blue in the hyacinth, white in the lily, and green upon the grass—and it perfects each according to the law of its own creation. So it is with the Holy Spirit. He comes down to us and dwells within us in order to fashion each soul according to the law of its own creation into the perfection which God designed for it.' Let us apply St Cyril's message in three directions.

'The Spirit of Truth' at work in the Orient

(5) For all who are engaged in spreading the good news of Jesus, one of the most comforting and strengthening aspects of St Peter's message concerning 'the Spirit of Glory, of Power and of God Himself', who was said to be 'resting upon' the scattered exiles of the first century Church, is an aspect arising from one of the names Jesus gave to the Holy Spirit. He referred to Him as 'the Spirit of Truth', Who would guide the Master's followers in every age 'into all truth'. This aspect is comforting and strengthening because we find ourselves face to face with great systems of teaching and of ritual which have withstood the test of ages, and which, notwithstanding, have been proved deficient in meeting the aspirations of the human heart, stricken

with a sense of its sin. It is a comforting and fortifying aspect also because we find ourselves toiling among people of astonishing religious devotion, devotion which when touched with the love of Christ will, as we believe, introduce a new force in the universal Church of Christ. For the growing conviction of all careful investigators in oriental religion is the conviction expressed by a one-time missionary in India who says: 'It has long been a commonplace that when the patient East with its penetration and its capacity for loyalty has learned to know Jesus, it will find in Him treasures that we have missed. It would seem that part of India's contribution will be the discovery, or rather the re-discovery, of the law of Christian love. On no ethical point are the judgments of the European and the Indian Christian more often at variance than on the relative claims of justice, righteousness, and love; and we are being compelled to ask ourselves how far our emphasis on the sterner virtues is Christian, and how far it is only Anglo-Saxon. . . As we burrow in the sands of Egypt for documents that will shed light on the New Testament, let us not forget the light that comes from living epistles in the lands where the triumphs of the first Christian centuries are being re-enacted before our eyes.' And as we each contribute our very humble share in this holy task committed to the Church in the East, and as we co-operate with the Spirit of Truth who is also 'the Spirit of Glory, of Power, and of God Himself', we shall come to feel the grandeur of the ideal expressed by Dr Edwin Hatch:

For me—to have made one soul
The better for my birth;
To have added but one flower
To the garden of the earth;

To have struck one blow for truth
In the daily fight with lies;
To have done one deed of right
In the face of calumnies;

To have sown in the souls of men
One thought that will not die;
To have been a link in the chain of life—
Shall be immortality.

Self-Effacement of the 'Spirit-Filled'

(6) Much of the inspired message of the Spirit of Truth which has come down to us in Holy Writ has come down to us without any human name attached; so also the Spirit-filled messenger of the Spirit of Truth to-day will ever hide himself in his message. Just as much in the Old Testament, the Book of Job for example, has come down to us without the author's name, and just as much in the New Testament has come in the same way, the Epistle to the Hebrews for example,

so we today can be sure of this one thing, that, in the words of Dr Jowett, 'When we display ourselves we hide our Lord; when we blow our own trumpet, men will not hear "the still small voice of God".'

He held the lamp of truth that day
So low that none could miss the way;
And yet so high to bring in sight
That picture fair—the World's Great Light—
That gazing up—the lamp between—
The hands that held it scarce were seen.

He held the pitcher stooping low
To lips of little ones below.
Then raised it to the weary saint
And bade him drink when sick and faint.
They drank—the picture thus between—
The hand that held it scarce was seen.

He blew the trumpet soft and clear
That trembling sinners need not fear;
And then with louder note, and bold,
To raze the walls of Satan's hold.
The trumpet Coming
Thus between,
The hand that held it scarce was seen

But when the captain says, 'Well done!
Thou good and faithful servant, Come,
Lay down the picture and the lamp,
Lay down the trumpet, leave the camp!'
The weary hand will then be seen
Clasped in those Pierced Hands, naught between.

The Spirit of Glory as Comforter

(7) Equally precious to India's missionaries and to her larger army of Indian Christian workers is that office of the Holy Spirit described as the office of 'the Comforter', the 'Fortifier', the 'Friend in need, to be called upon at any time' (as the word 'Paraclete', the Greek name of the Holy Spirit, means). All these names the soldiers of the Cross in India and elsewhere have proved to be all-sufficient for life's stress and strain. That earnest Salvation Army worker, Miriam Booth, is the editor of a collection of poems of consolation written by General Bramwell Booth's accomplished daughter, who passed away in 1917. They are divided into three sections, Faith, Hope, Love, the title being *Joy In Sorrow*. One Poem reads as follows:

I stood and watched my ships go out
Each, one by one, unmooring free,
What time the quiet harbour filled
With flood tide from the sea.

The first that sailed,—her name was Joy;
She spread a smooth and ample sail,
And eastward strove, with bending spars,
Before the singing gale.

Another sailed,—her name was Hope;
No cargo in her hold she bore,
Thinking to find in western lands
Of merchandise a store.

The next that sailed,—her name was Love;
She showed a red flag at the mast,—
A flag as red as blood she showed,
And she sped south right fast.

The last that sailed,—her name was Faith;
Slowly she took her passage forth,
Tacked and lay to—at last she steered
A straight course for the north.

My gallant ships they sailed away
Over the shimmering summer sea;
I stood at watch for many a day,
But only one came back to me.

For Joy was caught by Pirate Pain;
Hope ran upon a hidden reef;
And Love took fire, and foundered fast
In 'whelming seas of grief.

Faith came at last, storm-beat and torn;
She recompensed me all my loss,
For as a cargo safe she brought
A Crown, linked to a Cross!

PART SEVEN

FAREWELL

CHAPTER XXVI

TO FELLOW-EDITORS IN INDIA, MISSIONARIES
AND PASTORS

Retrospect

(1) The moment has come to say farewell to India, for nearly thirty-nine years our home, where fellowship with Indian Christian ministers, missionaries and editors has brought to us a deep personal enrichment. It is over thirty years since we first came into close contact with Indian editors and the Indian press for it was in January 1917 that we wrote our first article in the English columns of the weekly *Dnyanodaya* (or *Rise of Knowledge*). It was with the deepest possible appreciation that we read five years ago the generous words so many editors in India and elsewhere wrote about the hundred years' work of the *Dnyanodaya* and of our own humble part in it. During these three decades we have not infrequently given expression to the deep delight with which we have studied the pages of the wonderful Marathi Poet Saints, from the days of the towering Dnyaneshwar six and a half centuries ago to that versatile genius and personal friend Narayan Vaman Tilak who passed from this earthly scene in 1919 and was pronounced by Narasimha Chintaman Kelkar of *Kesari* fame to have been the chief of contemporary poets. Now let us say that it has been no less a delight to peruse the more fleeting productions of present-day fellow-editors, of whose ability, charity and courtesy we take away an unforgettable memory as we retire from the active sphere in India. These lines give us an opportunity of thanking all our companions in the journalistic profession for the inspiration and enlightenment we have received from their writings and for the patience and tolerance they have uniformly extended to our own, both in the volumes of the *Poet Saints of Maharashtra* series and in the weekly columns of the *Dnyanodaya*. As we leave India we feel it is quite impossible to put into words the debt we owe to contemporary editors for their enriching interpretations of current history and of leading personalities in that history. So deeply are we conscious of our debt that it is true to say that our silent fellowship with fellow-editors has been one of our greatest enrichments during our nearly four decades in India. In expressing these sentiments concerning editors in whose company we have spent so many happy and fruitful hours we are not conscious of having to make a single exception, for

Apologia

(2) By the very nature of the case these lines become an apologia and an invitation; an apologia of one's own faith expressed to a group of writers who have extended to us such uniform courtesy, and a loving invitation to fellow-workers in the causes of great India to join us as fellow-pilgrims of eternity. That disciple of Jesus who suffered so great a fall, Peter, and then by penitence, pardon and a daily Penance in his soul was enabled to make such a remarkable recovery, writing to his scattered readers in that first century A.D. (1 Peter 3.15) and to his readers of today, urges upon us 'always to be ready with an apologia to every one who asks of you a reason concerning the hope you cherish, but let your answer be given gently and with due deference'. To anyone like ourselves who has been so deeply impressed on the one hand by the beauty and profundity of nearly seven centuries of Maharashtra's Poet Saints (the last of whom, N. V. Tilak, showed in personal friendship that he was greater than his greatest poems), and on the other hand by the innate courtesy and respectful toleration of present-day writers, any other attitude than that of 'due deference' would be unthinkable. 'I am sure,' says one to whom we owe much on these things, 'that the bit of the road that most requires to be illuminated is the point where . . . when a certain stage is reached we take different turnings' in the journey of the soul. The great Archbishop Anselm of the 11th century has a wise word for us all when he says: 'The right order of going requires that we shall believe the deep things of God before we presume to discuss them.' Anselm's addition is just as salutary: 'It seems to me negligence if, after we have been confirmed in the faith, we do not study to understand what we believe'; and further, 'it is clear that I must study to understand not only my own belief but also the attitude of those who believe differently or do not believe at all. . . . It is perhaps even more important for the unbeliever to know what and why he does not believe than it is for the believer to know what and why he believes.' And no editor needs reminding that none of us can do more than 'nibble at so vast a problem'. It is from this Anselmic point of view that our own studies have been pursued among the Poet Saints of Maharashtra and why we have found them so enriching, in acquainting us with their points of view on what are by common consent among the very richest things in India's entire literature.

Invitation

(3) In urging an invitation to become 'pilgrims of eternity' in companionship with Christ, one of the first things to be done, unfortunately, is to confess the sad imperfection of the presentation of so glorious a Friend and so sufficient a Saviour. Our witness is

often so confused and divided, and its chief defect has been in the sowing of the seed and only secondarily in the imperfection of the soil. Who, for example, cannot but deplore the crudity from the religious standpoint of much contemporary literature coming to India, the contemporary novels in particular, so that one reader has remarked that he often wonders whether some modern novelists have ever met a good man or a good woman, and still more whether they have ever seen inside a truly Christian home, the most distinctive thing in Western lands. Or take literature of other kinds. Herbert Spencer's *Synthetic Philosophy* was to be a system for all time, 'but who reads it after fifty years?' The same can be said of the merely humanistic system of Auguste Comte, and even of the communism or historical materialism set forth by Karl Marx concerning which, despite its universal prevalence, careful thinkers 'cannot but detect a certain stammer in its utterance'. An equally germane observation is that while the Christian apologist must bring to bear 'the most merciless possible illumination' on all forms of unbelief, he knows that it is only 'in complete honesty and pitiless self-criticism' that he must present his Master's claim, for it is only 'when all our human cards are on the table that Christ gets His real opportunity' with the individual soul. Another essential which discouraged hearts can never afford to overlook is emphasized by the three parables of Jesus on the lost coin, the lost sheep and the lost son in St Luke xv; for their chief message is that God the All-Father is the great Seeker. While India's astonishing pilgrimages and sacrifices show how passionately India for ages past has been seeking God, those three parables show God as the seeking Father; and that Father and the lost soul of man find their meeting place in Jesus the Son of Man and Son of God. This is a truth of infinite comfort, for it shows that the way to God's Kingdom of Peace and Purity and Power is not through that 'crucifixion of intelligence' sometimes advocated, but through the All-Loving Jesus Who Himself was crucified, and Who asks from every one of us the crucifixion of self and sin by the Power of His Own Indwelling Spirit. Hence the Scot Christian philosopher can truly say 'it is high time we Christian theologians stopped apologizing for Christ, and took thought rather to confront men with His imperious claim'. Christ's right to make an imperious claim on *every one of us* is based on the fact expressed by that one-time enemy, Saul of Tarsus, that 'He loved me and gave Himself for me' (Galatians 2.20) in a sacrifice whose range and efficacy baffle all the philosophers still, but a sacrifice which brings peace and inspiration to millions of souls in every land, whenever its message is accepted and its power and peace are appropriated by simple trustful faith. The same Saul of Tarsus, after he had become St Paul, explained the adequacy and sufficiency of the Calvary sacrifice by saying that after Christ had risen from the dead, God Himself 'sent forth the Spirit of His Son into our hearts' (Galatians 4.6) assuring us of God's royal pardon and imparting spiritual power. Millions are daily proving that the Spirit of the

Saviour dwelling in their souls delivers them effectually from sin's dominion over them, so that they can say with St Paul, 'The law of the Spirit brings the life which is in Christ Jesus, and that law has set me free from the law of sin and death' (Romans 8.2.). When we read in the closing portion of Romans viii in verse 37 about the 'super-victory' of being 'more than conquerors' we need to remember that the secret of that 'super-victory' is in the undiscourageable dynamic supplied by the Spirit of Christ seen at work in the four aspects of daily 'indwelling' (Romans 8.9), daily leading (verse 14), daily witnessing to our pardon and acceptance with God (verses 15-16), and, most dynamic of all, daily help in the prayer-life of the soul (vs. 26-27). If the present writer had to state all in a moment 'What Christ Means To Me' he would fall back on his proof through all the years of the dynamical value of those four aspects of the life in and with Christ; and millions of Christian brothers and sisters all over the earth can give the same testimony. Hence the deep reality of the further testimony in St Paul's wonderful words so beautifully rendered by Dr Moffatt: 'We know that those who love God . . . have His aid and interest in everything'; or as Dr C. H. Dodd renders them, 'We know that with those who love God He co-operates in all things for their good.' And yet it is a life of unending progress:

'Let no man think that sudden in a minute,
All is accomplished and the work is done,
Though with thine earliest dawn thou shouldst begin it,
Scarce were it ended in thy setting sun.'

The Ideals of the Two Tilaks

(4) Two of the greatest leaders contemporary India has had were the two Tilaks, Narayan Vaman Tilak, Marathi Editor of the weekly *Dnyanodaya* (our own colleague), and Bal Gangadhar Tilak who was Editor of the weekly *Kesari*. The differing ideals of these two Tilaks, who were equally sincere, are clearly set forth in a book by Edward Shillito entitled *Nationalism* in a section composed by the help of Dr Macnicol who knew both the Tilaks personally. Here is the gist of the story:—

'It was in the City of Poona on a certain day in April 1916, that two Indians were talking seriously together. . . . The two men were growing old as age is reckoned in India, where three-score years without the ten are the appointed days of man's years. They bore the same name Tilak, and their fathers came from the same village in that Maratha country. But they were only distant cousins and their ways in life separated them. . . . Bal Gangadhar, the political leader and Narayan, the Christian poet had found much of which to speak together. "It is almost time," Narayan was saying, "that you and I took the Sannyasi robe and made ourselves ready for the great change." "Not yet; there is a little more to be done for India before the end"; Bal Gangadhar answered, "I have had one love above all

others ; I have served but one divinity and I shall still serve her till the end. For her sake, as your Christian teacher said 'I count all things but loss' . . . "I too have loved India," Narayan said softly. "You !" Bal Gangadhar answered with a touch of scorn, "You who have forsaken its gods, and taken your place with the worshippers of Christ ! . . . What have you to offer India in her hour of need ? I saw her in a dream calling me and I came. What have you to say to our Mother ?" . . . *In those two lives two ways for India were set forth between which the heart of India must choose.* "I will tell you," Narayan began, "but first may I ask you what India means to you and what is your hope for our mother-country ?" "India is everything to me"; the politician answered. . . . "Is there then nothing for you above the nation, above India ?" . . . "Nothing ; in this place of shadows she is supreme ; her will is my only law," Bal Gangadhar made answer. "There come times when anything may be pardonable in those who fight for her. My country right or wrong ! They have this saying in the West and Sanskrit teachers have said words like that. . . ." "And by calling to your aid the Indian people with all the power which their customs give, you will drive out the Western people in the end and establish *swaraj*. And what then ?" "We shall be free," Bal answered with the light of a great passion on his face. What will matter then ? Free !" . . . "This freedom," Narayan questioned him once more, "will be freedom from a Western yoke. But shall we be free ? Will the Untouchables be free ? Will the Muslims, the Hindus, be at peace and be free to lay aside their enmities ? . . . Shall we be brothers when the last of the garrison has sailed away ?" "Who can say ?" said Bal Gangadhar . . . "It is not for men to shape the long future. I have been a politician . . . But you, who are a disciple of Christ, what have you done for India ?" . . . "I too heard India calling me in the days of my youth," Narayan answered, "when as a poor boy, I read by the light of the Temple lamps at Nasik ; when I withdrew to the hillside to seek the way of deliverance for India, and people began to worship me as a holy man—I too was a lover of India. Then Christ came to me." "And India receded," Bal Gangadhar said. "No, a thousand times no !" Narayan answered, his gentle and laughing eyes overclouded. "In Christ I found my guru ; my divine teacher and friend ; and I saw India as a disciple waiting for its Master. Christ is not for me a Western deity who would depart if the Westerners went. He is the Lord of India for whom its sages waited. The Lord of our own Maratha land, whom its poets have longed to see" . . . After a pause Narayan began to speak once more : "That has been my task, to preach Jesus Christ to my people, not as one who will make an end of India, but will fulfil its destiny, and India will be His servant among nations. India waits for Christ its guru. Christ waits for India . . . India has her name written on the brow of Christ." "And what is your hope for this land of ours ?" Bal Gangadhar asked. "I am no Politician as you

are," Narayan answered, "but I too want to see *swaraj* and yet there is something which I set above it. I long to see *swarāj*. The accent as you know means much." "By this *swārāj*," Bal Gangadhar said, "you mean—" . . . "It will mean that our mother country will have the secret of unity and of true freedom because it will be found at the feet of its true Lord. There must be something for her above India and above all nations. I shall soon put on the yellow robe of the Sannyasi ; but that will be to make Christ known to India as its liberator. In the love of Christ Untouchables and Brahmins will meet, British and Indians. In the *swārāj* of which I think and for which I hope, India will at least become one. It will still be the mother-country which calls for our love and service, but it will be within the Kingdom into which they shall come, not only from the East but from the West." "It is growing late," said Bal Gangadhar. "We must be going homewards . . . I still regret that you missed your part with us. But as men draw near to the last mortal changes they grow more charitable." "Peace be to you and your house !" Narayan answered as he said farewell. "I too shall serve India till I die ; I shall teach in word and song that we who are of the Kingdom of Christ should so love India and sacrifice for it, that India will accept Christ. And beyond death and this world of time there is the City of God."

The Opportunity of Editors in India

(5) There is no class of worker in India whose influence can be so wide and deep as editors, for they speak to a larger congregation of people than any preacher in the land or any political orator. Also, an editor, besides addressing *more* people, deals with them all individually, for when any man reads his paper he has the editor confronting him all alone. What an opportunity ! And what a responsibility ! As we write these lines (March 1947), India is in the throes of hell with riot, murder and arson raging in several centres, and so great is the influence of editors felt to be that every editor in the land has a set of rules and regulations forbidding him from saying this or that. If we could reach all these editors we would urge upon them to spread Narayan Vaman Tilak's Gospel far and wide, for that message (which we have already summarized imperfectly in a previous section) included at least these things : A change of religion (from Krishna to Christ, for example) does *not* mean any change in loyalty to India the Motherland. True liberty can only be obtained by following Jesus and by heart-loyalty to His message. One chief part of that message, called the Golden Rule is : 'Do unto others as ye would they should do unto you.' Who can imagine the transformation that Golden Rule would bring about if loyally obeyed ? But by what Power can that Golden Rule be carried out ? Let the two next paragraphs answer.

'The Spirit of Truth' as an Editor's Guide

(6) Since *the Holy Spirit* has been the secret of many an editor's resourcefulness in the sudden crises that arise in the course of editorial duty, it is no surprise that in the recent biography of J. A. Spender, the late distinguished editor of the *Westminster Gazette*, his biographer Mr. H. Wilson Harris, M.P., says: 'What, more than anything else, gave the *Westminster* and Spender himself their remarkable influence, and won for both so general and profound respect, was the editor's unswerving journalistic integrity.' Of rich significance for every editor is the statement in the chapter on Spender's religious beliefs: 'So far as I know he only once put on paper anything like a confession of his faith. That was in his last book, *Between Two Wars* "A few years ago," he wrote there, "the Vicar of the parish in which I was then living (Marden, in Kent) asked me if I would read the lessons in his Church. I said yes, but added that I thought I ought to tell him that there was only one article in the creeds of the Church that I thoroughly and honestly accepted: 'I believe in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and Giver of Life'. Not a spirit, but *the Holy Spirit*, compelling us, in spite of everything, . . . the something not ourselves making for righteousness, the Comforter, the Supporter, the Fighter, Who refuses to accept defeat and is not cast down by any obstacle or seeming setback. The vicar said, 'Enough'; and for several years I read the lessons at the evening service in his church." Telling the same story to a friend, Spender developed it a little: "I have never got beyond this, or gone back on it. To me the Spirit is something much more than the philosopher's or the intellectual's 'life-principle', but something which compels us in spite of everything . . . and seems to be struggling to find expression in history. I can only say that my own thought and experience lead me more and more to this conviction, and not least in these times when the great rally to what is good and decent is at least as encouraging as the assault of the devil is the reverse. What is it but the Holy Spirit who is leading thousands . . . to the conviction that there is something much more important than life for which their lives must cheerfully be given?"'

Responsibility for satisfying India's Religious Hunger

(7) Since editors of the people's daily and weekly papers can fulfil their task only by emphasizing moral and national ideals, those editors have a right to expect that their efforts shall be supplemented by the Indian Christian Church setting forth an adequate dynamic for those ideals in the constant availability of God's Mighty Holy Spirit to meet every day's needs. In this way the Indian press and the Indian Church will work hand in hand, the press by a continual presentation of those ideals without which no nation can endure, and the Indian Church by the daily reminder that 'there standeth among you One Whom you do not recognize' (John i. 26), 'Whose eyes are like a flame

of fire' (Rev. i. 14), Who is watching and judging the motives and methods of every individual in social and national life, and is 'holding in His right hand' of spiritual power every one who by character and service seeks to overcome the evils of society, by the holy energy of the Indwelling Spirit of Christ. *The responsibility for a faithful setting forth of this available dynamic is one that no Christian minister or missionary can evade if he is to satisfy the widespread religious hunger of India.* When a Christian editor surveys his past columns from this searching standpoint, and when he reads his past writing in light of J. A. Spender's principle of the Holy Spirit as 'the Supporter, the Fighter', he realizes how far short of the ideal he has come; especially is this the case when his readers include overworked missionaries and underpaid ministers. We hope the day is not far distant when every Indian Church will add a definite monthly allowance to ensure new books for its pastor, and when every Mission Board will make a similar allowance to every one of its representatives on the Mission Field, or when Churches and Boards make a free gift of the best and latest books to pastors and missionaries. For while it must always be true that the Christian worker's chief textbook is the Bible, yet many a preacher would be saved from rusting by a regular addition to his slender stock of books. The pages of the present book would have been even leaner than they are had we not been the fortunate recipient of a copy of Dr John A. Mackay's rich quarterly *Theology Today* sent on to us by a retired missionary himself compelled to retire from the battlefield by working in India beyond the breaking point. This magazine is published from Princeton, N. J., U.S.A., at two dollars or ten shillings a year and has the very practical subtitle, 'The Life of Man in the Light of God': there could be no more enriching gift for every pastor in East or West, each issue being the work of a competent editorial council with an impressive array of associate and contributing editors. The issue for January this year (1947) brings home the sacred responsibility of every pastor and missionary for setting forth intelligently and from the standpoint of personal experience the Christian dynamic of the Indwelling Spirit of the Lord, the central theme in all the articles being 'The Holy Spirit and the Christian Life'. Preachers in every land may well ponder over the affirmation that it is 'surely more than a coincidence' that 'ineffectiveness of the Christian witness' goes 'hand in hand with a tragic neglect of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit and a consequent dimming of the victorious radiance of the Christian life' and that 'the doctrine of the Spirit is today the most neglected of all the doctrines of the Christian faith'; for 'there are multitudes in our time, as there were some in Paul's day, who have never so much as heard that there is a Holy Spirit'. The same issue quotes Thomas Carlyle who in one of his *Miscellanies* asked, 'How did Christianity arise and spread among men?' Carlyle's own answer was: 'It flew like hallowed fire from heart to heart, till all whom it touched were purified and illuminated by its power.' Hence the challenging

relevancy of Paul's injunction, 'Be aglow with the Spirit', as the Revised Standard Version renders Romans xii. 11, the richest food for India's hungry heart. Hence also one writing from India of the wonderful Christward movement in various centres can say: 'Back of it all are little cells of Christians praying.' It is in such prayer-cells that we shall find the secret behind the all-sufficient dynamic for every condition of life, the dynamic that comes from the realized Presence of the Living Christ by the power of His Indwelling Spirit. This message means that in every situation of life God Himself is *on our side*, that He is also *by our side*, and that He is even *within us* as an abiding Guest, Guide and Empowerer enabling us all the time to be 'super-victors'.

The Tonic for Pessimism and Defeatism

(8) One of the greatest hindrances to success in ministering to India's hungry heart arises from pessimism and defeatism. It has often been remarked that pessimism is one of the chief marks of all Indian religion. But it has not been as frequently emphasized that one of the greatest dangers on the Mission Field is the sense of defeatism haunting so many missionaries, pastors and other workers in their own sphere of labour. Most workers are so isolated that they hear little or nothing of the victories Christ is winning in other parts of India and other lands, but are continually under the strain of their own local problems and of their consciousness of shortcoming. For all such workers and for Indian religious pessimism alike the supreme tonic lies in a heart experience of the daily realized Presence of the Living Christ by His Indwelling Spirit. There can have been no more discouraged man than was Peter at nightfall on the day of the Crucifixion, as he looked back on his cowardly denial of Jesus. Hence the force of Peter's words in the third verse of the first chapter in his first letter where he says, 'We have been born anew to a life of hope through the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead.' For in the heart of the hopeless and discouraged Peter a new hope had been born by the return of Jesus from the tomb. The risen Jesus had brought to Peter the opportunity of penitence, the assurance of pardon, and the experience of triumphant prayer and Pentecostal power, qualifying him to become the fearless preacher fifty days later. In all this there is a rich lesson for every discouraged worker that the chief tonic against every approach of defeatism is to be found in a vivid spiritual experience of companionship with the Living Christ assured by the Power of His Holy Spirit in the heart. If we will turn up all the New Testament passages containing the word 'power' we shall find one of the basic passages is found in Philippians iii. 10 on 'the power of His resurrection' and we shall realize that Good Friday could never have been called *Good* had Easter never happened. Easter Day was, and is, the day of radiant Power making the message one of victorious Love and demonstrating God's purpose to 'recreate what appears

dead and done for'. 'The power of His resurrection' should thus mean for every pastor and every missionary that 'the Divine Initiative' of success in overcoming the difficulties of Christian work rests with the God of resurrection power Who can not only turn defeat and disaster into triumph and glory, but can also transform all our motives so that our sole aim will be, 'Only the Master shall praise us and only the Master shall blame.'

The Antidote against Complacency

(9) All who would minister to the hungry soul of India need to apply to themselves the foregoing considerations in order to be saved from the very opposite kind of spiritual peril, viz. the peril of a complacent self-satisfaction with meagre spiritual achievements. There is far too large a proportion of people in most Christian congregations in India, and by no means in India alone, who as they contemplate the Church's programme of practical service are in danger of making an irreverent misuse of Christ's parable of the automatic action of the soil, that 'the kingdom of God is like the seed that grows up of itself' (Mark iv. 27). Their ease in Zion would seem to show they are accepting the parody of a hymn which affirms,

'Sit down, O men of God,
His kingdom He will bring
Whenever it may please Him,
You need not do a thing.'

Such people forget that the Master Who gave the parable of the automatic seed also showed by His entire life and His sacrificial death that the seed of life is to die in self-forgetting service if it is to bring forth fruit. Self-satisfied people may well be reminded of the great Arctic explorer Nansen of whom the story is told that one day taking his soundings in the frozen North he let down his sounding line as far as it would go but he could not find the bottom, and in his diary that night Nansen wrote: '3,500 fathoms—and deeper than that.' Such a thought St Paul must have had in his mind when he emphasized the fathomless depths of God's resources four times in one chapter. And since defeatism and a complacent self-satisfaction are not seldom strangely mingled, let us think oftener of St Paul's remedy for both in Ephesians iii. where in verse 8 we read of 'unsearchable riches', in verse 10 of 'manifold wisdom', in verse 19 of 'love that passeth knowledge', and in verse 20 of 'power far more than we can ever ask or imagine'. The self-satisfied and the defeatist alike may also be advised to listen to Mr F. S. Smythe who in 1933 reached on Mount Everest the highest point and who says: 'All the time I was climbing alone I had a strong feeling that I was accompanied by a second person. It even seemed that I was tied to my "companion" by a rope, and that if I slipped "he" would hold me.' In both our pessimisms and our complacencies let us therefore recall that it is on the Everests of

loneliness and special effort that the Living Christ vouchsafes the special manifestations of His Victorious Spirit. Above all let us remember that if we are to convince and satisfy the hungry heart of India concerning the secret of obtaining and retaining inward spiritual peace and power, we must be able to show India living illustrations in ourselves and others of such a victory over all forms of complacency and self-defeat. One of the most amazing examples of such a victory is provided by a shilling book of ninety pages first published in October 1937, followed by several editions, entitled *St Paul from the Trenches* by Gerald Warre Cornish and published by W. Heffer & Sons Ltd. Cambridge, England. Cornish was a lecturer in Greek at Manchester University when the 1914-18 war broke out and he found himself living the dismal and dreary life of trench-warfare in France, one of the most depressing of experiences for a man of a scholarly temperament. It is worthy of note how he triumphed over such a terrible environment. During his long weary weeks of waiting in the trenches he gave himself to systematic study of the Greek Testament, and before he was killed on September 16, 1916 while gallantly leading his company, he had written in an old mud-stained copy-book what experts consider to be one of the best pieces of New Testament translation into English from the Greek consisting of an 82-page rendering of St Paul's two letters to the Corinthians, and eight pages of a new rendering of Ephesians when he was struck down. That old copy-book when it was found all mud-stained gave living evidence of how this scholar-soldier had conquered his environment, in the horrible conditions of war, by turning his mind to spiritual things, and the successive editions of his unique translation have 'come as a cup of cold water to every Christian who is athirst in the desert or fighting for the cause of Christ in whatever capacity'. Moreover, a series of morning British Broadcast Talks at 7.50 a.m. each day, January 4-9, 1943, based on that translation, brought inspiration, comfort and help to all those thousands of hospital sufferers and home-toilers who 'listen in' to this religious feature daily.

The Stimulus of Good Books

(10) Though we may appear to some of our readers to have been stressing the obvious by emphasizing that a resourceful inward personal life inspired by the Spirit of the Living Christ is always the chief tonic for pessimism, defeatism and self-satisfiedness, as well as the surest guarantee of helping India's hungry soul, we will venture to stress another obvious point, viz. the priceless tonic to be found in the systematic reading of good books, of which India's hungry reading public had such a poor supply during the war-years. In this connection Dr T. R. Glover said something worthy of note during his valuable tour in India some years ago. Dr Glover is often quoted, and rightly so, for emphasizing that one result of the mighty Spirit of Christ sanctifying the hearts and illuminating the minds of the Christians in the early Roman Empire was seen in the fact that the early

Christian preachers grappled with the highest representatives of pagan thought in such a way that the Christians 'out-lived, out-died and out-thought them'. It is an emphasis we must never forget, since it reminds us of our definite responsibility to every hungry soul in our own age. But Dr Glover's other emphasis is not quite so often remembered when he added that 'the Christian read the best books, assimilated them, and lived the freest intellectual life that the world had. Jesus had set him to be true to fact.' Hence the deep sensitiveness of the early Christian leaders to all the problems of the early Roman Empire, so that the late Professor W. M. Ramsay was never tired of saying that if the Roman imperial authorities had followed St Paul's advice on the social problems of the first century, the Empire would not have gone on the rocks. From all of which it is clear that the early Christian leaders were on the one hand sensitive to the needs of individual souls (as the cases of Philip and Peter and Paul in the book of Acts show), and on the other hand they were deeply sensitive to the public movements of their time and qualified themselves to grapple with them by reading the best books on those movements; if therefore we would be in the true 'succession of the apostles' we must learn how to imitate them in both these essential matters. Happily we are being helped to study the movements of our time, as well as to meet the needs of hungry individuals, by the fact that the famine of good books is coming to an end; and we find that during the dark days of war men and women of thought and action were patiently working, thinking and writing. We recently heard a fine Anglican point out that in 1744 the great Bishop Butler had given to the clergy of his Durham diocese a despairing message on the decay of religion; this Anglican preacher added that at that very time the Spirit of God was inspiring men like Isaac Watts and Charles Wesley to compose those wonderful hymns which today are sustaining the spiritual life of all the Churches. Similarly during the dark days of the war many people were tempted to think the Kingdom of God had come to a dead-end, and we now find that the Spirit of God was all the time leading and helping some of our best writers to prepare a message which in published form is now helping the Church Universal, and ministering to hungry souls in India and every other land. Our remaining pages will therefore review a few such books.

Jesus Christ the Key to History

(11) By common consent one of the very highest places in current Christian literature must be given to the epoch-making *History of Christianity* consisting of seven large tomes by that prince of Christian historians, Dr Kenneth Scott Latourette of Yale University. The reading of these volumes was made possible for the present writer by their generous loan from a colleague, and the reading of the entire work was a veritable means of grace, especially the final volume,

Advance Through Storm. One of Dr Latourette's most striking conclusions may be commended to all pessimists, viz. that Jesus Christ won more triumphs in the last 150 years than in all the preceding centuries put together. Indeed the victory of Christ in history has been so impressive that Dr Latourette found he had to write four volumes instead of the one or two he had planned to cover the period from A.D. 1800 onwards. The marvellous array of facts makes his conclusion irresistible when he states that the influence of Christ 'has spread more widely than any other organized religious faith which mankind has known, and that never' has the message of Christ been proclaimed 'over so extensive an area or won adherents among so many different peoples as in the past century and a half. Even when full account has been taken of recent geographical losses and of the widespread questioning of its claims in lands which have been traditionally known as Christendom, the fact remains that in the past three or four generations Christianity has been more prominent in the total picture of the race's cultural life than ever before.' When the question is asked, What explains such a triumph? the only answer the historian can give is: 'It is the uniqueness of Jesus which seems the one tenable explanation'; and the same impartial study of history leads to the further conclusion that the enduring vitality of the influence of Jesus in whatever land He has been accepted is the logical result of the power of the Holy Spirit bestowed by Jesus. It thus becomes clear that 'the revolutionary Jesus', by His teaching and example, and especially by the gift of His Own Spirit to dwell in men's souls, has been releasing ideas, ideals and dynamic forces throughout the twenty centuries since His Death on the Cross. The key to history is therefore to be found in Jesus Christ as King of the human heart and in the acceptance of the sovereignty of His Spirit. 'There are millions of people who are not attached to any religious body but who habitually, day by day, listen to religious broadcasts and hold sincere Christian convictions,' says Dr J. W. Welch, the Director of Religious Broadcasting of the B.B.C., who is quoted in the volume *Towards the Conversion of England* (page 116); and he continues: 'Your eyes would be opened if you saw the mail week by week, and read some of the letters from lonely, spiritually starved people whose souls have been quickened by what has been said on the radio, and who have been out of touch with religion for many years.' In view of the tendency in some quarters to compromise with the Gospel message it is worthy of note that one clear lesson to be drawn from the history of the Christian Church is the moral drawn by Dr John R. Mott that 'Christ never hid His scars to win a disciple'.

'They Found the Church There'

(12) This is the title of a 1945 book of 125 pages written by that notable American scholar Dr Henry P. Van Dusen of Union Theological Seminary, New York and obtainable from the S.C.M. Press

Ltd. 56 Bloomsbury St., London. Its sub-title is: 'The Armed Forces Discover Christian Missions in The Pacific', the Forces alluded to being the soldiers, sailors and airmen of the Allies in the second world-war of 1939-45 who were amazed to find thousands of Christians with their living Churches on the islands of the vast Pacific Ocean which the Forces had been sent to defend against the Japanese. One typical letter is quoted from an Allied airman who wrote to his mother: 'Dear Mom, Because of missions, I was feasted, and not feasted upon, when I fell from the sky into this village.' The book is well described as 'a composite chronicle of contemporary Christianity in out of the way places all over the earth', and Dr Van Dusen fittingly states that the letters summarized in his book may be read as a convincing reply to the American Laymen's Inquiry Report entitled *Re-Thinking Missions* which early in the 'thirties' had unintentionally produced a misleading impression that much missionary effort was 'of dubious value', which impression was now corrected by another 'Laymen's Inquiry' coming from 'hard-bitten soldiers, sailors and airmen.' The evidence summarized comes from many parts of the world and tells the same story:—'A jungle hideout in New Guinea, a remote Solomon reef, a Tarawa cave, a cultured Samoan feast, the silence of the African bush, the teeming bazaars of Teheran, the fevered unrest of India, big-game stalking in Assam, a university campus in Syria, the desperate endurance of China's millions, even the solitudes of Alaska—the background shifts.' And 'with all its diversity, springing from different origins and adapted to varying situations, the Christian world-mission wherever one encounters it is unmistakably one', the explanation being 'one Faith rooted in one Lord. There is no other movement which thus encircles the earth and which is thus basically the same everywhere. . . . The incidents reflect the work of almost every branch and every nation of Christendom . . . Christians of all persuasions discover their affinities and submerge their disagreements.' A few typical expressions of gratitude from men of the Allied Forces are as follows:—'In all fairness I must say the missionaries have done absolutely marvellous work. . . . This Doubting Thomas has had all his doubts and question-marks as to the value and importance of missions erased. . . . The best cure I can think of for atheism would be a few days spent with the missionaries here.' Dr Van Dusen concludes: 'The missionary endeavours of the Christian Churches have never received a vindication so unchallengeable. . . . No enterprise in history . . . has ever received more decisive approbation.' We may surely add that this amazing chronicle of Christian history illustrates how God brings good out of evil, all the time advancing His Kingdom on earth.

'What are the Churches Doing?'

(13) An enthralling book of 192 pages on this subject might well be considered an appendix to Dr Latourette's monumental *History*.

Its author is Dr John Foster, first a missionary many years in China, then for ten years Professor of Church History in the Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham, England, and now Lecturer in Ecclesiastical History in the University of Glasgow with special reference to Christian Missions. Dr Foster has been giving regular Broadcast Talks on the B.B.C. on this subject and the book contains thirty of these Talks, the publisher being the Religious Education Press Ltd., Wallington, Surrey, England, for five shillings. Pessimists concerning the Christian Churches of today may be recommended to read this informing book which provides an admirable remedy for the defeatism and self-complacency we have already referred to. How useful the book is for India will be clear from the fact that one chapter is devoted to the late Bishop Azariah of Dornakal. There are many sections from which we might quote but we limit ourselves to one about the Karen Christians of Burma. In the 1939-45 war the fact that many Karens were Christians marked them out for cruel treatment by the Japanese. One Karen Christian leader 'the Japanese seized, tied his hands behind him, and strung him up by his wrists to a rope from the roof. As he dangled there a Japanese soldier on each side flogged him for two solid hours. He says he remembered how Christians of earlier centuries had suffered, and the thought steadied him so that he did not betray his friends, nor betray his Lord. The next day they strung him up again. Still he held out. He was dripping with perspiration, as they next made him kneel on sharpened sticks. He says: "I remembered Jesus in the garden of Gethsemane, sweating as it were great drops of blood." Then they told him to kneel down for execution. He felt the sword on his neck. "Any message for your next-of-kin?" asked the soldier, as part of the grim ritual of death. "No" he replied. "They are always in God's keeping. I leave them there." To his surprise, the blade was lifted and did not fall. The soldier who had been the most savage of his tormentors said: "I reckon you have something to teach me." He showed himself ready to begin to learn.' Perhaps even more striking is the fact that the 'Karen women were not the least courageous among the martyrs. A group of women teachers from a Christian school' were informed against for helping stragglers from the British forces in retreat with blistered feet, so armed Japanese surrounded the house. 'You have been helping the enemy,' they said, 'You shall die.' They asked for mercy and then said, 'If we must die, give us a moment to get ready.' But while this company of Burmese and Karen Christian women were knelt in prayer they were cut to pieces, one of them being a girl of seventeen. When the fighting days were over and Rangoon Cathedral had been reconsecrated, in the front row of the first Confirmation the Bishop noticed a Burmese who had been a prominent anti-Christian leader. 'My friend,' said the Bishop, 'how did you come to be baptized?' 'It was the way those girls in that village died two years ago,' he said. 'I knew they had something which I had not.'

Social Reconstruction and Religious Ideals

(14) From a trio of witnesses regarding the amazing progress of the influence of Jesus Christ in the world, even in spite of the greatest war in history, our review may fittingly turn to a quartette of scholars dealing with some remaining problems. The first of the four is that genial scholar, orator and popularizer of Hinduism whom we have met before in our pages, Dr Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, who delivered the Kamala lectures in Calcutta and Benares in 1942, their publication having been delayed until July 1947. The title is *Religion and Society* (242 pages), and it is published by Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, at half a guinea. 'Social Reconstruction and Religious Ideals' is the author's own description of his subject, his aim being to show that the dominance of the secular mind is the real cause of the world's misery. In no way are our criticisms in our earlier chapters of Dr Radhakrishnan's other books modified by this later work, nor is our appreciation of his literary excellence in any way diminished. All the good qualities of his earlier books are seen here, his immaculate English, his lessons from the panorama of history, his diagnosis of social conditions on the international scale, his outright condemnation of 'rootless secularism,' his fearless exposure of wrongs in so-called civilization, the searchlight he throws on 'the foibles, inconsistencies and weaknesses of modern life;' all these and much besides make his *Religion and Society* a book of enduring value. He has many brilliant asides, as for example when he says, 'Those who tell us that poverty is the best spur of the artist have not themselves felt the iron of it in their souls.' A good sample of his ability to be caustic about atheism appears after quoting the Soviet anti-religious decree of May 15, 1932, which announced that 'by May 1937 God will be expelled as a mediæval relic' and concerning the later developments he remarks: 'The condition of God has become somewhat precarious.' These and similar facts about the U.S.S.R. will make many feel like calling into question Dr Radhakrishnan's observation on an earlier page that 'Soviet Russia (is) the nearest approach to Paradise on earth.' Similarly Dr Radhakrishnan has so many beautiful sentences about Jesus and His teaching that many readers will wonder where the learned Kamala lecturer placed Jesus when he wrote concerning Gandhiji (to whom the last nine pages are devoted), 'Gandhi presents to us the purest, the most elevating and the most inspiring ideal known to man.' Such deviations might be regarded as mere 'spots on the sun,' were it not that similar 'spots' rob us of much light throughout his notable book. Though his first two chapters on 'The Need For Religion' and 'The Inspiration Of Religion,' and his last two on 'Women In Hindu Society' and 'War And Non-Violence,' contain much of permanent value, his middle chapter on 'Hindu Dharma' shows that Hinduism (though greatly modernized by him) is still the centre of Dr Radhakrishnan's religious universe. Hence the unfortunate absence of any dynamical

suggestions in his many beautiful pages about the need of religion the world over. By this we mean that we get from him no answer as to *how* the following blessings are to be obtained : 'There must be a change in the ideals we cherish ;' 'we need a spiritual revival ;' 'the new world-order must have a deep spiritual impulse to give it unity and drive.' Since we are never told *how* the needed 'ideals,' 'revival' or 'impulse' can be obtained and sustained, we are compelled to feel that Milton's line sums up this book from the standpoint of any dynamical spiritual value : 'The hungry sheep look up and are not fed.' Jesus has made clear that these and all other spiritual boons are ours by means of His Holy Spirit Who is given to all 'who ask' for that Spirit (Luke 11. 13). Dr Radhakrishnan translates one Sanskrit line as follows :—'The knowledge that the Supreme Spirit dwells in the heart of every living creature is the abiding root principle of all *dharma*' ; and such a sentence makes one long that the Kamala lecturer could have related the teaching of such a sentence to our Lord's gift of His Own Spirit as the treasure He died to win for us ; as St Paul affirms in Galatians iii. 13-14 : 'Christ ransomed us . . . so that by faith we might receive the promised Spirit,' as the necessary dynamic for the achievement of the highest ideals of 'religion and society.'

Minimizing the Supernatural

(15) One of the main lessons we have learned during thirty-nine years in India is that India's hungry souls will never be led to Christ the 'Living Bread' by minimizing the supernatural ; hence the value for all Christian workers in India of an able theological treatise entitled *Humanism and Christianity* by Dr W. S. Urquhart, Emeritus Principal of the Scottish Church College, Calcutta (238 pages published by T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street, Edinburgh), who in 1938-39 delivered the Croall Lectures in the University of Edinburgh but paper scarcity hindered their publication until 1945. This learned scholar examines the claims of Scientific Determinism, Psychology, Secular Humanism, Naturalistic Religion and some aspects of Indian thought to supplant the supernatural, and he also discusses ably and fully the Barthian attitude on religious questions. Dr Urquhart's constructive aim is to show that 'the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ ought to be the guiding principle of every action of our lives,' since the Incarnation provides the only view which is 'religiously and philosophically satisfying ;' or as Mr Middleton Murry puts it : 'In Jesus was manifested the nature of the thought that created and sustains the universe ;' and Bishop Gore emphasizes the dynamical truth that 'the present value of the Incarnation for life . . . is mediated for us by the Holy Spirit.' This important fact ensures that Jesus Christ becomes 'a great deal more than a remote and eternal figure in history.' For only by the Spirit of Christ dwelling in men will they be saved from that domination of science which in Comte's

words will 'finally conduct God to the frontier, and bow Him out, with thanks for His provisional services.' One by one the various attempts to solve the problem of the soul are reviewed and negated. 'We are living now,' says Mr Aldous Huxley, 'not in the delirious intoxication induced by the early successes of science, but in a rather grisly morning-after,' and 'our success will depend on whether we can advance from the lower to the higher humanism,' for 'we shall find that there are two humanisms' (see below). But first a few words on each of the solutions negated. 'The Communists denounce religion as the opium of the people ; but all they have done is to replace this old drug by a new one ;' and Arnold Lunn is quoted for the view that 'fewer people were executed by the Inquisition in Spain during three centuries than were murdered in communist-controlled Madrid during the first three months of the war.' On psychology it is essential to remember that when the useful science of psychology is so abused as to try and explain religion away by seeking to base religious reality on credulity, those who do so forget what their own great psychologist, Jung, 'even with all his opposition to religion as ordinarily held, has to admit ;' and here are Jung's own words : 'Among my patients, in the second half of life, *i.e.*, over thirty-five, there has not been one whose problem in the last resort was not that of finding a religious outlook on life ; . . . none of them has really been healed who did not regain his religious outlook.' The American philosopher Dr Hartshorne is referred to as stating that 'much American humanism is infected with scandalous ambiguity,' on which Dr Urquhart humorously adds : 'a remark which only an American would dare to make.' Professor De Burgh's insight enables him to emphasize that 'the error of modern humanism lay not in the content of its achievements, but in its exclusions ; in the pride of life that led man to sever his humanistic aspirations from their dependence on God.' Happily, however, there *are* two humanisms, the lower humanism which excludes the place of God in human life and struggle, and the higher or 'Theocentric Humanism' which 'has done great service in emphasizing the God-given capacities of humanity.' For the true 'Humanism believes in the importance of man and . . . in an objectively grounded Kingdom of God ;' and 'without a belief in a Kingdom of God, humanity is preparing the way for its own liquidation.' The New Testament message 'is a Gospel just because it recognizes no external limits to the conditions under which God can reach down to man.' That message is therefore profoundly 'realistic and truly humanitarian' in the deepest sense of the word. 'It is as if God were saying to man through Christ' (and here the late A. E. Whitham is quoted) : 'Let Me have your tools, the little stage of your workshop, surround Me with your identical temptations, add the malice and suspicions of man, narrow the stage to the dimensions of a dirty Eastern village, handicap Me with poverty, weigh the scales, crib and cabin Me in a little Eastern land, and there, at the point where you have failed in the flesh, I will produce the fairest thing

earth has seen ; I will give the world the dream come true.' The Christmas message of the Child Jesus thus becomes the divine answer to the lower humanism of our time. In this connection it is worthy of note that one of the most remarkable religious developments during our nearly four decades in India has been the widespread celebration of the Christmas Festival by nearly all the Indian religions among all classes of people. Naturally the human aspect of the Incarnation has been emphasized, even to the point (all unintentionally) of passing by or minimizing the supernatural aspect of the Christmas event by an overlooking of God's place in it. For while in almost all celebrations there has been a worthy emphasis on that part of the Christmas message which refers to peace on earth among men (St Luke 2.14), the more important part which ascribes 'glory to God' (St Luke 2.14) has been forgotten ; though the true meaning of the Incarnation can never be understood unless the birth of Jesus is recognized as a most outstanding revelation of the eternal God in history. While on this subject we trust it will not be regarded as out of place to remark concerning those magnificent workers of Reformed Hinduism who conduct the two Brahma Samajes in Calcutta and the Prarthana Samaji in Bombay that it has never ceased to astonish us that in their three excellent weekly papers which we have read closely for thirty years they so often appear to minimize the supernatural (without meaning to do so) by eliminating from their teaching the idea of a miraculous and historical revelation of God—and, indeed, sometimes arguing against such an idea. When these conscientious Reformed Hindus in a splendid spirit of self-examination feel so frequently that they must bemoan the stationariness of their beneficent organization, we cannot help feeling that one chief explanation of the stationariness lies in their (unintentional) limitation of the divine by specifically excluding from their teaching the miraculous principle of divine revelation seen in the historic Incarnation once for all of God's Son. We are quite sure that never by means of such a limiting of the divine can the deep spiritual hunger of India be fully satisfied. Possibly this 'excluding' is in part the result of an unconscious reaction against the immoral influence of some of the Hindu *avatars* ; but our next paragraph refers to the fundamental difference between the Hindu *avatar* and the Incarnate Christ. So deeply do we admire the constructive work of these three Samajes that we wish they could give attention to an important book written over two centuries ago. In 1736 Bishop Butler of Durham wrote a book known by the short title, *The Analogy of Religion*, its full title being *The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature*. The aim of the book was to point out the defectiveness of the religious attitude which declares 'that reason alone without the aid of revelation can supply the religious needs of mankind.' It is many years since we read the book but its value for today has been emphasized in a July 1947 Student Christian Movement Press publication, *The Anglican Tradition in the Life of England*, by Dr A. T. P. Williams the present

Bishop of Durham who says : ' Butler attained the distinction of genius which keeps books vigorously alive for posterity.' Butler built his argument on a basis common to himself and his opponents, that of 'an intelligent Mind behind nature.' On this agreed basis Butler showed that 'if there are difficulties in revealed religion, there are analogous difficulties in the constitution and course of nature ; and if the latter are not fatal, neither are the former.' Butler's book has had an able modern supplement supplied in a new 1947 book entitled *Miracles*, written by Mr C. S. Lewis who expounds clearly 'the possibility or probability of the miraculous,' and who describes the Incarnation as 'the grand miracle.' One fatal defect of the Reformed Hindu presentation of religion, is, to quote Dr Urquhart's words in another connection, 'its failure to provide a criterion by which we may distinguish between the higher and the lower elements in our religious experience.' Such a 'criterion' is provided by Jesus, by His perfect example, His redemptive death, and the gift of His Indwelling Spirit. Without this threefold dynamic we shall go on 'witnessing', to quote recent words by Dr R. Newton Flew, 'the bankruptcy of a humanism which has left out God.' The two Anglican Archbishops have rightly disapproved the continuance in office of a bishop who doubts the Virgin Birth of Christ, His physical Resurrection and His miracles. The third doubt is met by our foregoing considerations ; the first in our book on the Holy Spirit ; and the second in our Marathi book on the Death and Resurrection of Jesus.

Presenting Christ to India's Mind and Heart

(16) In a volume entitled *The Christian Message to the Hindu*, that prince of theologians Dr A. G. Hogg embodies the quintessence of 'three dozen years of teaching' during which he sought 'to declare and interpret Christ to Indian youth ;' for it is among Indian students, men and women alike, of all the religions, that the 'religious hunger of India' is nowadays chiefly found ; and it is on those points 'where the Gospel challenges the Indian students' religious conceptions most radically and fundamentally' that Dr Hogg lays special emphasis. Indian pastors and missionaries may learn a vital lesson from Dr Hogg's confession that his understanding of the Gospel 'has been enriched and clarified by having to think it out afresh for himself under the stimulus of intercourse with the Hindu mind.' Jesus Himself has taught us that we are to love the Lord our God 'with all our *mind* ;' and strenuous thinking will have to be done by all who would guide the Indian mind and heart on things eternal. Dr Hogg's book contains his Duff Missionary Lectures for 1945 on 'The Challenge of the Gospel in India' and it was published in January this year (1947) by the Student Christian Movement Press, 56 Bloomsbury St, London W. C., for six shillings. Its 104 pages are full of pemmican for preachers everywhere and its sixth and last chapter has the moving title, 'Preach the Love which is a Consuming Fire.' We are warned in the very first word of the author that while 'the Christian message

to the Hindu must never be merely a Christianized version of Hinduism,' yet at the same time 'it does need to give to the authentic Christian faith a truly Indian form of expression.' In order to realize the indispensableness and difficulty of the Christian task in India, each reader should 'imagine himself to be a foreign missionary set down to proclaim the Gospel in some region where orthodox Hinduism prevails and where he has to break new ground.' Has Jesus the 'Master Missionary set any example for us in the technique of making approach to minds of an alien heritage?' The answer is Yes. And if we follow His example, the Christian's 'most relevant approach will be through holding up Jesus as the Deliverer, . . . the Healer . . . and the Victor;' and 'in the main our Lord had to rely on living out the revelation; it could not be perfectly expressed in the thought-language of His day or even of our day. Only by being like the Heavenly Father could He adequately reveal the Heavenly Father.' That is a deeply personal matter for every representative of Jesus; and if that is very searching, the next point brings wonderful comfort: 'The conquering, redeeming might of God available. All this a certainty because His nature is love and His zeal to rescue unsleeping. That was the heart of our Lord's inaugural message.' Then with a sure hand Dr Hogg touches the basic differences between Hindu and Christian thought: 'The Hindu *avatar* is a temporary intervention of the Divine; . . . the Incarnate Christ on the other hand is a unique intervention determinative once for all of the course of world-history.' Therefore, 'once we have heard the word "Go," all diffident hesitancy should disappear. For if I am really and exclusively on the business of the Divine King, all the resources of our Father's empire of Reality must needs be at my call for the legitimate requirements of my errand.' Nearly at the end of his book Dr Hogg says something that reminds us forcibly of the late Marathi poet, Narayan Vaman Tilak: 'Not the consciousness of sin brings men to Christ, but the continual contact with Christ brings them to consciousness of sin.' Dr Hogg explains this in these beautiful words: 'Just because sheep are really lost, the Good Shepherd can find them only at the point where they actually are. He finds the Indian sheep tangled in a helpless longing for serenity rather than sanctity . . . Finding them there, He gives them deliverance, . . . being confident that as they follow Him, they will develop a consciousness of the needs they ought to feel.' Some of these words might have been written by N. V. Tilak himself who on one occasion emphasized that he had realized his own unworthiness and sinfulness far more because of growing companionship with the sinless Christ of the Cross than he did before he came to Christ.

'In the Secret Place of the Most High'

(17) Only in the 'secret place' of prayer can the religious hunger of India be fully satisfied. It is therefore fitting that our brief reviews of new books suitable for Indian ministers and missionaries should

include one of the best expositions of the prayer-life that we have ever read. It is written by Dr A. J. Gossip, that fine preacher to preachers, as the 1947 Lenten Book of the Congregational Union of England and Wales. It has 212 pages, is published at eight shillings and sixpence net by the Independent Press Ltd., Memorial Hall, Farringdon St, London E.C. 4, and is rightly described as 'an outstanding work,' its sub-title being 'Some Studies in Prayer.' In view of our earlier chapter on the missionary's prayer-life there is no need for an extended review, but its moving pen-pictures of men like Dr A. B. Davidson, Dr Marcus Dods, Brother Lawrence, St Teresa and others, its unusual excerpts from the Private Prayers of well-known saints, and its authoritative guidance on Confession (and the 'numbed sense of sin'), on Adoration ('thinking magnificently about God'), on Intercession ('the priestly office of a Christian'), on Petition, etc., may be regarded as a crowning point to our own treatment. 'Keep on asking, keep on seeking, keep on knocking' is what Jesus really meant. On the question for whom we should go on asking, Dr Gossip has these words: 'Some get overlooked. Do we pray often enough for the editors of our newspapers, continually influencing public opinion? Or for those behind the cinemas and the broadcasting system? . . . Once a prominent lawyer complained to me that never once in all his many years of faithful church attendance had he heard anyone pray for his profession. For doctors and surgeons and nurses, for teachers and ministers, and so on, regularly; but for lawyers never even once. "Yet we need prayer; more, perhaps, than most people. For we are apt to see the seamy side of life and of human nature . . . Yet in a long lifetime I have never heard a single minister spare time for one little passing prayer for us." That taught me a sharp lesson.' Nor is it on prayer alone that this book throws illuminating rays, but on many other vital subjects; for example, on the Cross: 'After Calvary, God has the right to be trusted, to be believed that He means what He says, and that His love is dependable.' Here is a part of Dr Gossip's reverent meditation on Gethsemane: 'Was He meant to die now—with nothing radical accomplished? . . . If He died now, was there any chance that the world could be saved? Would not all He had set Himself to do inevitably flicker out in an ugly crucifixion scene? . . . Be sure that in the Garden the Lord prayed as no one ever prayed. Yet when God's will, strange and inscrutable though it must have seemed to Him, grew clear, asking was over, prayer was past, and He rose up and went to face what God had chosen for Him.' Dr Gossip's helpful pages deepen within us the conviction that if all the Churches in India, their leaders and members alike, will aim at the high level of prayer set forth by Dr Gossip, they will soon learn the secret of satisfying the religious hunger of India.

True Christian Unity: Its Goal and Method

(18) Never before has there come from the hungry heart of India such a loud call to Christian people to manifest that unity of

action which alone can grapple with the vast spiritual problems that India's four hundred million people present. India's attainment of political independence is a unique and historic event in which we all rejoice, and the welding of the two great nations in the land into one at the earliest possible date must be the aim of every true Indian patriot and of all who love India's people. The Indian Church all over the land can best help this consummation by every local Church giving to the people in its own neighbourhood a living example of practical unity every day among its members. Here is a definite contribution which every Pastor and Church can make towards the great subject of Church Union. The consummation of Church Union in South India is rightly described as the greatest event in the history of the Christian Church since the Reformation, and the spread of this movement can best be helped to cover the whole of India by every congregation in the land jealously guarding the brotherly love among its members. It only remains for us therefore to call attention to some recent notable utterances on the needed increase of the already realized unity of all Christian people, utterances made since we wrote our earlier section on this topic. In a *British Weekly* article dated June 19, 1947, the Very Rev. Dr W. R. Inge wrote on the subject of 'The Reunion That Matters' as follows:—'There is nothing scandalous about independent Churches, but only about the temper of exclusiveness and the spirit of hatred. Our Lord wished His disciples to be "one flock, with one Shepherd." He never said they must be penned in one fold. "The Unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace" is the only reunion that matters, and Christendom has never been divided in the chambers where good men and women pray We are all one in Christ Jesus. Our Lord abolished all man-made barriers by ignoring them.' This line of thought was taken also by the Bishop of Coventry, Dr Neville V. Gorton, in delivering the William Ainslie Lecture at St Martin-in-the-Fields a week earlier. The Bishop 'took a new line,' said *The British Weekly* report, 'in recognizing breaks, diversities and developments as the work of the Holy Spirit God put His hands on Luther and Calvin in what we might think of as "Combined Operations." While the diversities and even organic divisions in Christian history had been the fruits of the Holy Spirit's operations, this creative Spirit in this day might be seen bringing together the parts and welding them again into a new whole.' How this welding process can be accomplished was dealt with by the Rev. Dr James Reid in another issue of *The British Weekly* in expounding the passage, 'Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit' (1 Corinthians xii. 4): 'What happened at Pentecost throws a shaft of light on our disunited world and opens the path of hope When the Spirit of God comes in, . . . we become one in the richness of variety by the unifying power of the same Spirit The first Christians were ready for the unity of the Spirit when they met in the Upper Room. They had passed through the experience of Calvary, where all their pride had been broken.

They were facing a task for which they knew they were not fit except by the power of God. Perhaps it is the lack of this experience and the blindness to our task that keep us from receiving the fulness of the Spirit. The experience of God's mercy and love unites us in humility and gratitude. But it should also bring us together to offer ourselves, with such gifts as He has given us, to become the channel for His Spirit, a body for His indwelling life.' Such statements as the foregoing, emphasizing as they do that unity of heart is the one essential thing, should bring home to every Christian in India the vital contribution he or she can make on this far-reaching subject of Church Union. For Church Union is not first and foremost a union of great systems but a union of hearts in every Christian congregation, and wherever any congregation is divided against itself, the sacred cause of Church Union is being hindered. Hence the supreme importance of Dr Reid's exposition of the spiritual secret of Christian Unity. And Christian Unity can make a contribution all its own in the new setting of Indian Independence. Dr Ashirvatham made clear at an important Commission in the United States some months ago that 'the Christian Indian has no need to despair of the future,' for 'he can make a much greater contribution to a free India than to a subject India.'

The Religious Hunger of India's Women

(19) As a challenge to the united exertions of Christians all over India, and in case there should be in India any stray individual inclined to fall back on Abraham's plea referred to in our first chapter, 'I thought there was no religion here,' here is a news item, packed with pathos, that appeared in the Poona weekly *Mahratta*, published in English, of June 20 this year (1947) under the heading: 'Hindu Women's Pilgrim Party.' The Poona *Mahratta* quoted a Calcutta Hindu paper of May 31st which reported that Hindu women pilgrims were travelling through India on foot. The leader was a Hindu woman from Pandharpur in the Sholapur District of Bombay Presidency who had started her walking tour to various places of pilgrimage and on May 26 she had arrived at Serampore twelve miles from Calcutta. She had started four years before under a vow that she would eat no rice until she had visited the pilgrim centres at Badrinarayan, Dwarkanath, Puri and Rameshwar. It was reported that she was living on fruit, that during the four years she had used no conveyance, and that she was bent on visiting suffering Bengal to help its distressed people during the wild communal upheaval. Such an incident speaks for itself. But think of how enriched India's Church might be if it won for Christ the astonishing devotion shown in a journey on foot of over a thousand miles. Think too of the heart-hunger which had not been satisfied even by such a pilgrim centre as Pandharpur where Indian women from a distance have been known to come and make a religious offering of their beautiful hair. Think too of the challenge

to united practical service by the entire Indian Church if such hungry hearts are to be brought into satisfying contact with Him Who said, 'Blessed are they who hunger . . . after righteousness, for they *shall* be filled.'

The Holy Spirit and Ourselves

(20) One chief reason why the New Testament is the greatest book on earth for diagnosing and satisfying the hunger of the soul is that it meets universal needs by being uniquely personal. Whether we be editors or missionaries or pastors or whatever be our life's calling, the New Testament brings to us a message of personal pardon, purity and power by introducing to us Jesus Who gave Himself for each one of us on the Cross and Who offers Himself to each of us by the gift of His Own Spirit. The whole undertone of the Incarnate Life set forth in the four Gospels is that the secret of its daily calm amid conflict lay in Jesus being 'filled' with the Spirit of His Father (see our chapter on 'The Holy Spirit in the Experience of Jesus' in our 1918 book, *The Holy Spirit the Christian Dynamic*); and, says St Paul, it was in order to ensure our receiving the gift of that same 'promised Spirit' that 'Christ ransomed us' on Calvary (Galatians iii, 13-14). 'Come unto Me, all ye that are weary and heavy laden' (St Matthew xi. 28) is the invitation of Jesus in the first book of the New Testament; and 'let him that is athirst, come' (Revelation xxii, 17) is His invitation in the last book of all. The story of how Christ died *for us* takes up more space than any other single topic in the first four books of the New Testament, a fact that makes each of them a 'Gospel' or 'a piece of good news'; while the main story of the fifth book, 'the Acts,' is how the Spirit of Christ becomes the great motive-power of the individual soul and the corporate Church alike; and all the epistles that follow may be regarded as an unfolding of the fourfold secret that St Paul sets forth in Romans viii:—*first*, the imperative need of the indwelling of the Spirit of Christ within each of us ('Anyone who does not possess the Spirit of Christ does not belong to Him,' viii, 9); *second*, the equally imperative necessity of that Spirit's guidance ('For the sons of God are those who are guided by the Spirit of God' viii, 14); *third*, the freedom and assurance born of that Spirit's inward witness (viii, 15-16); *fourth*, the all-essential help of the Holy Spirit in the prayer-life of the soul (viii, 26-27). As the crown and consummation of the New Testament books, the final book of all is introduced by an uplifting vision of the glorified Lord Who sends His message to seven Churches in seven letters which He sends by 'seven Spirits' (Revelation i, 4; iii, 1). The reiteration of the figure 'seven' conveys rich teaching, one obvious part of which is that the Spirit of the Lord Who is Head of His Church manifests Himself according to the varying needs of every part of His Church on earth, in East and West. Equally impressive is the solemnizing refrain that occurs in every one of the seven letters: 'He that

hath an ear let him hear *what the Spirit saith* to the Churches' (Rev. ii, 7, 11, 17, 29; iii, 6, 13, 22). Here there appear two factors which are clearly established by New Testament study, viz., that after the Cross the Holy Spirit is set forth as identical with the Spirit of Christ, and that the Spirit of Christ is to be given the supreme place in the entire life and work of the individual and of the universal Church as the sufficient inspiration of that Christlike character and that practical service which are essential to the building of a new world. It was therefore in no way accidental that the same John Robinson who to the formative age of the Pilgrim Fathers declared, 'The Lord has more truth and light yet to break forth out of His Holy Word,' was also the one to emphasize that the marks of the true Church are 'the gifts of the Spirit of Christ'. It is by these 'gifts of the Spirit of Christ' that the religious hunger of India and of every other nation can be satisfied, and that each one of us can become qualified for taking part in that enthralling programme for a new humanity.

PART EIGHT

EPILOGUE

CHAPTER XXVII

GANDHIJI AND INDIA'S HEART-HUNGER

The news of Gandhiji's wicked assassination came with an indescribable shock to our little company of retired missionaries at Auburndale, Massachusetts, U.S.A. Eight o'clock morning breakfast had just begun when word came on the radio that Gandhiji had been shot, and ten minutes later came the cruel news that he had passed away. During our nearly four decades in India Gandhiji had been the chief luminary in the Indian sky, and now it had dropped away into the darkness of death. As with millions of people in India and other lands, January 30 became one of the darkest days we have ever known. Later news from Gandhiji's weekly *Harijan* having made clear that he was working at full speed to his last hour, let us try and imitate him by bringing together a few aspects of his astonishing life and work. There was no one who so well understood the hungry and aching heart of India as did Gandhiji or who worked harder to lead it into satisfying peace. Let us therefore indulge ourselves and our readers by recalling a few Personal Reminiscences of Gandhiji and a few items of the World's Unpayable Debt to him; and let us see how this tragedy of Gandhiji's Death can be turned into blessing.

I. REMINISCENCES OF GANDHIJI

Gandhiji and Indian Drink Reform

(1) Our first personal contact with Gandhiji was on November 29, 1924, when we found ourselves visiting Gandhiji in his own home at the Sabarmati *Ashram* about three miles outside Ahmedabad in Gujarat. We had been invited by Christian and non-Christian leaders of Gujarat to go to Ahmedabad as editor of the weekly *Dnyanodaya* and Secretary of the Bombay Representative Christian Council to preside over an All Gujarat Temperance Conference there. Before going to the Conference we made our way to Gandhiji's *ashram* to ask him for a rousing call to the workers who were to assemble. We felt it to be a great honour to be with the great man and his workers in his own home. The simplicity of that home, its striking austerity, perfect order and cleanliness left a profound impression on our mind,

as did the manifest spirituality of the whole place. The workers who shared our fellowship had each one taken a fivefold vow: the vow of *truth* regardless of consequences; the vow of *ahimsa* or non-injury which meant harbouring no uncharitable thoughts about anyone; the vow of the *celibacy*; the vow of '*control of the palate*'; and the vow of *non-thieving* or not keeping what they did not need, otherwise they would be 'thieving it from someone who needed it.' It was encouraging to find the lowly *Dnyanodaya* appreciated by these fine social workers, and we viewed with something approaching to reverence the spot where those workers in the *ashram* met for prayer and worship at four o'clock every morning. Ye slumberers of the Indian Church and of the Church across the seas, take note! Four every morning assembling for prayer! No wonder the Sabarmati *Ashram* was sending forth influences touching every part of India. What a man says in his own home should hardly be noised abroad, especially if our visit was not pre-arranged; suffice to say that we found Gandhiji had been profoundly impressed by fellowship with Dr Foss Westcott the Metropolitan of India at that time, as they had both met at Dell shortly before, when Dr Westcott told Gandhiji and the other India leaders assembled there after Gandhiji's fast for unity between Hindu and Muslims that they would only solve that problem on the line of the Golden Rule laid down by Jesus, of 'doing to others only what you would wish they should do to you.' Without a moment's hesitation Gandhiji agreed to write a brief trumpet-call to the workers and his fearless and challenging statements confirmed our own purpose to deliver our soul on the growing evil of India's drink traffic. We pointed out that in the Bombay Government area there were such grave figures as these: Bombay City had one drinker for every four adult persons, Alibag one for every three, Bandra and Bassein had both one for every two, Broach one for every five, Surat one for every nine and Ahmedabad one drinker for every ten adults.

In the death of Gandhiji the world has lost one of its greatest Temperance reformers, and Britain and America and every other land could adopt no more worthy memorial of Gandhiji than to pass legislative measures in every country for the gradual and total Prohibition of alcoholic liquor which is so grave a hindrance to the Kingdom of God on earth. Let it be noted that to the very end of his life Gandhiji insisted on dropping that word 'Temperance', for he loathed the idea of anyone being a 'temperate' or 'moderate' drinker, knowing as he did that nearly all drunkards began their downfall by first being 'moderate drinkers'. Does anyone say that Prohibition of the world's liquor traffic is impracticable? Gandhiji would tell you that such a timid attitude is unworthy of any follower of the Sovereign Christ and His Omnipotent Cross. Gandhiji would remind the world-wide Christian Church that it must remember the New Testament teaching on the sacred responsibility of personal example as set forth by St Paul which may be summarized in the solemn words: 'See that by the personal example thou dost not destroy thy

weaker brother for whom Christ died.' On that occasion we told the meeting the following story to illustrate the importance of setting a worthy example: 'Had it not been for a father who realized his responsibility to God for the example he was setting his children daily, your President would not have been speaking here now, and he owes it entirely to the example of his early home that he is a life-abstainer. Nearly fifty years ago in far-off England a little mischievous baby-boy of fifteen months was sitting on his father's knee, while that father, who boasted that he was only a 'moderate drinker', was enjoying his one daily glass at supper. All at once that father caught the eager eyes of his boy looking up into his daddy's face as if he were saying, "Daddy, can't I have a drink of this?" Like a flash that father realized the utter impossibility of letting his child touch or taste what that glass contained, and, realizing the logic of the situation, *for his boy's sake he put down the glass and threw away its contents, becoming a total abstainer for example's sake* up to his dying hour. Thereby he saved his boy who has been honoured by being asked to give this Presidential address at Ahmedabad.'

It was because of these and many other considerations that Gandhiji had solemnly resolved that in the India of his dreams there could be 'no room for the curse of intoxicating drinks,' to quote the phrase of India's Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. We had it from the lips of that other worthy Indian statesman, Sir Chunilal Mehta, the first Excise Minister in the Bombay Government under the 1919 Reforms, that when in the name of Government he went to ask Gandhiji's advice as to the best possible liquor reform, Gandhiji replied in two words: 'Prohibition tomorrow'. While all of us would agree with Sir Chunilal who despaired of dealing with an entrenched evil in such a way, it still remains true that no professed follower of Jesus Christ should be one whit behind a man like Gandhiji in efforts to save civilization. History shows that all too often the Christian Church has been sleeping when it should have been fighting this great evil. Can the present writer ever forget the day when, only a few yards from his own door in Bombay City, an Indian Christian youth who was under the influence of liquor stabbed another young Indian Christian? Sir Chunilal Mehta told us that although he felt immediate total Prohibition would not be practical statesmanship, either from an ethical or social standpoint, yet he felt he must persuade the Bombay Government and the public to accept such a policy as would work up to Prohibition as a goal, and in this policy we supported him to the fullest of our powers in our journal, in the Bombay Christian Council and in other ways. The policy on which this able Indian statesman decided was one called Rationing, whereby there was an annual reduction of ten per cent liquor supplies to Bombay City shops and five per cent annual reduction in all country liquor shops. Despite the fury of the drinkers, many of them 'moderate drinkers', Sir Chunilal brought in his Bill and for a few years the reduction of liquor drinking was steady in city and village alike, until the gradual loss of

revenue from liquor made his successors in office nervous (as one of them told us), and a most beneficent measure came to an end.

We trust we shall not be misunderstood if we add that on one important matter we left Ahmedabad and the neighbouring Sabarmati *Ashram* and its distinguished chief with a very heavy heart. For despite our almost unlimited admiration for Gandhiji and the constructive work he and his noble comrades were doing, we could not help being haunted by clear evidences of the reasons why Gandhiji had shortly before made a public confession of his deep sense of 'helplessness', despite the splendid help he was receiving both from workers and from all-Indian subscribers to his work. For we could not evade the deep feeling that Gandhiji's 'helplessness' arose from a religious something in him which seemed to keep him from following Jesus *all the way* and from following Jesus *only*. For had he not publicly reiterated, 'I do not disbelieve in idol-worship'? (*Dnyanodaya*, July 3, 1924, p. 210.) And who will deny that that is one of the greatest curses in any land, and that anyone who allows it, in however infinitesimal a measure, must inevitably suffer from experiences of disillusionment, 'helplessness', and 'Himalayan miscalculations'? Total Prohibition of either liquor or any other evil is an utter impossibility apart from the saving power of Christ.

Gandhiji's Advice to Missionaries

(2) The mention of Sir Chunilal Mehta's name reminds us of our second personal reminiscence concerning Gandhiji. For on May 18, 1926 Gandhiji was the guest of Sir Chunilal and Lady Mehta for a few hours at Mahableshwar where the present writer during the hot season was in charge of the Marathi Language School for missionaries, and Sir Chnnilal very generously cooperated with us by bringing Gandhiji in his car to an afternoon function attended by all the Language School students and pundits and missionary friends on the hill. There were about a hundred present all told, and as we introduced our distinguished guest we assured him that we felt we had a part in all his great reforms. 'In the uplift of India's downtrodden millions, in the fight against drink and opium as well as in other lines of social reform, we like to feel we are working with you in our own humble way. And we are here as a Language School not only to learn the language of the people but to learn and teach the language of love and sympathy with India. For this reason we ask you to join our Pundit Staff for the day, and we are glad to have this opportunity of telling you how much we love you.' With his remarkable power of adapting himself to every situation Gandhiji proceeded to praise us missionaries on our success in mastering the difficult languages of India. 'For example', he said, 'the best grammar in my own Gujarati language was written by a missionary of Ahmedabad. And the other day I heard a Welsh missionary lady speaking to the people of Assam in their own language with such ability you would

have thought it was her own language.' Then with that ability which few men possessed, Gandhiji swung round and told us missionaries very plainly, 'But with all your wonderful linguistic ability, you missionaries need to learn another language, which is far more important, the language of the heart. This language of the heart and the language of love of which your leader spoke are to me synonymous. If I may be allowed to speak frankly, I am deeply troubled by the way *some* missionaries do their work. You must not come to India with the attitude that you have everything to give and nothing to receive. If you are controlled by love, you will not think you have nothing to learn from India and its people. May God help you and me and all of us to learn more fully this language of love.' The foregoing is a very cold and inadequate summary of one of the very finest addresses given to missionaries that we have ever heard, and even in the mere matter of teachableness in the relation between missionary student and Indian pundit it was one of the most timely deliverances the Language School students could have heard. And in private he added: 'Tell them to *study* India, and to study it not in the fashion of the tourist who runs through India and forms a few snap judgments. Let the study be thorough, with India's slow pace of assimilation. For with all her progress, India still moves at the speed of the bullock-cart.' In the same private talk Gandhiji spoke of the achievement of C. F. Andrews in South Africa as 'a miraculous triumph of love and faith and hard work'.

Gandhiji and Sadhu Sundar Singh

(3) We are not aiming at giving these personal reminiscences in any historical order, and our next one must have been connected with the early twenties. Our fourth reminiscence of Gandhiji takes us to our Bombay study where he had an unforgettable conversation with that wonderful Indian Christian saint Sadhu Sundar Singh. Those who are able to recall the main events in the Sadhu's life-story will remember that after his father had been won over from hostility to love because of the Christlike life of the Sadhu, and after he (the father) had decided himself also to become a disciple of Christ, the Sadhu's father agreed to meet the expenses of the Sadhu's long desired trip to the Holy Land where his Lord had walked and worked and suffered. When the time came to sail, the Sadhu honoured us with a call, when we had an unforgettable hour of fellowship with him. As he had called at Ahmedabad and stayed the night with Gandhiji on his way to Bombay, we asked the Sadhu would he mind if I asked why he had called on Gandhiji. 'Among other things,' said the Sadhu, 'Gandhiji wanted me to tell him exactly *why* I had become a Christian. So I told him exactly what had led me to Christ, and that I had proved that nothing else but Christ was able to give real peace to my hungering heart. Then,' added the Sadhu, 'Gandhiji asked me would I be willing to join them all at their four o'clock morning prayers, and tell

all the residents of the *Ashram*, who would be there, exactly what I had told him, why I had become a Christian. I agreed to do so, and the next morning I told the story all over again.' As the Sadhu's time was nearly up we asked him would he be willing that we print all this in our next weekly issue, as all his Indian brothers and sisters would be so greatly helped by it. 'Certainly I shall be very glad,' was his reply, so in order to ensure accuracy we repeated the story as he had narrated it, and as soon as he had left we typed it all out for the printers. As we had listened to the Sadhu's very wonderful story, our own heart was 'strangely warmed' and we found ourselves longing that we might have been present at that four o'clock morning meeting in the Sabarmati Ashram. For that must have been a scene worth conning over in the memory and imagination—the most notable representative of Indian Christianity and the most notable representative of Hinduism in our day together in a meeting of Indian social workers! Think of the privileges of those workers. Knowing some of them as we did, we have no doubt about their realizing the uniqueness and richness of the occasion. We have ourselves always regarded Gandhiji's request to Sadhu Sundar Singh to repeat his story to the early morning devotional meeting at Sabarmati as a good example of Gandhiji's open-mindedness and of his sincere desire that all his fellow-workers should receive light from every quarter. And the list of Gandhiji's secretaries has been sufficient of itself to show the reliance he placed on the efficient co-operation of Indian Christian helpers.

Gandhiji and the Prohibition Challenge

(4) The one remaining reminiscence we must permit ourselves to give brings us to the early thirties in Poona where we had been transferred for the work of training Indian Christian ministers and their wives. The occasion gave us a memorable interview with Gandhiji and his fellow-workers in order to clear up a misunderstanding that had risen in his mind about our own position on the subject of Prohibition. In 1929 we had acceded to a request that reached us from very responsible quarters that it was our duty as a Christian editor to send in a full Memorandum on India's behalf to the British House of Commons through the Simon Commission.

In this memorandum we made the twofold demand that India should have the power by statute to deal with its ever-growing liquor traffic, and that the new Constitution then contemplated should have its financial clauses so arranged that many needed reforms, educational reform in particular, should not be dependent on what India regarded increasingly as 'tainted money'. Both these demands were so well backed up by India's greatest leaders that our Memorandum was made an official document at the Round Table Conference in London attended by Gandhiji and others. By the time the Round Table Conference was held, the lapse of time required a new supplement

of several pages, and in our first paragraph we remarked that too many Indian statesmen were using India's drink traffic as merely a stick with which to beat the Government, and were bringing forward no constructive proposals. But we used no names. When our Supplement appeared, Gandhiji happened to be in Poona, as did also our mutual friend C. F. Andrews who informed us that Gandhiji was grieved over this sentence, which he surmized might be aimed at himself. We therefore went at once to the place where Gandhiji was staying as a guest and had a memorable chat with him surrounded by an impressive array of his secretaries and fellow-workers. We went straight to the point by observing, 'Gandhiji, when I wrote that sentence I never had you in mind at all, simply because I know that *you have a constructive policy*, which is that of definite and total Prohibition, which I also desire. Let me make clear, Gandhiji,' we added, 'to whom that sentence was referring. It was referring to some Indian leaders who at Delhi after criticizing the liquor policy of Government, go into the Delhi hotels where they have been seen drinking liquor by my informants. Those were the people I was condemning when I stated in my Supplemental Memorandum that too many so-called Indian statesmen were doing nothing about this drink evil except to use it as a stick with which to beat the Government.' Whereupon Gandhiji had a hearty laugh and he most heartily agreed with me. Our dear friend C. F. Andrews, who had sat listening to everything, was obviously relieved and delighted at the turn of events. All this had a still more encouraging sequel. For when in December 1935 the British Parliament passed the new Constitution for India, Judge M. R. Jayakar, who was in London at the time, was asked publicly were the two foregoing demands in the 1935 Bill, he replied in the affirmative. He might have added, but modesty forbade, that he had written a most commendatory appraisal of the Memorandum and had given a worthy donation to help with the heavy expenses of printing it. We were even more deeply encouraged by the fact that our own British Methodist Church (to which, next to Jesus Christ Himself we owe a spiritual debt we cannot measure) met all the expenses of our Memorandum being reprinted as a sixpenny pamphlet in Britain and of sending a presentation copy to all the members of the House of Commons who had to deal with this subject in preparing the 1935 Indian Constitution. Two recent announcements have brought rich encouragement to many who look forward to the new India with hope and optimism. *First*, the announcement that the newly appointed Indian Christian Governor of Bombay, His Excellency Sir Maharaj Singh, intimated soon after his appointment that no liquor will henceforth be served at Government House, Bombay. *Second*, the new Indian Government, headed by the Prime Minister, the Right Honourable Jawaharlal Nehru, has publicly requested all Government servants to refrain from alcoholic drinks at official or semi-official parties, in order that they may support in this practical way the new Government's policy of Prohibition. A *third* intimation may not

be out of place at this point. When the newly formed Bombay Government in our last year in India honoured us by requesting us to become a member of the Bombay Government's new Prohibition Board, we passed on to the Minister of Excise an excellent suggestion made by our friend the editor of *The Indian Social Reformer*, viz. that the Bombay Government would greatly help their Prohibition programme if they could announce that every member of the Government had taken a pledge of personal total abstinence.

An Enigmatic Personality

(5) Many are the reminiscences we could give of conversations in different kinds of groups in India that have centred on what may be described for want of a better term as the enigma of Gandhiji's personality, and how to explain it. For ourselves we can only emphasize the line we ourselves have taken for nearly four decades of our work in India. The main thing we have always emphasized in our own mind and often against his critics has been to insist on Gandhiji's utter and undeviating sincerity. On all questions, whether he was dealing with Government or opposing able men like Dr Ambedkar we believe Gandhiji was always transparently sincere. He may often have been mistakenly sincere, was as Saul of Tarsus, but sincere always. Even Pandit Nehru, now India's greatly respected Prime Minister, has again and again in his own books stated that he and his fellow-leaders in the Indian Congress were deeply perplexed and baffled by Gandhiji, but that they have always fallen back on their past experience of Gandhiji's transparent honesty, his astonishing practical wisdom, and his unfailing authority arising from his intimate knowledge of India's people. We have often derived help in understanding Gandhiji from remembering that there were three chief aspects of his many-sided personality. There was Gandhiji the ascetic, the fasting man and deeply prayerful in every detail of his life, for his asceticism and austerity have possibly been the chief explanation of his unique influence with India's four hundred million people. Then there has been Gandhiji the politician or the people's representative who understood the needs of the Indian peasant as few men did, though in this capacity he often antagonized both the Government and many of his countrymen (and for this and other reasons we are avoiding the purely political in these paragraphs). The (hypothetical) third aspect of Gandhiji's personality was a combination of the other two and those who would concentrate on the political aspect of Gandhiji's life can hardly do better than give themselves a study of the books by Panditji Nehru, written mostly in prison. In order of importance is his own *Autobiography* (its American title being *Towards Freedom*) of which seven editions were sold in seven weeks when it was published in the Spring of 1936, a book of which Lord Halifax, the Ex-Viceroy of India, has said that modern India cannot be understood without reading that book; we were authori-

tatively informed at the time that while reactionary Indian leaders were urging the Viceroy of the day, Lord Linlithgow, to ban the book officially, business men in England were cabling to His Excellency to do no such thing, as Britain needed such a book in order to understand the Indian mind. *Glimpses Of World History* and *The Discovery of India* were both written during long imprisonments which perhaps explains their occasional prolixity. Four reasons have been given for the value of Nehru's books, viz. first because they show the part played by the East in world-affairs; second because they shed valuable light on the Indian revolution; third because they show what Western capitalism looks like to many people in the East; and last but not least because they give clear proof that India can produce leaders who are intellectually the equal of other national leaders. John Day & Co. of New York have published a simple but useful volume entitled *Nehru and Gandhi*, giving a selection in the order of events and from Nehru's Delhi speeches in February 1948. One feels sometimes that Nehru paints too glowing a picture of ancient India; for example we recall no mention by him of the fact that India had Brahmin superintendents of liquor more than three centuries B.C.

II. THE WORLD'S DEBT TO GANDHIJI

Gandhiji and World-Peace

(1) In the presence of any calamity Gandhiji was always superbly practical, and we shall do well to emulate his example by comforting ourselves in a re-emphasis on some of his cardinal principles. Among the very first of Gandhiji's regnant ideas was the sacred responsibility of every leader the world over for preserving peace among the nations and for abolishing war as a method of solving national and international problems. Hence the fitness of the suggestion made immediately after Gandhiji's lamented death by a notable journalist and friend of Gandhiji, Mr H. N. Brailsford, that the very best world-monument would be *another* world-wide effort to abolish war by means of a decision to put on the statute-book of every land the solemn resolve to bring universal disarmament into operation at the earliest possible moment. We say '*another* effort' because appeals and agreements have been made before. Both America and Britain have made herculean efforts on this subject, the former when the Kellogg Pact, sometimes called the Pact of Paris, was signed by fifteen nations on August 27, 1928, agreeing that the settlement of all disputes 'shall never be sought except by pacific means'; and the latter when the British Foreign Minister, Mr Arthur Henderson died, it is said from a broken heart, after the failure of the World-Disarmament Conference in which he had taken so prominent a part. But the Master of us all urged us to 'forgive seventy-times seven', and the terrible events of two world-wars may lead to the discovery of some method more binding than any previous one;

for God has certainly used Gandhiji to stab awake the conscience of Christendom on the evils of war. Hence the appropriateness of a decision reached by the Society of Friends during the month of Gandhiji's death, to the effect that the Service Council of that Society in Britain, with the approval of the Meeting for Sufferings, the Quaker Executive, should send forward to the proper authorities the name of M. K. Gandhi as a recipient of the famous Nobel Peace Prize in a future year. In this connection it is worthy of note on what deep and enduring foundations Gandhiji based his unceasing attack on war and all warmongers, for in his message to the 1947 Inter-Asian Relations Conference Gandhiji pointed out that the only possible basis of all the relationships of men was love for one another. And was not brotherly love the solution propounded by Jesus for all world-problems?

Soul-Hunger and Racial Equality

(2) Just as world-peace will not be ensured until we all do our duty on the subject of racial equality, so we shall never understand Gandhiji's greatness until we realize how fully he recognized that India's deep soul-hunger can neither be diagnosed nor satisfied until India's longing for justice and equality is frankly met. That Gandhiji made a resounding contribution on this aspect of India's religious hunger is one of the most widely accepted conclusions of all who have studied his life and work. His twenty years' running fight on this same question in South Africa has received ample recognition in the quarterly journal of the South African Institute of Race Relations. In those two decades Gandhiji did much to establish the governing principle that it is neither by separation nor segregation, but by cooperation, that happier human relations can be ensured. And despite much that discourages both in South Africa and India, yet India's Anti-Untouchability campaign has made sufficient progress to secure wide acceptance of Gandhiji's verdict that 'Untouchability is a grave blot on Hinduism'. So clearly is this the case that one of India's distinguished Hindu judges once ventured to say that 'Christ was cleansing the mind of India'. Such facts help to explain what led India in the overwhelming tragedy of Gandhiji's death to pay what one great friend of India described in *The British Weekly* as 'India's unconscious homage to Jesus Christ' when 'in seeking to pay their great and revered leader a tribute they could think of nothing so high as that he was "Christ-like"'. Yet there are spots on the sun, and it has to be admitted that the literature on India the past few years has included such a book as Dr Ambedkar's 1946 book entitled *What Gandhi and the Congress did to the Untouchables*. Since we summarized for *Dnyanodaya* readers its grave charges there is no need to repeat them here, especially as they were too often marred by exaggeration, natural to one who knew only too well how 'the shoe pinched'; but we felt that Mr Rajagopalachariar's few pages in reply were unworthy

of so skilled a swordsman. These things quite apart, Gandhiji showed how far he was sometimes from understanding his Indian Christian brothers and sisters who had come up from the humbler classes of society when Gandhiji a few years ago with the best intentions began to apply the term 'Harijan' to the sixty millions or so of India's depressed and oppressed classes; for the root meaning of that term is not 'men of God' as Gandhiji declared but 'men of Hari', and when it is recalled that 'Hari' is a name applied to Krishna, one of India's immoral deities, it will be clear that no Christian could accept such a description as 'Harijan'. Nor were any Indian followers of Jesus ready to accept a more recent verdict of Gandhiji, and one equally unfortunate, when he declared that those called untouchables could no more understand the lofty principles of the missionaries than could any animal, a statement that shocked many at the time as an unfortunate departure from Gandhiji's usual dignified diction. Profound as is our regard for Gandhiji, we feel that a better judge on the powers of human receptiveness was Jesus Himself; and we are told that although He knew that the Samaritans were 'untouchables' in the eyes of Jews, and hence 'the Jews did not associate with Samaritans', as Dr Moffatt translated St John 4. 9; yet that same chapter in St John's Gospel shows us Jesus setting forth some of the loftiest truths of His public ministry to a member of that despised section of Palestine, and that a woman; and how appreciative, discerning and successful she was is all shown in the later part of that story. Similarly, Jesus took one of those despised and untouchable Samaritans as the basis for His parable of the 'the Good Samaritan' in St Luke 10. 33. How notable a contribution to world-uplift can be made by the depressed and oppressed section of the race has been demonstrated by the life and work of that great Christian Negro leader, Aggrey of Achimota in West Africa, the reading of whose life-story is an enriching inspiration and whose motto was expressed in the following lines of poetry:—

'You can make good music with the black notes only;
You can make good music with the white notes only;
But you only make the best music with the black and white
together.'

Let us acknowledge with profound gratitude to God the undying service Gandhiji has rendered to the world-wide Christian Church by his sledge-hammer blows against all race prejudice. For may it not have been this evil thing as he saw it in South Africa that set Gandhiji's mind against joining the Christian Church? Some of the most valuable pages in Gandhiji's weekly columns were those in which he launched his heaviest artillery against the caste spirit too often seen in both South Africa and in India, against the snobbery that has marred the splendid achievements of some British people, and against the anti-Negro attitude of some Americans who are unworthy of their great country. The encouraging progress of recent years is well

expressed in what is called the Negro National Anthem, part of which is as follows:

Stony the road we trod, . . .
Yet with a steady beat
Have not our weary feet
Come to the place for which our fathers sighed?

Yet despite so many enriching facts, eloquent of Gandhiji's achievements for his humbler brothers and sisters, we are faced with the perplexing fact of Gandhiji's silence concerning the infinite debt owed by India's depressed and oppressed millions to the uplifting power of Jesus Christ in their hearts and homes. This silence of Gandhiji has been well described as 'the great enigma of Gandhiji's life'. This enigmatic silence has received its sufficient answer from what one man among India's depressed classes said once: 'We were dogs until Christ came and showed us we were men.'

The Place of God in the Indian Republic

(3) If we are correct in our diagnosis of India's deep hunger of heart after the Invisible All-Father of the universe and after heart-union with Him, a hunger shown in all India's pilgrimages, sacrifices and entire spirit of renunciation, then the widespread concern among many Indian people arising from the proposed exclusion of God's Name from the India Constitution is understandable, and more so because any definite recognition of the Divine was openly and unfavourably criticized by the distinguished mover of the resolution. And as this is so essentially a matter for India itself to settle we quoted a leading Indian authority in our own *Dnyanodaya* paragraph concerning the Constituent Assembly's original decision of January 21, 1947. On February 13, 1947 we wrote as follows:—'It is altogether fitting that an Indian writer, rather than a non-Indian, should regret the omission of the Name of God from the Indian Constituent Assembly's resolution' declaring India 'a Sovereign Democratic Republic' (according to the new wording at New Delhi on Feb. 25, 1948). Our paragraph continued: 'Mr K. Natarajan, doyen of Indian editors, writes in the *Indian Social Reformer*: "Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at the resumed debate on his resolution about the 'objective' of the Constituent Assembly, denounced those who wanted the recognition of God as the Source of all Power." With his unique knowledge of India, Mr Natarajan's opinion is worthy of note when he observes: "The name of God in the Indian Constitution would have been a source of much strength to ninety-nine per cent of the people of India." We believe this observation to be wholly correct, and for the comfort of the "ninety-nine per cent of the people of India" who will regret this great omission we will add that although there is one book in the Bible itself, the Book of Esther, that does not mention God's Name, yet the reality of Divine Providence and of God's Government of His

world are stamped on that book from first to last.' Since we wrote those words the Constituent Assembly's resolution has been published in the slightly modified form dated Feb. 25, 1948 but the item under discussion has been left untouched, despite the noble protest we have given above from Mr Natarajan and despite also an equally noble protest made by an earnest and eloquent Indian Christian member at the Constituent Assembly itself on January 21, 1947. We have not seen any statement on the question whether Gandhiji himself approved of this resolution, but if the answer is in the negative we venture to urge that Indian Christian statesmen and others concerned about this matter may press for a further reconsideration of the whole question in the light of Gandhiji's undeviating practice of putting the Sovereignty of God in the forefront of all his thoughts and schemes. For if there is any one individual to whom the new Sovereign Democratic Republic of India owes more than to anyone else that individual was Gandhiji whose entire life-campaign for Indian independence was dominated throughout by profound religious passion. Panditji Nehru in his capacity as India's Prime Minister said at Delhi in his broadcast on Feb. 14, 1948: 'We are too near Gandhiji to assess the many facets of his extraordinarily rich personality'; and in one of his books (*Autobiography, or Towards Freedom*, p. 10) he has fittingly described Gandhiji as 'the permanent Super-President of the Congress'. Could the Indian Legislature therefore raise a worthier memorial of the founder of Indian Independence than by restoring the Sovereign Name of God that would remind Indian statesmen of their founder's loyalty to God in his darkest days, and that would also be 'a source of much strength to ninety-nine per cent of the people of India'? We are not unmindful of the fact that one worthy motive in passing the resolution under reference was to root out from India that religious communalism that has been one of the greatest hindrances to the all-essential national unity. But surely in seeking to achieve this most laudable end, there is no need to go to the other extreme of excluding from India's Charter of Independence a word which has such far-reaching significance for India's people: this might mean the entire nation, as far as its chief legislative document is concerned, falling into the dark pit of atheism. We therefore hope that the memory of Gandhiji's last days may 'touch the Indian imagination more creatively than any previous actions' and that somehow or other India's profound reverence for the Divine may find expression in the basic Constitution of this truly great people, and that what the learned Panditji has expressed in his *Glimpses of World History* (p. 4) of Socrates, may be proved true of Gandhiji: 'In life, Socrates served the cause of truth and knowledge well, but better still he served it in his death.'

Gandhiji's Condemnation of Idolatry

(4) In view of what we have said in the foregoing paragraph concerning a decision of the new Government of India, it gives us

special pleasure to commend its splendid and uncompromising leadership on a matter affecting the entire religious future of India's people. Speaking on behalf of the Government of India on February 12, 1948 Sardar Vallabhai Patel 'deprecated strongly the attempts that were being made to raise temples and erect memorials to Gandhiji which would savour of idolatry'. Here are Sardar Patel's words: 'Nothing would have displeased Gandhiji more than these attempts. He has often expressed his views on such matters in no uncertain terms. I would therefore request those who are contemplating taking any of these steps, or embarking on any similar undertakings, to desist from carrying out their intentions. The surest and most pleasing memorial to Gandhiji is to follow his inimitable teachings and devote oneself to the constructive ideas which he preached and practised. It is only thus that we can really enshrine Gandhiji in our hearts, and after all that is the place where we shall all like him to be always.' When we read that remarkable official communication we felt it to be one of the most courageous ever issued by any Government in the world, for it gave demonstrative proof of the new Government's resolve and ability to tackle entrenched evils. In case any reader should feel like calling in question its authoritativeness, let us quote a similar request from Gandhiji himself. Early in 1946 Gandhiji wrote in the weekly *Harijan* an article condemning the installation of an image of himself in a new Hindu temple named after him. The image was installed with orthodox Hindu rites in a North India village, and spinning along with reciting of passages from the *Bhagavad Gita* as translated into Hindi by Gandhiji formed part of the daily ritual. Villagers were streaming daily into the temple to worship Gandhiji's image. In his article on the subject Gandhiji called this gross idolatry, and he added: 'The person who erected the temple has wasted his money by misusing it. The villagers are misled and I am being insulted. For the whole of my life has been caricatured in that temple.' Readers out of India will find the foregoing facts in *The Christian Century* of May 22, 1946 in a letter from Tiruvalla, South India, dated April 1, 1946 by Mr P. O. Philip, the former Indian Secretary of the National Christian Council of India. In his lifelong work for India, Gandhiji never did anything of more far-reaching value than in this outright condemnation of idolatry. It is a message that should be sent to every village in the land, for idolatry is sapping at the roots of Indian vitality everywhere.

Gandhiji's Remedy for Heart-Hunger: Preach Christ and Don't Dilute His Message

(5) We believe the world-wide Christian Church has come to recognize increasingly that in his fight for world-peace, his campaign against untouchability in all its forms (Indian, American or British), his outright condemnation in later years of idolatry, Gandhiji has been Providentially sent 'to prepare the way of the Lord' for God's fuller

revelation of His Son as Saviour. How very definitely Gandhiji has been used of God in this generation will be clear from something Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has said in his *Autobiography* (the section on pages 252-9 in the American edition, *Towards Freedom*), where the Panditji states that Gandhiji's activities 'have gently but irresistibly undermined orthodox Hinduism and shaken it to its foundations. The whole tribe of orthodox Brahmins,' says Nehru, 'have ranged themselves against him and they consider him their most dangerous enemy.' Of this fact we once had astonishing confirmation from a Hindu Brahmin priest whose location we here refrain from divulging, but his raving words against Gandhiji were unreportable; and, no wonder, when we recall something else Nehru says in the same book (see the section on pages 313-16): 'Gandhiji is always thinking in terms of personal salvation from sin.' In our judgment it was because the subject of personal salvation was always in Gandhiji's mind that he was such a unique authority on the religious hunger of India, for he knew that until that hunger is fully satisfied, India will not know what heart-peace means. Our own interpretation is that the nearest Gandhiji came to telling India how to reach assurance on that subject was by his message on *ahimsa* which we have indicated on a previous page means, at its deepest level, no harbouring of evil or uncharitable thoughts about anyone, that is, inward purity and inward love. Now apart from his teaching and practice of prayer Gandhiji gave India's hungering people no indication as to *how* they were to obtain that inward spirit of *ahimsa*, of purity and of love. But this does not solve the problem of a conscience burdened by the weight of past guilt and haunted by the consciousness of an inward bondage. What can cleanse away the guilt and what can deliver from the bondage? It is just at this point that we believe Gandhiji made his best contribution when he was asked by a well known missionary some years ago, 'What would you advise us missionaries to preach to India?' Gandhiji's answer was, in the words of the title of this paragraph: 'Preach Christ and don't dilute His message.' We are not unmindful of the fact that Gandhiji in more recent years has frequently deprecated what he has called overmuch preaching and that he has emphasized how the rose performs its beneficent ministry by simply sending forth its lovely perfumes, and that the Christian Church should do the same rather than talk so much. But we cannot forget Gandhiji's advice, 'Don't dilute your message of Christ', and Christ's message included the essential duty of being His '*witnesses*' and 'Go forth into all the world and preach'. Nor have we been able to forget that Gandhiji himself has done much preaching, besides sending forth the perfume of character. Who in India was a more eloquent, more persistent, or a more successful preacher than Gandhiji was, converting many objectors to his own point of view? Indeed, one of the most striking developments in Gandhiji's own methods of work in recent years was his daily prayer-meeting in whatever part of India he was staying. Some may have called it 'the spiritu-

alization of politics', as indeed does the Panditji in one book, but it must be admitted that the politics of every land have often needed much spiritualizing, that Indian politics have greatly benefited, and that India's religious literature has been immeasurably enriched by that Gandhiji's messages at such meetings in their published form in the weekly *Harijan*. The latter makes clear that in his very last prayer-meeting in Delhi the day before his end, Gandhiji gave a wonderful message meant to reach the ears of those who were angry with him for getting them into trouble, as he said, because of his reforming methods. The very fact that India's greatest living son was on his way to his daily prayer-meeting and to the giving of his message to the world, when he entered on the martyrdom which was a fitting crown to his life of self-denial, is a priceless lesson to every worker in the Indian Church. Surely a moving challenge should come to us all from the fact that it was in the act of seeking to minister to the hungry heart of India that Gandhiji laid down his life. Those daily prayer-meetings and the thousands who attended them (apart from those who went in sheer curiosity) supply an impressive proof of the religious hunger of India and of what Gandhiji felt was the best method of satisfying that hunger. And if Christian workers are to be true shepherds as they try to minister the Bread of Life to India's millions, these workers will need to guard against an insidious danger pointed out in another connection by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (*Glimpses of World History*, pp. 78, 82). Concerning India's early Brahmins the Panditji emphasizes that while 'Buddhism was a revolt against caste and priestcraft and ritualism' and 'image-worship', it is worthy of note that 'Brahmanism ultimately succeeded in almost driving out Buddhism from the country of its birth by assimilating it to some extent and absorbing it and trying to find a place for it in its own house. This new Brahmanism was not a mere reversion to the old state of affairs. . . . The old leaders of Brahmanism were much cleverer, and from of old it had been their practice to absorb and assimilate. . . . All through their history they have, consciously or unconsciously, acted in this way.' There is much to be learned here by present-day disciples of Jesus in India, whose work is in far graver danger from the Hindu power of assimilation (and thereby robbing the Gospel message of its keen edge), than from opposition or persecution. For opposition rouses the soul from deadly slumber, while assimilation by the other side is in danger of lulling the soul to sleep. In other words, it is Gandhiji's advice over again: 'Don't dilute the message of Christ, but preach it, and above all, practice it; and you will thereby bring peace and comfort to the aching heart of India.'

Gandhiji's Personal Relation to Christ

(6) There is probably no major question that has been more discussed in Christian circles in India than this question, and there

are few matters on which it would be easier to write unsympathetically and unwisely. One who was intimate with Gandhiji once stated that during Gandhiji's long stay in South Africa he spent five years in discussing with himself the question whether he should become a Christian. Probably it was to this same period that Gandhiji himself referred in an interview at Bangalore with the editor of the *Jaffna Morning Star* which we summarized in the *Dnyanodaya* columns of Sept. 1, 1927. In reply to the direct question, 'What objection do you have of taking Jesus Christ as your spiritual *Guru*?' Gandhiji said, among other things, that 'at one time he had had the privilege of examining Christianity and that he studied the Bible and other Christian literature. The result was that he was not satisfied with the interpretation given of the life and teachings of Jesus Christ by the West and'—let every Christian reader note the next item in Gandhiji's reply—'that *he was still more discouraged by the life of those who professed His Name.*' There is probably more real light in the sentence we have italicized than in all the articles that have discussed the subject, and it is a sentence that should humiliate the heart of every sincere disciple of Christ. At the same time, it is to be noted that Gandhiji turned the question about his *personal* relation to a *personal* Guru into a reply concerning 'Christianity' which is quite another matter, and one of Gandhiji's Indian biographers once agreed with us in wondering whether Gandhiji had ever brought his heart and conscience really face to face with Jesus Christ as *his own* Saviour and Lord. So that there is much, in this connection, in the touching story told of the great Christian philosopher, Dr Jowett of Oxford, who when he was asked one day by a girl-friend what he thought of God, replied, 'That is a very unimportant question; all that signifies is *what God thinks of me.*' We have noted on a previous page how Sadhu Sundar Singh told Gandhiji the moving story of what led him to accept Christ as his personal Saviour. And it is on record that Gandhiji received an earnest appeal from friend 'Charlie', as he always spoke of C. F. Andrews (whom all India referred to, using his initials to pay the tribute, as 'Christ's Faithful Apostle'). It is also on record that in January 1928 Gandhiji told the Federation of International Fellowships in India that he had concluded 'all religions are true'. One important consequence of that conclusion was seen in Gandhiji's oft-repeated objection to the Christian programme of personal conversion to Christ—and this despite his previous advice to preach Christ and *not* to dilute His message; and every one knows that this message of Christ included the words, 'Unless ye be converted and become as little children ye cannot enter the kingdom of heaven.' It is to the eternal honour of C. F. Andrews that on the basis of his own personal experience of Christ and of his own intimate knowledge of Gandhiji's admiration for Christ, C. F. A. set himself to convince Gandhiji that he was making a grave error in objecting to the principle of 'conversion'. The whole story was told by Mr P. O. Hilip in *The Christian Century* some years ago and as we summarized it in our 1941 volume, *Dnyanesh-*

war The Out-Caste Brahmin (pp. 417-422), there is no need to repeat it here, except to add that Gandhiji's personal debt to C. F. Andrews was very great, nor was Gandhiji ever reluctant to acknowledge the fact. In his *Autobiography* or *Towards Freedom* (the section on pp. 252-9) Pundit Nehru states concerning Gandhiji's sickness in the early thirties, 'Probably a great deal of credit for saving him (Gandhiji from death) should go to C. F. Andrews who had rushed to India contrary to Gandhiji's advice.' On this crucial question of Gandhiji's personal relation to Jesus Christ, what judgment shall we form? The answer is that to pass judgment is, happily, not our business. That can only be left to Him Who alone knows all hearts and Who knows each one of us better than we know ourselves. For He knows our inward motives as well as our outward methods. 'Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?' But there is one thing we *can* say, and that is this: Whenever we discuss those whom we too glibly call non-Christians, we shall do well to save ourselves from all the dangers of a Pharisaic self-complacency by remembering the solemn words Jesus spoke when He noticed the earnest reality and faith of a non-Jewish army captain at Capernaum: 'Many shall come from the East and the West, and shall sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven; but the sons of the kingdom shall be cast forth into the outer darkness' (St Matthew 8. 11). Concerning Gandhiji's personal relation to Jesus Christ there *may* be some light in what has been stated by an American visitor to Sevagram where Gandhiji was staying for a while in 1942. Mr Louis Fischer in his interesting book *A Week with Gandhi* tells of being Gandhiji's guest in the hot days of June 3-10 that year. Fischer says 'the temperature was a hundred and ten. When I entered Gandhiji's room, six men in white were sitting on the floor. A woman in a black *sari* was pulling the rope of his fan. There was only one decoration in the room, a glass-covered, black and white print of Jesus Christ, on which were printed the words "He is our peace".' When we think of that picture and its message in that room where hundreds of people visited and interviewed Gandhiji, one by one, we cannot afford to overlook what the picture *may* have meant to Gandhiji and those visitors. So now that Gandhiji has passed away let us in our own minds and hearts look on that picture on which Gandhiji's eyes rested daily, and let us think of its reminder wherein lies 'our peace', our own heart-peace and the peace of the whole world. And let us remember that such was the picture and such was the message that Gandhiji had chosen that *every one* who called on him should see. A few years before his tragic end, Gandhiji had made in his weekly paper the confession that he did not expect miracles to happen in his case, and that he had not yet found the Guru to satisfy his soul. But who knows? Maybe, as the great man gazed on that picture, especially perhaps on his days of silence, prayerful silence, remember, and as he pondered over those words 'He is our peace', maybe his soul-hunger for a satisfying Teacher may have found fulfilment. Maybe, Gandhiji's silent gazing on that picture

may explain what many have said they felt was his 'Christlikeness'. For did not another transfigured seker, Saul of Tarsus, write those enriching words: 'As we all behold the mirrored glory of our Lord we ourselves are being transfigured into His likeness' (2 Corinthians 3.18 as it *can* be translated). We will only add: Unique as was Gandhiji's influence in India, it is our conviction, from which of course many will differ, that his influence would have been even more extensive and pervasive if he could have seen his way to 'go all out' in his soul's quest for Christ as his personal Saviour and Lord.

III. HOW TRAGEDY MAY TURN TO BLESSING

Light on the Value of Suffering

(1) One of the most poignant aspects of the religious hunger of India is seen in the agelong Indian craving for light on the meaning and value of suffering. It is precisely on this darkest spot in India's long spiritual pilgrimage that satisfying light falls from the Cross of the Suffering Saviour. Since the Gethsemane prayer, 'Father, if it be possible let this cup pass from Me', was answered only by death, and that the cruel death of a Roman crucifixion, and since the prayer from that Cross, 'Father, forgive them', has brought an assured peace to man's troubled conscience the world over, and since that Cross was followed by Resurrection and the gift of His Empowering Spirit by the Risen Lord into every repentant heart that will take the gift in simple trust, then it all means here is good news indeed for the sin-burdened and sorrow-laden souls of men and women everywhere. And this is exactly the message that 'turned upside down' the Roman world in a joy and self-conquest it had never known before; so that in the words of Dr T. R. Glover those early Christians 'out-lived, out-died and out-thought all the other people of their day. One of the most thoughtful men in Cambridge University in England was the late Dr F. C. Burkitt who once on his travels in another land came across the moving story that when Jesus passed along in heaven after His victory over death, He was asked by one of the angels, 'My Lord, the great Design, the inauguration of Thy Kingdom on the earth, is it all finished?' And Jesus replied, 'It is finished.' Then the angel urged Jesus to tell him what He had done on earth, and Jesus replied that He had lived unnoticed for thirty years, after which He talked with men and women of all sorts. 'In the end,' Jesus added, 'enemies had Me executed.' 'My Lord; My Lord!' exclaimed the angel in horror, 'was there no other way?' 'No,' said Jesus, 'there was no other way.' In the light of subsequent history we now see that the worst crime on record has become transfigured and transmuted by the Spirit and Providence of God into a redemptive force for the whole world. And if bereaved India will accept the precious light that falls from Calvary, and by the help of the Spirit of the Crucified will endeavour to work out Gandhiji's ideals and even to surpass them,

then the martyr of Delhi will accomplish far more than did Gandhiji the ascetic and politician.

Indianization of the Christian Programme

(2) Let it be noted here that by 'Indianization' we do *not* mean 'Hinduization.' It has been a momentous loss to both the Christianizing of India and the Indianizing of the entire Church programme that Gandhiji 'repeatedly refused' the invitations of the late Indian Bishop, Dr Azariah, to go and visit the quarter of a million Indian Christians in the diocese of Dornakal, and see for himself how Christ was transforming many Indian villages by means of Christianized homes and new standards of social service that the Indian villager had never dreamed to be possible. We learn this from Basil Mathews in a letter he wrote to *The Christian Century* of Nov. 10, 1943; and he learned it when he visited Dornakal in 1938. In that letter Mr Mathews emphasized how thoroughly Indian (not Western) the Christianity of India is, with the hundreds of Christian pictures by Indian artists (see Dr D. J. Fleming's books, *Each with His own Brush* and *The Heritage of Beauty*). How thoroughly Indian in their Christian devotion Indian Christians can be has been shown by scores of Indian Christian poets, among whom Nārāyan Vāman Tilak with his hundreds of hymns and *abhangs* must be given the high place. Marathi hymns translated into English are proving a mighty inspiration to the Church of Christ in Western lands, as for example, Tilak's hymn, 'One who is all unfit to count.' That the Indianization is in no way weakening the Christianization is clear from what a Hindu chairman said at one of Dr Stanley Jones' Lahore meetings: 'Our problem now in India is not to get independence but to keep it. For we will need changed character in this new India' and 'we cannot gainsay the fact that the impact of Jesus upon people creates miracles of changed character. We welcome this aspect. The fact also that in some places during India's distressing riots and upheavals, not only were Christians ensured protection by wearing crosses, but also that 'even some non-Christians found safety by wearing that emblem of sacrifice'—such a fact would appear to show that India's Christianization is regarded as a helpful factor towards Indianization of the Government. To the present writer one of the best illustrations of Indianization and Christianization combining to build a new India is that supplied by the reports that Indian Christian statesman, Mr Daniel Thomas in the Madras Government is able to give from time to time concerning the progress of Prohibition in the Madras Presidency as indicated by the latest figures. Behind these figures are the inspiring accounts about an increasing number of drinkers who are being freed from the curse of liquor because the temptation is being removed by the closing of liquor shops. All this means happier homes, though of course it means the new Government officials have to find new sources of revenue to meet the loss of liquor

revenue. We believe that, given a constructive publicity on this vital matter, the patriotic Indian public will be willing and eager to co-operate with the resourcefulness of the new Government's servants.

A Call to Realities

(3) The tragic event of Gandhiji's foul murder has focussed the world's attention upon two incontrovertible facts, viz., how far above the commonly accepted Hindu creed Gandhiji lived and worked daily—that is one great fact on which world-comment has been made; and the second fact is this: how dismally below the standard of character and service seen in the example and power of Christ so many members of the Church of Christ are living today. These two facts present a double challenge; and if the dark event in Delhi should lead Gandhiji's fellow-Hindus in their daily living to approximate more nearly to the Gandhian ideals, and if the whole Church of Christ on earth should solemnly resolve to lessen the contradiction between the Saviour's pattern and the Church's imitation, then Gandhiji will not have died in vain. So great a need is there for this far-reaching revolution in daily living that we shall all do well to pay close attention to what India's new Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, wrote on page 87 of his fascinating *Glimpses of World History*:—'It is not surprising,' said the Panditji, 'that many people should think that Bapu (i.e., Gandhiji) is far nearer to Christ's teachings than most of His so-called followers.' The words come at the close of a section bearing the heading 'Jesus and Christianity' in which Nehru calls attention to the quarrels and controversies 'between various Christian sects,' and where he writes with justifiable scorn of many 'loud-voiced followers (of Christ) today with their imperialism and armaments and wars and worship of wealth.' Who will dare to say that these withering words are not justified? The ever-sincere Nehru will have rendered valuable service if his scorn leads Christian people in India and the world over to resolve to become more Christlike and united. For Jesus Himself, in His last teachings just before His death, told His most intimate followers: 'By this shall all men know that ye are My disciples, if ye have love one to another' (St John 13. 35).

The Unaccomplished Tasks

(4) (1) Gandhiji's death has led to great searchings of heart regarding the many unfinished tasks of the Christian Church in India. Among the many undischarged responsibilities, one of the chief that stands out in all its stark reality is the Christian Church's duty concerning Islam in India, and indeed Islam all over the world. For a careful balancing of all the ugly facts that led up to Gandhiji's assassination would appear to show that one of the chief factors was fanatical Hindu anger against Gandhiji's conciliatory attitude to India's Muslims. That means that Gandhiji gave his life as the price of his mediation between Muslims and Hindus. This dark event therefore hands

down to the Indian Christian Church a solemn duty to complete this great mediatorial mission. And can this be better fulfilled than by brotherly love to the one hundred millions of India's Muslims? If Gandhiji could risk his life in order to assure the Muslims that he forgave them whatever wrongs they had done to his fellow-Hindus, surely the Indian Christian Church's responsibility is no less for the task of passing on to India's Muslims the blessings of the evangel of Jesus Christ. This evangelistic task among the one hundred million Indian Muslims has become invested with more solemnity and urgency than ever by the tragic event of January 30, 1948. And there is another heart-searching aspect of this matter. India's Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, has called the attention of Christendom to the 'more than 150 years' of wrong against Islam in the Crusades between 1095 A.D. and 1249 A.D. at the instigation of the Roman Popes for a 'holy war' against 'the infidel Turk,' though in the words of the British historian G. M. Trevelyan, 'the prize brought back was not the permanent liberation of the Holy Sepulchre or the potential unity of Christendom, of which the story of the Crusades was one long negation' (see *Glimpses of World History*, pp. 192-6). Is it not high time that the Universal Church of Christ made a propitiatory offering to the Muslim world for such wrongs? Happily there are many signs that the conscience of the Christian Church is alive to its evangelistic responsibility for Indian's Muslims who number one out of every four of India's vast population.

(2) And what of the Christian Church's half-finished task in the educational realm, in view of the immense population in India? Many encouraging facts regarding Christian schools and colleges and other training institutions forbid anything akin to despair. But the educating and training of teachers and of medical and industrial workers is so vast a task that we can only give one figure. Miss Nora Brockway, the Principal of St Christopher's Training College in Madras said not long ago that in the next forty years India will need two million teachers, mostly women, if India is to get universal education. How far India's advance is dependent on education is shown by the fact that 85 per cent of India's people are still illiterate. Such an immense task can only be accomplished by Churches and Missions working in the closest possible cooperation with one another and with Government, and indeed by a cooperation shared by groups of Missions and Churches in each training institution. It is a harbinger of the future that Miss Brockway's own Training College is one supported by no less than twelve Missions. And it is obvious that the 'sending' countries must not allow the feeling to creep in that they can leave this momentous educational task (in all its section) to India itself, now that India has secured its Independence. Britain and America in particular cannot afford to forget the appalling needs of the Indian Church and Nation, for in our opinion the opportunity is greater than ever, and India's warmest cooperation is ensured by the vastness of the task which has inevitably created a new sense

of limitation. Our knowledge of both Britain and America makes us quite certain that they will do all they can, and that they await India's indication where help is most needed. Lord Bryce, that fine British Ambassador to the United States, and author of that authoritative book, *The American Commonwealth*, made a true prophecy when he said: 'In the long run America will always try to do right.' And that is true of both Britain and America.

Recovery of Lost Dynamics

(5) (1) To be confronted with a personality and an achievement such as Gandhiji's is to be brought face to face with the humbling necessity of recovering those lost dynamics which would have enabled the Church of Christ in India to convince and persuade Gandhiji to be 'out and out for Christ,' but the Church's interpretation did not help him, he said, and un-Christian conduct 'discouraged' him. The threefold dynamic which the Church in India and in every land must at all costs recover is indicated by three words: Prayer, Obedience, Power. The first of the three Gandhiji exemplified, viz., the dynamic of an earnest daily prayer-life, and we must all of us resolve at all cost to recover that for ourselves and the whole of India's Church. But the New Testament Church shows the second and third to be equally important and available for every soul, viz., a joyful obedience to Christ in all conditions of life, and a daily experience of the Power of the Indwelling Spirit of the Living Christ in the heart. Of the second, a joyful obedience, Pastor Martin Niemöller gave California a striking illustration during his 1947 visit. He said that when all the men in the German Confessional Churches had been sent to the battle-front, boys and girls and young people in their early teens crowded the Churches to pray for Pastor Niemöller who was in prison. The police then loaded these praying young people by hundreds into army trucks and hauled them away to imprisonment. There in prison they sang and prayed for two whole days until the German officials sent them all back home. So it is clear that Christ can be joyfully obeyed in cloud and in sunshine alike, in national calamity as well as in national exaltation, and that, like Paul and Silas (in Acts xvi), Christians can still sing their way through difficulties. The inspiring sequel is that in answer to those prayers Niemöller has been spared to tell the Universal Church the uplifting story. Concerning the third and chief dynamic of all, the Indwelling Spirit and Power of Christ in the soul, let a Chicago Rotary Club address say the needful. Professor Arthur A. Hay told that Rotary Club a few years ago that the New Testament has shown the Holy Spirit of God has given two great truths to the Christian Church; first, that 'discord will trample this world, so long as it remains half Christian and half pagan' and therefore that the evangelization of the whole world is a supreme necessity laid upon the entire Church in every land; and second, that 'any form of society is the product of those who compose

it and they can change it at will.' Lest we be discouraged by the immensity of the task let us here add a third dynamical principle from the New Testament: that the secret of the two foregoing principles is constant reliance upon and loyal obedience to the Indwelling Spirit of Christ as our Guide, Inspirer and Dynamic. In their question to the Risen Master, 'Wilt Thou *now* restore the realm to the Jews?' (Acts i.6) the early disciples were just as concerned about Jewish national greatness as India has naturally been for years past and is still more concerned in its new era of independence. And to the India of our time there still comes the same message, 'You will receive true Power, spiritual Power, when the Holy Spirit comes upon you' (Acts i.8). In the Resurrection of Christ and in the following Pentecost there was given to 'the fearful yet faithful infant Church' the conclusive proof that 'God had acted in Christ' and that He had 'loved the world' so much as to 'reconcile it to Himself.' This assurance changed a set of timid men into a transfigured band that nothing could daunt or restrain; it transformed the craven Peter into a brave and fearless confessor such as Christ needs in India to minister to its hungry and aching hearts. That assurance of God's Love and Redeeming work in His Son was such a constraining force with Paul (ii Corinthians 5.14) that four times over he was able to say 'I am ready' (Romans i. 15; ii Cor. 12. 14; Acts 21. 13; and ii. Timothy 4.6), ready for anything, ready to go anywhere, so long as he was with Christ as His Companion. As the late Dr Temple said in his *Readings in St John's Gospel*, true Christian prayer does not say, 'Do for me what I want,' but 'Do in me, with me and through me what *Thou* dost want.' Let us teach India more and more that 'God is Love' and that 'God is Light', for He wants India to live no longer in terror of false deities, nor in doubt concerning the All-Father. No longer need India's lovely people be haunted by a hunger for God which they fear cannot be satisfied, for in Jesus Christ, the Son of God and Saviour of men, we have One Who said that He 'came that men might have life and have it to the full.'

(2) In this book we have tried to set forth some of India's noblest efforts to discover the secret of satisfying its deep heart-hunger and aspirations. We have found that among the Marathi-speaking people the method emphasized has been that of *bhakti*, though there are many Maharashtrian temples and books that emphasize also 'the way of knowledge' and 'the way of works.' But let us all emphasize more than ever that in every part of India, at the centre of all Indian aspiration and in the hottest part of every conflict, 'there standeth One' Whom many millions of hungry hearts do not yet know, and He cries out from His Cross, 'I am the Way.' In His pierced hands He offers the gift of His Own Spirit to satisfy every hungry heart that welcomes Him as He brings His Peace and Power and Purity. We love India with all our heart, and to every individual in the land we would commend the message of that noble toiler in Africa's jungles, Dr Albert Schweitzer: 'Jesus comes to us as . . .

minimizing epithets, anyone can form his own conclusions by reading the 1933 publication of 79 pages by the same Father Heras entitled *The Conversion Policy of the Jesuits in India* where the historical documents relied upon show the gravity of the facts so that the author is compelled to admit that a Portuguese official order referred to could only mean 'destroying the temples and images of idols.' (5) Little wonder therefore that in his 1937 Anglican history of three centuries of Mission work, entitled *On the Bombay Coast and Deccan* (p. 36), the Venerable Archdeacon of Bombay, the Rev. W. Ashley-Brown, records that in Western India 'the Inquisition left a heritage of bitterness and suspicion.' Happily our Roman Catholic friends all over India are today doing their work on worthier lines. (6) When, however, Romanist historians in various lands still try to minimize these things (see the *E.R.E.* references given below) we cannot afford to forget the authoritative verdict of Lord Acton, who was himself a Romanist and was rightly regarded as one of the greatest historians of modern times, he having organized the twelve volumes of *The Cambridge Modern History*, nearly a thousand pages each volume. Lord Acton's verdict on the Inquisition was given in his 1913 *Letters to Mary Gladstone* as follows:—'The Inquisition is peculiarly the weapon and peculiarly the work of the Popes, . . . and a man's opinion of the Papacy is regulated and determined by his opinion about religious assassination.' To understand the workings of the Inquisition in various lands the references given below should be studied. (7) For further references on the foregoing topics, readers may consult *The Cambridge Modern History* (vol. 3, pp. 517-25), *The Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* by Dr J. Hastings (referred to above as *E.R.E.*), (vol. 9, pp. 752-4; vol. 4, p. 718; vol. 7, p. 330); the Princeton (N.J., U.S.A.) Quarterly, *Theology Today* (January 1946, pp. 421-35); and the *Dnyanodaya* (vol. 96, pp. 369-70, 377). (8) Concerning the present day, the searching investigation by the late Dr C. J. Cadoux (who passed away in early 1948) entitled *Roman Catholicism and Freedom* shows that lovers of religious freedom need ever to be on their guard concerning those lands where Romanism is in the ascendant. (9) We once heard a missionary speaker at a Conference in South India remark that Western India had not yet been honoured by having a 'Mass Movement.' Our own mental comment was that Western India had this long since, but as it was based on force, the work of Christ has suffered ever since. We italicize the word 'yet' as we already see the harbinger of a glorious day for Christ all over Western India. (10) We record with grateful appreciation the fact that, after condemning religious compulsion, Mr Paralkar expresses warm praise of the *Christ-Purān*, a poetical Life of Christ in Marathi by Father Thomas Stephens, the first edition of which came out in A.D. 1616, the second in 1649 and the third in 1654. Father Stephens has sometimes been described as 'the first Englishman in India.' We have often longed to include an edition of this *Christ-Purān* in the Maharashtra Poet-Saints series, and perhaps the task may providentially

fall to worthier hands. (11) Writing on 'Religious Freedom' in *The British Weekly* for June 3, 1948, Dr Nathaniel Micklem (as *Ilico*) gave the following 'from a Jesuit Father, F. Cavalli. . . in the review *La Civiltà Cattolica* for April 3 of this year: "The Catholic Church, being convinced, by reason of her divine prerogatives, that she is the one true Church, claims for herself alone the right to freedom, for this right may only be possessed by truth, and never by error. Where the other religions are concerned, she will not take up the sword against them, but she will ask that by lawful means, worthy of the human creature, they shall not be allowed to propagate false doctrines. Consequently, in a State where the majority of the people are Catholic, the Church asks that error shall not be accorded a legal existence, and that, if religious minorities exist, they shall have a *de facto* existence only, not the opportunity of spreading their beliefs. . . . Hence the extreme horror on the part of Protestants, who hold it up against the Catholics that they withhold freedom . . . from others when they are in the majority, and, on the other hand, demand it as a right when they are in the minority. . . . The Catholic Church would be betraying her mission if she were to proclaim, either in theory or in practice, that error can have the same rights as truth, especially when the highest duties and interests of man are at stake. The Church can feel no shame at her intransigence as she asserts it in principle and carries it out in practice, though the areopagus of the nations of today may smile pityingly or rage against it as tyrannical." ' On this quotation from the Jesuit Father there followed the remark of Dr Micklem: 'This claim . . . seems to a Protestant like me to be a shocking spiritual indecency to which I do not willingly draw attention. . . . Jesus Christ, not Church dogma, is the Truth.'

IV

NOTE ON GANDHI LITERATURE AND THE TERM
'MAHATMA'

Since we wrote our concluding chapter, several valuable publications have appeared drawing the lessons of Gandhiji's life for India and the world. We limit ourselves here to three points. (1) Our readers will have noted that in all our references to the late M. K. Gandhi we have used the term which is adopted in most public references by his most intimate fellow-workers, viz., Gandhiji, which is an ideal combination of affection and profound esteem. Three considerations have led us to adopt this term. *First*, in deference to Gandhiji's own frequently expressed disapproval of the term 'Mahatma', because of his deep sense of imperfection. Such disapproval from Gandhiji himself settles the question as far as the present writer is concerned. *Secondly*, we have always understood

He came to those men who knew Him not. He speaks to us the same words : *Follow thou Me*. He sets us to the tasks which He has to fulfil for our time And to those who obey Him, whether they be wise or simple, He will reveal Himself in the toils, the conflicts, the sufferings which they shall pass through in His fellowship, and, as an ineffable mystery, they shall learn in their own experience who He is.' The profound conviction of the present writer is that in this way, and in no other, can the religious hunger of India be satisfied.

'Revive Thy Church, Beginning with Me'

(6) (1) A most vivid book bearing the above title was published in America in the early part of 1948. Its author is Samuel Moor Shoemaker who for nearly 25 years has been the rector of the Calvary Episcopal Church in New York City. He began his career as a Y.M.C.A. Secretary in China and the very title of his book illustrates how Eastern Christians are influencing the whole world, for it was a Chinese Christian leader named Cheng-Ching Yi who first used this suggestive prayer, *Revive Thy Church, Beginning with Me*, and gave it as a slogan to the Chinese Forward Movement of Evangelism in 1928. A seven minutes' address at the Edinburgh Missionary Conference in 1910 had already ensured this Chinese Christian a place among the forces of the world-wide Church. It is because this is one of those downright and forthright books that would have delighted the heart of Gandhiji, who would have revelled in its plain speech and rich directions on prayer, that we close our own book with a review of Dr Shoemaker's pages. One criticism we would offer is that since the book is published at a dollar and a half, which in India means about four and a half rupees, it is beyond the reach of most Indian Pastors who would receive priceless benefits from its careful study. It is one of the most dynamical books we know, and as we wish to establish our conviction that a generous summary of it should be translated into the chief vernaculars of India, we shall quote as much of its inspiring contents as is allowable in a 'review.' For it is an ideal evangelistic handbook for enabling all workers in India, missionaries, pastors and others, to learn *how to satisfy* the religious hunger of India.

(2) 'How are we to evangelize? How are we to start serious conversations that will deepen the spiritual lives of people?' These and similar questions are those to which concrete and luminous replies are given in eight chapters of which the following are the first two titles : 'The Need and Our Resources. How People Find God.' Dr Shoemaker refers to the well known fact that 'the most exhaustive study of the history of Christianity' has been made by Dr K. S. Latourette who firmly believes 'the Holy Spirit is clearly at work' in our time. Two different kinds of Churches are to be clearly distinguished, 'the truly converted Church' that 'has caught the fire of Christ's Spirit,' and 'the unconverted Church' that has 'early

lost its way in its relations to this world,' for so many Church members forget that 'until something happens *to* us and *in* us, it will not happen *through* us.' But 'if we will let the Holy Spirit bring conviction of sin to us, and begin the completion of our own conversion, our plans will have life in them ;' and we shall realize 'how God can change situation through changing the people in them.' Occasionally flashlights from history illuminate and apply a truth, as when we read : 'Consider Martin Niemöller face to face with Adolph Hitler. Niemöller was with a group of Church leaders on January 25, 1934, when Hitler told them, "Gentlemen, mind your own business, and let me take care of the German nation." One by one Hitler put out his hand to dismiss his visitors, and as Dr Niemöller held his hand he said to Hitler, "Mr Chancellor, God Himself has entrusted *us* with the responsibility for our nation, and no power and no authority in the world is entitled to take it from us."'. The story and its sequel, as seen in Hitler's inglorious end and Niemöller's preservation and influence among his people, have demonstrated to the world that God has held in His own hand the keys of history in one of its darkest and most revolutionary eras.

(3) Concerning the training of the Church's ministry we are gravely warned that 'there are two characteristic sins of theological seminaries : Scholarship divorced from life, and deferred realization of spiritual power ;' and we learn the searching but uplifting truth that just as 'God broke into the consciousness of the world, as He had never done before, through incarnating Himself' in Jesus, so 'the clothing of the Spirit of God in the flesh of human events is still God's most effective way of making Himself felt and known,' and 'the more legitimate ways in which we can let the Spirit of Christ clothe *Himself* today, the more people we can reach.' If we may here offer a second criticism it is that we have substituted the term '*Himself*' (which we have italicized) for Dr Shoemaker's word 'itself' as a more correct expression of New Testament teaching on the *Personality* of the Holy Spirit. And here is a far-reaching suggestion concerning the *voluntary* Christian service a Spirit-filled Church will have at its disposal for its ever-increasing responsibilities : 'How many short-handed staffs, half-manned mission stations, and overworked ministers and Church workers, are paying the price of our *not* reaching people like this, with the message of a Gospel that first brings victory and spiritual abundance into their lives, and then asks for their enlistment in active service ?'

(4) Alcohol, 'Alcoholics, Anonymous' and 'tragic powerlessness' are different aspects of a topic referred to four times in Dr Shoemaker's excellent book. Here let us offer to the publishers another minor criticism, the omission of an index, which would increase substantially the usefulness of this publication by bringing together the various pagings where any topic is dealt with. The four references on this vital topic are on pages 3, 10, 35, and 79-80. Since we have already referred to Gandhiji's superb passion for the complete abo-

lition of India's liquor traffic, and since Gandhiji and all other practical reformers have always known that one big hindrance is a 'tragic powerlessness' on the part of millions (including, alas ! many 'moderate drinkers,' who would be reluctant to admit it), our final excerpt from Dr Shoemaker shall be to pass on to our readers what are called the 'twelve steps' in the programme of 'Alcoholics Anonymous.' These 'steps' have in them much 'accumulated wisdom' concerning the whole subject of 'the cure of souls,' and for the benefit of readers in India we may add that this American movement called 'Alcoholics Anonymous' has worked wonders in many parts of the United States. So here are the 'twelve steps' which have led to complete victory over the drink temptation in the experience of many people who have been released from this moral bondage : (1) we admitted we were powerless over alcohol—that our lives had become unmanageable; (2) we came to believe that a Power greater than ourselves could restore us to sanity; (3) we made a decision to turn our will and our lives over to the care of God as we understood Him; (4) we made a searching and fearless moral inventory of ourselves; (5) we admitted to God, to ourselves and to another human being the exact nature of our wrongs; (6) we were entirely ready to have God remove all these defects of character; (7) we humbly asked Him to remove our shortcomings; (8) we made a list of all persons we had harmed and became willing to make amends to them all; (9) we made direct amends to such people wherever possible, except when to do so would injure them or others; (10) we continued to take personal inventory and when we were wrong, promptly admitted it; (11) we sought through prayer and meditation to improve our conscious contact with God as we understand Him, praying only for the knowledge of His will for us and the power to carry it out; and finally, (12) having had a spiritual experience as a result of these steps, we have tried to carry this message to alcoholics and to practise these principles in *all* our affairs.' These 'twelve steps' make very clear that any drink reform campaign, either in India or any other land, is impracticable unless there accompanies that reform a red-hot evangelism; and it was because John Wesley in the eighteenth century always joined those two together that the historians can now say that 'John Wesley saved England from a revolution' like the one that took place in France. And for India's Prohibition campaign to succeed, one chief necessity will be a steady and ever-increasing evangelistic campaign by the Indian Church. For let us ever remember that 'it is the main job of the Church to fashion people like Jesus Christ.' Our own nearly four decades in India tell us that what India wants from the Indian Christian Church more than anything else is an increasing number of people who in their own daily life and work show how Christlike people are produced. Already this triumph is seen in many Christian homes and villages that we know in India, and the victory can be made complete by means of a united and praying Church in every centre of the land.

Indian and World-Wide Hunger For Brotherly Love

(7) (1) No revival of spiritual religion will be worth the name unless it proves its reality by a brotherly love that is practical and enduring. Here again we may learn a lesson from Gandhiji's closing days. A worthy crowning point to his years of effort to bring about brotherly relations between Hindus and Muslims was his visit to a small unostentatious village seven miles south of Delhi. The *Harijan* of February 15, 1948 narrated it as having taken place on the Wednesday, two days before the tragic event of Friday, January 30, the article being entitled 'The *Urs* At Mehrauli' by Pyarelal the editor. *Urs* is the name of 'a great religious fair' of the Muslim mystics named Sufis which 'used to be held at Mehrauli every year' and 'was attended not only by the Muslims from all over India but by the Hindus too, thus reflecting . . . the religious tolerance for which Sufism stands.' During the recent upheavals in North India, 'Mehrauli fell a victim to communal frenzy' and 'it was feared the annual *Urs* might not be held this year. But as a result of Gandhiji's efforts, who had made the holding of the *Urs* as before one of the conditions for breaking his fast, all the obstacles were successfully overcome . . . It was a sight to see Hindu and Sikh volunteers standing shoulder to shoulder with Muslim volunteers in a common endeavour for social service . . . Gandhiji was deeply moved at the sight of the wanton damage to the lovely marble screens enclosing the inner shrines and later in the evening he made a feeling reference to it in his prayer-meeting address . . . He said he had come there on pilgrimage, not to make speeches. Ever since he had heard that it might not be possible to hold the *Urs* at Mehrauli as in previous years, he had been deeply distressed over it . . . If the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs of Delhi thoroughly cleansed their hearts and made up their minds never again to allow fratricidal strife to raise its head, India and Pakistan united in a brotherly bond would together command the respect and regard of the world instead of becoming the butt of the world's ridicule.' Before he concluded Gandhiji made a moving appeal in these words : 'I want you to take a vow that you will never again listen to the voice of Satan and abandon the way of brotherliness and peace.' Thus to the end of his life, Gandhiji pleaded for brotherly love in India to be shown by heart-unity and practical service.

(2) 'The question that presses home to each one of us is : *How* shall we ensure this unity and this service ? How, except as St Paul has told us : 'The harvest of the Spirit is love, joy, peace' (Galatians 5.22). What this far-reaching sentence means has been shown by that fine Indian Christian writer of South India, the retired Judge, Mr P. Chenchiah, who in the Madras *Guardian* of July 10, 1941, p. 317, said that Christ 'will triumph in India as He never did in the past in other lands by leading the best men of India into the creative experiments of the Holy Spirit.' One of those 'creative experiments' has been seen in the life and work of that notable Indian Christian

Princess, Rajkumari Amrut Kaur, who for several years has been an equally loyal disciple of Christ and of Gandhiji. In a moving article in the *Harijan* of February 15, 1948 the Rajkumari wrote : 'To dedicate ourselves anew to such service as you, Bapu, (i.e., Gandhiji) tried to train us for is the only offering we who believe in your way of life may dare to offer you.' This high resolve the Rajkumari is carrying out in the very responsible position of Minister of Health in the Government of India ; and in presenting her for a new honour the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Delhi in March this year (1948) stated : 'The daughter of an ancient and distinguished house, she has given her life to public work and her services to her people, but it is probable that the service by which she will desire most to be remembered is as the faithful secretary for many years of Mahatma Gandhi. Uniting masculine intellect with a woman's insight and sympathy she has in her present office an opportunity afforded to few of translating her dream into reality, of bringing relief to the sick and of establishing new standards of health and well-being among the countless millions of India.'

(3) If 'the creative experiments of the Holy Spirit' are necessary to ensure India's victory over all communal divisions, nothing but the same 'creative power' can ensure the spread of brotherly love over the whole earth. Of how the entire human family of God yearns and hunger for this brotherly love the present writer had an impressive proof on his journey from India to England in May-June 1947. The only passage we could secure was on a large troop transport with about four thousand British soldiers on board, every one of them heroes in the war-areas of the East. We had much inspiring fellowship with them, and on every conceivable opportunity we found ourselves emphasizing, 'The only solution to all the conflicts in the world is more, and still more, brotherly love.' The simple message met with a deep response every time we uttered it, and after we had left the ship and were walking along the dockside at Liverpool we heard some of them calling out, 'Good Bye, Brotherly Love !'

(4) Here surely, in the brotherly love emphasized both by Jesus and by Gandhiji, is one main direction in which the whole world, East and West alike, is to look for a solution of what is called by some the Russian menace and by others the Russian bogey. Whatever truth there may be in the suggestion that the deep tension between Russia and other lands springs either from an inferiority complex on Russia's part or from a fundamental difference in democratic ideology or from a possible combination of both, it is quite certain that the whole atmosphere of international relations would be cleansed from many poisonous fumes by fresh breezes of brotherly love. This means in plain terms that the Church of Christ the world over must not allow either Russian Communists or any other Communists to steal our Christian thunder by any social gospel that is of more practical value than the Gospel preached and practised by those inspired by the Spirit of Christ as seen in the early chapters of the Acts of the Apostles.

If the great Christian historian, Dr K. S. Latourette, is correct in his view that Russian events represent 'the most thoroughgoing attempt to uproot Christianity,' then the Christian answer today must be like that of the first century Christians, we must see to it that we 'out-think and out-live' all others, and, if need be, even 'out-die them.' It simply means that this age is hungering to see again a Christlike Church such as the first generation of Christians manifested, a Church painted for us by that consummate artist St Luke in his inspiring history of the first Church, where men and women were so genuine and so practical in their Christlikeness that even their critics and judges said 'they had been with Jesus' (Acts 4.13). Has the world ever witnessed a more practical exhibition of Christlikeness in action than the millions of 'friendship parcels' sent by the Christian people of America to the needy people of other lands ?

(5) One of the most encouraging manifestations of brotherly love in the earth today is seen in the steady advance of Christendom to a newly discovered unity in Christ, outside and above all the diversities of organization. This was fittingly emphasized in an interview with the great scholar of Yale University in *The Methodist Recorder* of London on March 18, 1948. In that interview Dr K. S. Latourette restated briefly some of the main conclusions reached in his monumental *History of the Expansion of Christianity*. His seventh and last volume entitled *Advance Through Storm* shows that in the last three or four decades the Christian Faith has shown itself a world-wide force more than ever before, in its geographic spread, in 'the amazing growth of indigenous leadership among the non-Occidental people,' in the number of new vitalizing movements it has originated, and above all in 'the growth of the ecumenical movement.' The following words of Dr Latourette are worthy of note : 'Here was an amazing phenomenon, new in Christian history . . . Since the fourth century the drift has been towards further division. Now in the nineteenth century, and especially after 1914, the trend was reversed. Christians were coming together. This movement happened when the nations of the world were pulling apart, and in the midst of the most world-shaking wars which the human race had ever experienced. It had organization but was not producing uniformity. Its chief emphasis was upon a unity of the spirit. That spirit was more and more clothing itself in an inclusive fellowship . . . for common action ;' so that it has become clear, says Dr Latourette, and many other investigators echo his words, that 'Christianity was more potent after 1914 than ever it had been before,' and that we are living in 'one of the great eras of the Christian Faith.' We ourselves believe that the greatness of our era arises largely from the fact that the universal Church of Jesus is more and more entering into the full meaning of the deep Christian assurance reflected in the latter half of St John's first epistle where we often read 'we know.' As Dr Moffatt translates one of these (4.13) : 'This is how we may be sure, . . . because He has given us a share in His Own Spirit.' The secret of the Church's

growing triumph over all doubt and cynicism is in its ever deepening consciousness of the imperishable value of the Indwelling and Inspiring Spirit of its Living Lord. Sustained by this deep assurance, the Church of Christ in more and more parts of the earth is slowly writing a new and practical commentary on those lofty words in I. John 3. 16: 'We know what love is by this, that He laid down His life for us; so we ought to lay down our lives for the brotherhood.' The Gospel of John has given us the basic Gospel in 3. 16 in the amazing fact that 'God has loved so deeply as to give His Son;' and from the first epistle of John (3. 16) we learn the inspiring motive-power of the Church of Jesus which is enabling it to write its own history in those wonderful terms: 'we know what love is by this, that He laid down His life for us, so we ought to lay down our lives for the brotherhood.' In all this we see at work the triple inspiration of the wonderful Incarnation, the amazing Redemption and the perennial Pentecost; and this is the Gospel which the universal Church of Jesus Christ offers to India's yearning millions for the satisfying of their religious hunger.

Christian Opportunity in India

(8) (1) All that has happened since Gandhiji's tragic death has emphasized the uniqueness of the Christian opportunity in India and the eagerness of the Christian forces to give to India all the help that lies in their power. The far-reaching nature of that opportunity has been admirably set forth by Dr Paul D. Devanandan, so well known as a member of the United Theological College staff at Bangalore and who is at present the Henry W. Luce Visiting Professor of World Christianity at the Union Theological Seminary in New York. In the *Union Seminary Quarterly Review* for March 1948 (pp. 6-17) Dr Devanandan has a suggestive contribution entitled 'The Future of Christian Opportunity in India' in which with his usual acumen and comprehension he surveys the situation since 'Britain's withdrawal from India.' Gandhiji, he points out, had 'proposed a casteless Hinduism, which is indeed a contradiction in terms,' and 'the answer of the militant organisation of orthodox Hinduism was the fatal shot which brought Gandhiji's life to an abrupt end.'¹ Our scholarly Bangalore and New York Professor's diagnosis then goes on: 'The dominant factor which conditions the new opportunity for the Christian evangelist is the religious reaction of Hindu India to the new political circumstances.' That 'reaction' is seen 'on three different levels, resulting from three different types of reaction to the surge of new life and freedom, the Hindu Nationalist's response, the reaction of a reviewed Hindu orthodoxy, and the answer of Hindu renaissance.' This threefold challenge calls 'the Christian evangelist to a closer

re-examination of his task,' and it is a challenge he must accept 'without compromising Christian conviction and freedom of conscience' as he cooperates with 'the effort of social reformers to remove caste distinctions . . . and such inhuman practices as untouchability' in order to ensure India's millions of untouchables their proper place in society.

(2) Since 'Nationalists in Hindu India are not particularly religious people,' being 'for the most part agnostics,' the Indian Christian has the opportunity of providing 'the guidance of an enlightened Christian conscience' in 'constructive schemes for national reconstruction,' and of suggesting a 'programme of action based on a Christian critique of contemporary circumstances.' Happily 'the Hindu Nationalist is now convinced that the Indian Christian has not ceased to be an Indian by becoming a Christian.'

(3) In view of the fact that orthodox Hinduism is entrenched in practically every village of the land, Indian Christians themselves will need to initiate 'a constructive programme of immediate action in four directions. *First* in welding together the rural and urban congregations into a conscious sense of their inter-dependence,' and urban churches must not be 'oblivious of their responsibility to their less fortunate brethren in the village churches.' Then *secondly*, 'is the new importance we give to a teaching ministry . . . For this reason we have placed a high priority on theological education in India.' *Thirdly*, in the work of religious education 'we have come to discover that the family is the real unit of membership in the Church. Home ties are both real and strong in India, and one of the strongest factors that has gone to the making of family group-life has been religion,' and 'the compelling witness of a Christian home arrests attention and exercises tremendous influence.' And *fourthly*, 'the importance of corporate worship in a sense of organic unity of the fellowship of believers is one reason why in India we are steadily working to realize the unity of the Church.'

(4) While it is increasingly true that 'Renaissant Hinduism' (as for example the reformed Hinduism of the Brahmo and Prarthana Samajes) 'rightly understood is really the Christian way of life, the ethic of Christianity, which the Hindu has taken over almost in its entirety,' yet it is all-important to bear in mind that he has not accepted the dynamic of that ethic, a dynamic which comes from the Cross of Christ, the forgiveness of sins and the power of the Indwelling Spirit of Christ. All too often the excellent weeklies of the Hindu reformed Samajes set forth what can only be described as 'the super-structure of Christian ethics torn out of its native dynamic theological foundations.' Therefore 'the Christian evangelist should courageously indicate the inadequacy' of such a 'strange alliance' which 'cannot last,' for 'the borrowed ethic of renaissant Hinduism' can only 'lead the Hindu intellectual . . . to a secularistic humanism.'

(5) In addition to the wonderful opportunity, set forth so eloquently by Dr Devanandan, of 'making the Gospel relevant and

¹ Students of Indian history will not fail to note that another champion of 'a casteless Hinduism,' Shradhdhānandaji, was murdered in Delhi in December 1927. See our pages 105 and 78.

meaningful to Nationalistic, Orthodox and Renaissant Hinduism,' a fourth challenge, equally great and insistent, is presented to the Christian Church by the hungry hearts of one hundred millions of Muslims. Remembering that Gandhiji lost his life by seeking to mediate between Hindus and Muslims, could the Church of Christ send forth into history any worthier memorial of 'the Father of the Nation' than by seeking to bring about the heart-unity of the four hundred million people in Pakistan and Hindustan? How can that be done? By calling to mind daily that picture of Jesus Christ in the Sevagram hut referred to in this chapter (section II, 6 under the heading 'Gandhiji's Personal Relation to Christ), and by striving daily to give to the world a new application of St Paul's profound words in Ephesians iii 14-16: 'He (Christ) is our Peace. He has made both of us a unity; Himself giving the death-blow to that feud by reconciling both to God in one Body' (Moffatt's translation adapted).

ADDITIONAL NOTES

NOTE I. THE 'BHAGAVADGĪTĀ' AS TEXT-BOOK OF NEO-HINDUISM.

NOTE II. DOES THE 'BHAGAVADGĪTĀ' MENTION UNTOUCHABLES?

NOTE III. INDIA'S HISTORIC REVOLT AGAINST RELIGIOUS COMPULSION.

NOTE IV. NOTE ON GANDHI LITERATURE AND THE TERM 'MAHATMA'

I

THE 'BHAGAVADGĪTĀ' AS TEXT-BOOK OF NEO-HINDUISM

(To follow the paragraph on 'Neo-Hinduism' on page 55)

(1) After our third, fourth and fifth chapters were set up by the printers, Dr Radhakrishnan made an important addition to his presentation of the Neo-Hinduism philosophy in a 388-page book 'first published in 1948'. It consists of a luminous exposition, sentence by sentence, of the *Bhagavadgītā* with an Introductory Essay, Sanskrit text and an English translation. By its spiritual beauty and literary excellence this commentary will win for itself a distinctive place in the already rich literature on the *Gītā* and none can afford to neglect it who desires to be up to date about Hindu views. Indeed the book may be said to carry forward by a distinct stage the Hindu process in our day of appropriating the maximum amount of Christian ethical and religious terminology while leaving unappropriated that essential Christian dynamic of the New Testament which alone, as we believe, can enable India's religious teachers to satisfy the religious hunger of India. Dedicated fittingly to Gandhiji, the book opens with Gandhiji's well known tribute in his *Young India* for 1925 (pp. 1078-9): 'When disappointment stares me in the face and all alone I see not one ray of light, I go back to the *Bhagavadgītā*.' On the 67 pages of the Essay and on many pages of the exposition, Christian preachers will find many useful illustrations but they will need to remember that far too many Christian meanings are unjustifiably read into this most popular Hindu scripture which Dr Radhakrishnan dates as far back as 'the fifth century B.C.', a date some scholars will feel is much too early.

(2) Two other points of doubtful scholarship may be referred to. First, many will feel it to be hardly adequate treatment of a knotty

problem when so renowned a scholar can accept as 'ample evidence in favour of the historicity of Krishna' the few considerations that are advanced (p. 28), although the able Brahmo Samaj pundit of Calcutta, the late Sitanath Tattvabhushan, plainly affirmed: 'The early Vaishnavas knew Krishna was not historical'; and the great savant of Poona, the late Dr R. G. Bhandarkar, told a learned audience when he was opening the Bhandarkar Institute that 'the occurrences reported in the Mahabharata cannot be regarded as strictly historical.' The second point of doubt is the *Gītā* attitude to war which confronts India with the issue: Is the *Gītā* a safe guide on the duty of fighting which Krishna urged on Arjuna the pacifist? Dr Radhakrishnan solves the riddle thus: 'When Krishna advises Arjuna to fight, it does not follow that he is supporting the validity of warfare. War happens to be the occasion which the teacher uses to indicate the spirit in which all work including warfare will have to be performed.' How far this is from settling the question will be clear when we remember that when Gandhiji once affirmed that 'the *Gītā* is an allegory in favour of the doctrine of non-resistance,' the *Indian Social Reformer* declared: 'This is sheer casuistry.' But probably most interpreters will agree with Dr Radhakrishnan and we gladly leave him to them. For ourselves we would thank him for all those enriching pages which light up many New Testament passages with new applications and which take his grateful readers to many unfrequented bypaths of Christian literature for his illustrations. For example, ponder over the beauty of what Angelus Silesius wrote:

'Though Christ a thousand times
In Bethlehem be born,
If He's not born in thee
Thy soul is still forlorn.
The Cross on Golgotha
Will never save thy soul,
The Cross in thine own heart
Alone can make thee whole.'

II

DOES THE 'BHAGAVADGĪTĀ' MENTION UNTOUCHABLES?

(Note on The *Gītā* ix 32, mentioned on page 103, top line)

On the crucial verse in the *Gītā*, ix. 32, referred to in our first two lines on page 103, readers have now Dr Radhakrishnan's 1948 book, *The Bhagavadgītā*, to consult. On his page 252 Dr Radhakrishnan translates the Sanskrit text in ix 32 as follows:—'For those who take refuge in Me, O Pārtha (Arjuna), though they are lowly born, women, Vaishyas, as well as Shudras, they also attain the highest goal.' This English means that the lowly born are 'women, Vaishyas, Shudras,'

and so there is no specific mention of 'the out-castes,' according to Dr Radhakrishnan's translation. In adopting such a rendering of this verse, Dr Radhakrishnan has against him the admittedly great authority of Dnyaneshwar (see pp. 88-9) who in his *Dnyaneshwari*, the first Marathi translation and exposition of the *Gītā*, has no less than 32 verses (ix. 443-474) expounding this one verse, so important did Dnyaneshwar esteem it for his Maratha people. In his translation of the Sanskrit verse here Dnyaneshwar uses the word *antyaja* (untouchable), and the authoritative Marathi commentators on the *Dnyaneshwari* Sakhre (p. 289) and Bankatswami (p. 263), give the meaning of the crucial verse, ix. 460, in Marathi which we may render in English as follows:—'So long as the *bhakta* (or worshipper) has not become one with Me, so long do the distinctions remain between Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, Shudras, women and the *antyaja* (untouchables)' and three other great authorities in Marathi agree, B. G. Tilak, L. R. Pangarkar and S. S. Bhide, the first-mentioned in his *Gītā Rahasya* (vol. I, p. 614) where the crucial word is rendered: 'other lower classes in which birth has been taken as a result of sin.' While Dr Radhakrishnan makes clear in his Notes that the *Gītā* message 'is open to all' including 'those outside caste,' his translation does not indicate this.

III

INDIA'S HISTORIC REVOLT AGAINST RELIGIOUS COMPULSION

(To be read after the first paragraph on pages 96 and 202)

On page 14 of his 1946 *Life of Tukaram* in Marathi Mr Laxman Vinayak Paralkar in setting forth the historical background refers to the religious compulsion by Roman Catholics from Goa in various parts of Western India in the 16th and 17th centuries. It makes one ashamed to have to admit the truth of the charge. The following is a brief outline of the main evidence:—(1) *The Cambridge Shorter History of India* (p. 505) states: 'Already in 1540 by the orders of the King of Portugal all the Hindu temples in the island of Goa had been destroyed;' and later, 'Any Protestant adventurers might find themselves handed over to the Inquisition at Goa.' (2) The Inquisition, introduced into Goa in 1560 and continued until 1814 when British intervention brought it to an end, became one of the chief causes of 'the ultimate decline of Portuguese power in India,' says *The Cambridge History of India* (vol. 5, pp. 17-18). (3) Yet on March 24, 1927, the Rev. Father Heras, S.J., could say in a lecture before the Bombay Historical Society: 'The severities of the Inquisition of Goa were the outcome of the age' and 'they were too mild and too few' to be a factor in the Portuguese downfall. (4) About the value of these

one of Gandhiji's main reasons for disapproving the term 'Mahatma' has been that the usage in Sanskrit literature shows 'Mahatma' to have meant 'semi-divine' or 'very holy,' and either meaning as applied to himself Gandhiji deeply disliked. And *thirdly*, we have found Indian Christians also have disliked the term 'Mahatma' being applied to any human teacher, and we have found the Indian Christian instinct a very safe guide on such matters. Therefore whenever that term is applied to Gandhiji we feel the writer or speaker should make clear that it is used in the broader sense of one who is 'great-souled.' This is done in Dr Stanley Jones' latest book. (2) Dr Jones in his able book believes Gandhiji 'was fundamentally a Hindu', that 'the roots of his life were not in Christ' but 'in the *Bhagavad Gita*.' (3) On the *Gita* attitude to war (referred to briefly in our additional Note I) Dr Jones says on page 107 of his book (*Mahatma Gandhi: An Interpretation*) that a Hindu once told him: 'We Hindus and you Christians should change sacred books. The *Bhagavad Gita* gives philosophical reasons for war, while the New Testament teaches peace, and yet we are more peace-minded and you are more war-minded.'

As an example of the use of the term 'Gandhiji' rather than 'Mahatma,' it is sufficient to note our quotation on page 315 (of this book) from Sardar Vallabhai Patel who in four sentences used the term 'Gandhiji' three times.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

General. The present writer's heaviest debt is to Dr James Hastings' works, viz., his dictionaries of *The Bible* (5 vols.), of *Christ and the Gospels* (2 vols.), of *The Apostolic Church* (2 vols.), his one-vol. *Dictionary of the Bible*, his *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* (13 vols., referred to often under the letters E.R.E.), the 59 vols. of *The Expository Times* (in later years edited by son and daughter), etc., etc., and to Dr James Moffatt's *New Translation of the Bible*.

PART ONE: Chapters i and ii

Commentaries on *Genesis* in the Expositor's Bible series by Dr Marcus Dods, on *The Acts of the Apostles* in the Expositor's Greek Testament by Dr R. J. Knowling, and by Dr G. Campbell Morgan, also Dr David Smith's *Life and Correspondence of St. Paul*; and Dr Alexander Maclaren's *Expositions of Holy Scripture* on *Genesis* and *Acts*.

PART TWO: Chapters iii-xiii

Dr S. Radhakrishnan's *Eastern Religions and Western Thought* and *The Hindu View of Life*. Mr Chunilal Mukerji's *A Modern Hindu View of Life*. Dr Farquhar's *Modern Religious Movements in India*. *Some Leading Ideas of Hinduism* by Dr Henry Haigh. *Christian Higher Education in India, 1931* Report by Principal Lindsay and others. Dr N. Macnicol's *Psalms of Maratha Saints, The Living Religions of India*, etc. *The Christian Task in India*, a Symposium by Dr J. McKenzie, J. F. Edwards and others. E.R.E. articles on *Hinduism* and *Bhakti* by W. Crooke, Dr Geden, Dr Grierson, and on *Tukaram* by J. F. Edwards. *Life and Teaching of Tukaram* by J. N. Fraser and J. F. Edwards. *The Poet Saints of Maharashtra*, 12 vols. by J. E. Abbott (until 1932) and J. F. Edwards, the titles of the vols. as given in chapter ix, pp. 79-87. A learned and Christian examination of the entire subject under Part Two is supplied by Dr A. G. Hogg's *Authority of the Faith* which is vol. i in Tambaram Conference Reports.

PART THREE: Chapters xiv-xvi

N. V. Tilak *The Maharashtrian Poet* by J. C. Winslow; *Pundita Ramabai* by Dr Macnicol; *The Life of Father Goreh* by Father C. E. Gardner.

PART FOUR: Chapter xvii

Miss E. R. McNeill's *From Theosophy to Christ*. Dr W. S. Urquhart's *Theosophy and Christian Thought*. Section on Theosophy in Dr Farquhar's book referred to above.

PART FIVE: Chapters xviii-xxii

India's 1941 Census Reports. Meredith Townsend's *Asia and Europe* (a valuable book seldom mentioned). Dr S. K. Datta's *Asiatic Asia*; K. T. Paul's *British Connection with India*. Dr J. W. Sweetman's *Islam and Christian Theology* (vols. 1 and 2, with two more projected); Dr Laurence E. Browne's *Eclipse of Christianity in Asia*; the quarterly *Muslim World*; Dr S. M. Zwemer's *Law of Apostasy in Islam*; *The People of the Mosque* by Bevan Jones; *How a Sufi Found His Lord* by Bishop John A. Subhan. *The Treasure of the Magi* by Dr J. Hope Moulton. *The Life of Mary Dobson* by Miss Saunders. Dr John Foster's *Then and Now*; Dr G. G. Findlay and Dr Gore on *Ephesians*.

PART SIX: Chapters xxiii-xxv

What I Owe to Christ by C. F. Andrews; all Dr Stanley Jones' books on India; *The Sadhu* by Canon Streeter and Dr A. J. Appasamy; *Builders of the Indian Church* by Bishop Stephen Neill; *Vision and Venture* by F. C. Sackett; Bishop Pickett's *Mass Movements in India and Christ's Way to India's Heart*; *The Holy Spirit the Christian Dynamic* by J. F. Edwards.

PART SEVEN: Chapter xxvi

History of the Expansion of Christianity by Dr K. S. Latourette in seven vols. as follows:—(i) *The First Five Centuries*; (ii) A.D. 500-1500; (iii) *Three Centuries of Advance: A.D. 1500-1800*; (iv) 1800-1914, *Europe and the United States of America*; (v) *The Americas, Australia and Africa*; (vi) *Northern Africa and Asia*; (vii) *1914 and After: Advance Through Storm*. The books by Dr H. P. Van Dusen, Dr Urquhart, Dr Hogg, Dr A. J. Gossip and the quarterly *Theology Today* passed under brief review in our chapter xxvi.

PART EIGHT: Chapter xxvii

Gandhiji's books:—*My Experiments With Truth*, *Satyagraha In South Africa*, *From Yeravda Mandir*, *Hind Swaraj*, *Women And Social Injustice*, *Correspondence With Government (1942-44)*, *Self-Restraint Versus Self-Indulgence*, *The Nation's Voice*, *Non-Violence In Peace and War*, bound volumes of *Young India* and *Harijan*, etc. Dr P. D. Devanandhan's article in *Christianity And Crisis* (fortnightly) of June 7, 1948, *Gandhi's Challenge To Christianity*, *The Madras Guardian* (weekly).

INDEX

- Abbott, J. E., 79, 83, 113
Abhangānjali, 142-7, 157-9
 Abimelech, 3
 Abraham, 1-4
 Abyssinia, 210-4
 Achaia, 20
 Africa (S.) & Race Relations, 311
 Aggrey of Achumota, 312
Ahimsā, 303, 316
 Ahmedabad, 302f.
 Ahmednagar, 135, 179
 Ainslie Lecture, 298
 Akbar, 128
 Alaska, 243
 'Alcoholics Anonymous', 327f.
 'Aleyone', 191
 Alibag, 303
 Altekar, M. D., 103
 Alwaye, 128
 Ambedkar, Dr. B. R., 309, 311
American Commonwealth, 324
 American Laymen's Report, 289
 American M. Mission, 159
 Ananias, early Christian, 19
 Andrews, C. F., 94, 126, 306, 308, 318
 Anstey, Miss Sallie, 256
 Anselm, Archbishop, 277
 Anusaya, 83
 Apollonius, 29
 Appasamy, A. J., 36
 Aratus, 17
 Areopagus, 14-6
 Aristides, 21
 Arthur, William, 11
 Arundale, George S., 188
 Arya Samaj, 69-78, 106
 Ashley-Brown, Additional Note III
 Ashoka, 128
 Ashram, 302f.
Ashram Review, 150
 Asiatic Society, Royal, 111
 Assisi, Francis of, 30
Ataraxia, 117
 Atheism, 37, 47, 180, 250, 289
 Athenagoras, 21
 Athens, 13-24, 60
 Atomic power, 11, 243
 Atre, P. K., 139
 Augustine, St., 59
 Avata, Tryambak Hari, 90
 Ayodhya, 45
 Azariah, Bishop, 321
 Bahinābāi, 82, 96-8
 Bahyābāi, 99
 Bandra, 303
 Barclay's *Apology*, 123
 Basil, 21
 Bassein, 303
 Bataks in Malaya, 243
 Benares (*Kāshī*), 165, 168-75, 189, 254-60
 Bergravy, Dr., 242
 Besant, Mrs. Annie, 108, 182-94
Bhagavad Gītā, 89, Additional Notes II, III
Bhāgavat Purān, 46, 54, 77, 80
 Bhānudās, 79, 81
Bhaktalāmrita, 85-6
Bhaktavijaya, 84-5
 Bhandarkar, P. R., 32
 Bhandarkar, R. G., 65, 101, Additional Notes I, II
 Bhatta, Kumārīl, 45
 Bhide, Balkrishna Anant, 116
Bhikshu-Gīta, 80
 Blavatsky, Madame, 187
 Bombay, 105, 205, 230-2, 303
Bombay Coast And Deccan, On The, Additional Note III
 Booth, General Bramwell, 274
 Booth-Tucker, General 8
 Boyer, Miss, 185
 Bradlaugh, Charles, 189
 Brahmo Samāj, 44, 108, 294
 Brailsford, H. N., 301
 Bridges, Sir Frederick, 252
British Weekly, The, 124, 216, 298, 311
 Brockway, Miss Nora, 323
 Brotherly Love, 330
 Browne, Laurence E., 209-14
 Bruce, A. B., 122, 260
 Bryce, Lord, 324
 Buddha, 47
 Buddhism, 47, 317
 Burkitt, F. C., 70, 110, 320
 Burmese Christians, 290
 Burton, Sir R., 216
 Butler, Bishop, 287, 294
 Cadoux, C. J., Additional Note III
 Cairns, Dr., 265
 Cairns, David, 37, 258
 Calder, Mrs. H. H., 135

- Cambridge Modern History*, Additional Note III
 Carlyle, Thomas, 283
 Carmichael, Miss A. W., 62-8
 Caste, 35, 45, 53, 192, 311f, 329
 Celsus, 20
 Census, India, 195-208, 218
Century, The Christian, 315
 Chandavarkar, Sir Narayan, 8, 65, 106-7, 142, 158
 Channel Islanders, 12
 Cheltenham Ladies' College, 163
 Chenchiah, Mr. P., 23-5, 129, 329
 Cheng Ching-Yi, 326
 China, 212-3
 Chinese Christians, 11-2, 222
 Chitpāvan Brahmin, 132, 166
 Chokhamela, 87
Christayan, 141-60
Christ-Purān, Additional Note III
 Chrysostom, St., 15, 19
 Cleanthes, Greek Poet, 17
 Clow, Sir Andrew, 204
 Clow, Dr. W. M., 204
 Communists, 125, 293, 330
 Comte, Auguste, 278-93
 Constantinople, 19
 Conversion, 325
 Coomaraswamy, Dr., 70
 Cooperation, 230
 Cornish, G. W., 286
 Cowasji Jehangir Hall, 219
 Cowper, William, 7
 Croall Lectures, 292
 Crooke, W., 183
 Cross, The, 248, 265
 Crusades, The, 215, 323
 'Custom, King', 101
 Cyril, St., 272
 Damaris, 19-20
 Dante, 13
 Dāsupant Digambar, 80
 Datta, S. K., see Bibliography
 Davidson, A. B., 297
 Davis, Dr. M. P., 36
 De Burgh, Prof., 293
 Dehu, 93, 96
 Deissman, Adolf, 13
 Deming, W. S., 82-3
 Denney, James, 42, 237
 Dennis, Archdeacon, 93
 Depressed Classes, 311f.
Devadāsīs, 43, 63, 66, 230
 Devadhar, G. K., 99-100
 Devanandan, P. D., 332
 Dhalwani, Davidrao, 187
 Dhalwani, Kassambhai, 179
 Dietrich, 42
 Dinbandhu, 126
 Dionysius, 19-20
 Disarmament Conference, 310
 Discipline, Church, 198
Dnyaneshvar The Out-Caste Brahmin, 79, 86-7, 318
Dnyaneshvari, 88
Dnyanodaya, The, 48, 56, 58, etc., etc.
 Dobson, Miss Mary, 219
 Dodd, C. H., 279
 Dods, Marcus, 2-3, 297
 Drink Reform, 302
 'Durbar, Christ's', 159-60
 Dusen, H. V. P., 288
 Dynamics, 253, 324, 333
 Edinburgh Conference, 326
 Education, Christian, 323
 Edwards, Lydia Mary, 139
Egypt, S. S., 185
 Eknāth, 79
Encyclopedia Of Religion And Ethics (F.R.E.), 214-8, 225, etc., see Bibliography
 Epimenides, Cretan poet, 17
Epiphany, weekly, 34
 Eskimo Christians, 193
 Esther, The Book of, 313
 European Life in India, 200
 'Evangelical Catholicism', 233-41
 Evangelize, How To, 209, 326
 'Everests', 285
 Example, Personal, 303f.
Examiner, weekly, 196
Expositor's Bible, 2-4
Expositor's Greek Testament, 15
Expository Times, The, 13-4, 19, 37, 40, 185, etc.
 Farquhar, J. N., 72-4, 86, 104, 108, 117, 128, 187-8
 Fascism, 27
 Findlay, G. G., 226-9
 Findlay, J. Alexander, 262
 Findlay, W. H., 266
 Fischer, Louis, 319
 Flew, R. N., 295
 Foster, John, 246, 290
 Fraser, J. Nelson, 83
 Free Churches, 236-8
 Frere, Sir Bartle, 178
 Friendship Parcels, 331
 Fuller, Mrs., 63
 Fuller, Miss L. B., 165
 Gandhi, M. K., 32, 66, 75, 94-5, 106, 120, 128, 188, 302-334 *passim*
 Gardner, Father C. E., 169

- Gault, Dr. E. W., 86
Gayatri, 149, 168, 174
 Geneva World Council, 242
 Gerar, King of, 2-3
 German Confessional Church, 12, 324
 Gestapo, 242-3
 Gibbon, Edward, 33
 'Girish', 145
 Girswold, Dr., 72-3, 102
Gitānjālī, 158
Gita Rahasya, Additional Note II
 Gladstone, Mary, Additional Note III
 Glover, T. R., 130, 271, 286-7, 320
 Goa, Additional Note III
 Godbole, Pundit, 82-5
 Golden Rule, 303
 Gollock, Miss, 11
 Gore, Bishop, 186, 245, 292
 Goreh, Ellen Lakshmi, 100, 175-6
 Goreh, Nehemiah (Nilkant Shāstrī), 100, 162, 168-81
 Gorton, N. V., 298
 Gossip, J. A., 246, 296f.
 Gregory the Tenth, Pope, 245
 Grierson, Sir G., 102
Guardian (weekly) of Madras, 24, 329
 Guinea, New, 289
 Gujarat, 302
 Gulbai Vakil (Parsee), 219
 Gupta, Dās, 52
 Haigh, Henry, 101-5
 Halifax, Lord, 309
 Hardie, Dr. G. N., 261
 Hardwar, 175
 Harijans, 312
Harijan weekly, 76, 329
 Harshe, Pundit N. L., 85
 Hartshorne, Dr., 293
 Haslehurst, R. S. T., 40
 Hastings, Dr. James, 102, 123, 181-2
 272, see Bibliography
 Hatch, Edwin, 273
 Hay, Prof. A. A., 324
 Headlam, Dr., 109, 263
 Heiler, Dr. F., 231-3
 Henderson, Arthur, 310
 Henley, 131
 Heras, Father, Additional Note III
 Hewat, E. G. K., 11
Hibbert Journal, 187
 Hinduism, Philosophical & Practical, 64
Hindu Missionary, 136
 Hiroshima, 243
 Historicity of Hindu books, Additional Note I
 Hocking, W. E., 257
 Hogg, A. G., 126, 295f.
 Holland, 12
 Holland, W. E. S., 16
 Holy Spirit, The, 38, 41, 67, 237-52, 258-63, 324ff., 326f., 329
 Hort, F. J. A., 227
 Hoyland, John S., 38
 Hsia, Mrs., 11
 Hugel, Baron Von, 47, 233
 Humanism, 292-5
 Hume, E. S., 7
 Hume, R. A., 91
 Hume, W. F., 145
 Hume Memorial Church, Bombay, 7
 Huxley, Aldous, 37, 293
 Hyderabad State farmer, 11
 Hyderabad Methodist Church, 199
 Ideals without power, 33
 Idolatry, 46, 192, 305, 315
 Ignatius, St., 130
 Immaculate Conception, 235-6
 Infallibility, 234
 Inge, W. R., 246, 298
 Inquisition, Additional Note III
 Intercommunion, 237
Ishta-devatā, 170
 Islam, 209-17, 245, 322
 Jaffna Morning Star, 318
 Japanese Christians, 12
 James, The Rev. and Mrs., David W., 86
 Janabāi, 98
 Jaunpur, 174
 Jayakar, M. R., 308
 Jesus, The Method of, 58
 Jesuits, 213, Additional Note III
 Jinnah, M. A., 74
 Joad, C. E. M., 112, 147-57
 Johnson, J. J., 134
 Jones, L. Bevan, 217, see Bibliography
 Jones, E. Stanley 39-41, 131, Additional Note I; see Bibliography
 Jowett of Oxford, 318
 Jowett, J. H., 274
 Jung the Psychologist, 293
 Kalidas, 128
 Kamala Lectures, 291
 Kanetkar, S. K., 145
 Karen Christians, 290
 Karma, 191-2
 Karve, D. K., 166-7
 Kāshipura, 168

- Kedgaon, 166
Kekāvalī, 116
 Kelkar, M. S., 83, 91-6
 Kelkar, N. C., 88, 144, 276
 Kellogg Pact, 310
 Keshub Chander Sen, 162
 Kher, B. G., 21
 Kikuyu, 35
 Kincaid, Judge, 111, 132
 Knowling, Dr. R. J., *see* Bibliography
 Knox, Ronald, 236
 Kolhapur, 96-9
Koran, The, 213-7
 Krishna's historicity, Additional Note I
 Krishnamurti, J., 188-91
Kshatriya, 92
 Kublai Khan, 245
 Kukade, Shahu Daji, 179
- Language School, Marathi, 305
 Latourette, K. S., 216, 245, 287-8, 326, 331, *see* Bibliography
 Lawrence, Brother, 297
 Leadbeater, C. W., 189-91
 Leighton, Sir F., 223
 Lewis, C. S., 295
 Lightfoot, Bishop, 247
 Lindsay, A. D., 28, 39
 Linlithgow, Lord, 310
 Llandaff, Dean of, 228
 Lunn, Arnold, 293
- Macdonell, A. L., 102
 Macgregor, G. H. C., 122, 246
 Mackay, John A., 283
 Mackintosh, H. R., 271
 McLaren, Alexander, 6-9, 13
 Macnicol, N., 79, 91, 99, 117-8, 139, 165, 219, 279, *see* Bibliography
 Macnicol, Mrs., 100
 Magi, 20
Mahabharata, 56, Additional Note II
 Mahableshwar, 139, 350
 Maharashtra, 132, 154, 198-208
 Maharashtra Poet Saints, 79-127
 Mahasabha, Hindu, 61
Mahratta, The, 299
 Marathas, 58, etc.
 Mahipati, 84, 111
 Manu the law-giver, 45, 53
 Marburg University, 115
 Mariolatry, 108, 210-14
 Mars' Hill, 14
 Martyn, Henry, 209
- Marx, Karl Heinrich, 34
 Mass Movements, 199-200
 Mayo, Miss Catherine, 58, etc.
 McKenzie, John, *see* Bibliography
 McNeile, Miss E. R., 185-94
 Mehrauli, 329
 Mehta, Sir Chunilal 304, 305
 Mendicant's Song, 80
 Ministry, Training The, 327
 Miracles, 295
 Miraj, 99
 Mitra, Rajendralal, 47
Mleccha, 170
 Moffatt's New Translation Of The New Testament, 1, 13, etc.; *see* Bibliography
Moksha, 54
 Molesworth's Dictionary, 149
 Moral Re-Armament Movement, 247-51
 Monism, 53
 Morgan, G. Campbell, 20
 Morley, Lord, 105
 Moropant, 116
Mother India, 59
 Mott, John R., 263, 288
 Moulton, James Hope, 20, 218-22, 261
 Muhammad, 209-17
 Muir, Dr. John, 171
 Mukerji, Chunilal, 44, 51, 113
 Muktabāi, 98
 Murry, Middleton, 292
 Muslims, 209-17, 245, 322f, 329, 334
 Muslim League, 73-4
 Myers, F. W. H., 20
 Mysore, 11, 103-4
- Nagasaki, 243
 Naidu, Sarojini, 166
 Nairobi, 35
 Nansen, 285
 Napoleon, 25
 Narayan, Tukaram's son, 92
 Nariman, K. K., 31
 Natarajan, K. 313f.
 Nazism, 248
N.C.C. Review, 24
 Negro, 312
 Nehru, Jawaharlal, 304, 309, 313, 314, 316, 317, 319, 322
 Neill, Bishop Stephen, *see* Bibliography
 Neo-Hinduism, Additional Note I
 Nestorian, 211-3, 245
 Niemöller, 242-3, 324, 327
 Niveda, Sister (Margaret Noble), 34

- Niyoga*, 74
 Nizam Village Christians, 11, 199-203
 Nobel Peace Prize, 311
 Norway, 12
 Nowroji, Ruttonji, 179
- Occumenius, Greek Bishop, 16
 Olcott, Colonel, 187
 Old Catholic Church, 235
 Oltramare, Prof., 182, 190
 Ongole, 263
 Ordination Message on Prayer, 254-64
 Origen, 20
 Orphaned Missions, 242
 Otto, Rudolph, 37, 115
 Oxford and Dr. Radhakrishnan, 43
 Oxford Group, 248
- Padmanji, Bābā, 145, 161
 Paithan (*Pratisthān*), 89
 Pakistan, Preface, 334
 Palmer, Dr., Bishop of Bombay, 199
 Pān, a Greek rural god, 17
 Pānch Howd (Poona), 185-6
 Pandharpur, 79, 86, 299
 Pannikar, K. M., 36
 Pantheism, 37
 Papal Infallibility, 234-5
 Papuan stretcher-bearers, 12
 Paralkar, L. V., Additional Note III
 Parasnis, historian of Marathas, 132
 Parker's (Mrs. R. J.) *How They Found Christ*, 133
 Parsees, 218-24
 Patel, Vallabhai, 315
 Patmore, Coventry, 41
 Patwardhan, W. B., 137
 Paton, William, 195-6
Patriot, The Christian, 179
 Paul (St.), poem by F. W. H. Myers, 20
 Pausanias, 15
 Peace, World-, 310
 Pentecost, 196, 242
 Pentecost, India's, 196
 Peshwas, Maratha, 58
 Pessimism, 284, 288, 290
 Petronius, 15
 Philip, P. O., 315, 318
 Philippides, Greek warrior, 16
 Philostratus, 29
 Pickett, Bishop J. W., *see* Bibliography
 Platt, Frederic, 123
 Poona, 168, 178, etc.
 Pope, Dr. W. B., 123
- Potdar (Poona), D. V., 138
 Powerlessness, 243, 327
Prānpratishthā, 108
 Prarthana Samaj, 105, 118, 162-4, 294
 Prayer-Life, 254-64
Preparatio Evangelica, 156
 Pringle-Pattison, A. S., 182
Prīyashishya (Mr. P. Chenchiah), 24
 Prohibition, 303, 307
 Proselytism and Evangelism, 204-6
 Prostitution Act, 58
 Publius, 21
Puranas, 55, 128
 Pushyamitra, 45
- Quadratus, 21
- Racial Equality, 311
 Rādhā, 46
 Rādhākrishnan, Dr. S., 25-6, 93, 108, 112, 125-8, 291f, Additional Notes I, II
 Rae, F. J., 57
 Rai, Lala Rajput, 78
 Rainy, Principal, 22
 Rajagopalachariar, C., 311
 Rajkumari Amrut Kaur, 330
 Ramabāi, Pundita, 161-8
 Rāmkrishna Mission, 69
Rāmāyana, 128
 Rāmdās, 83
 Rāmchandra, King, 45
 Ramsay, W. M., 13, 19, 287
 Ranade, M. G., 88
 Ranade, R. D., 94
 'Random Samplings', 195
Rasalīlā, 47
 Rationing of liquor, 304
Rationalist Annual, 57
Reformer, Indian Social, 69, 192, 309, Additional Note I
 Release, 54
 Reid, James, 124, 298f.
 Reincarnation, 197
 Republic, Indian, 313
 Resurrection, 284
 Revised Standard Version, 284
 Revival Secrets, 326f.
 Revolt Against Religious Compulsion, 96, Additional Note III
 Rhoda, Sister (Miss McNeile), 185, 94
 Roberts, Harold, 39
 Roman Catholics, 96, 211, 225-41
 Roman Empire, Decline & Fall Of 33
 Round Table Conference on India, 307
 Russia, 125, 291, 330

Sabājobāi, 97
 Sabarmati Ashram, 302
 Sadhu Sundar Singh, 125-8, 186, 231, 306
 Salvation Army, 8
 Samaritans, 312
 Sanday, Dr. W., 109, 263
Sandhya, 168
 Sangli Ranisahib, 99
Sangathan, 78
 Sankya System, 177-81
 Sarah (Abraham's wife), 2-3
 Saraswati, Dayanand, 69-78
 'Saraswatidevibai', 168
 Sarda, Sir Har Bilas, 73
Satyarth Prakāsh, 69-78
 Saunders, Miss Una M., 219
 Sawarkar, The Rev. D. S., 177
 Science, 243-4
 Scott, E. F., 227
 Sedgwick, L. J., 111
 Scott, Roderick, 257
 Serampore, 44
Servant Of India, 61
 Sevagrām, 319
 Shankaracharya, 128
 Shāstri, Srinivāsa, 128
 Shaw, Bernard, 57
 Shivāji (Maratha King), 128
 Shivrāmji pant, 168
 Shoemaker, S. M., 326
 Shraddhānandaji, 78, 105
Shruti, 52
Shuddhi, 77
Shudra, 45, 53
 Sibley, Mrs., 185
 Silesius, Angelus, Additional Note I
 Simpson, Dr. Carnegie, 130
 Singh, Sir Maharaj, 308
 Singh, Maharajah Dhuleep, 178
 Slavery, 215
 Smith, Dr. David, 20, 59, *see* Bibliography
Smriti Chitre, 138
 Smythe, F. S., 285
 Snowden's couplet, Lord, 200
 Social Reform, Indian, 61
 Sorabji, Miss Susie, 219
 Spalding Professorship (O x f o r d), 26
 Spender, J. A., 282-3
 Spirit (The Holy), 212-217, 268-9
see also under 'Holy'
 Spurrel, G. J., 2
 Statius (Greek poet), 13
 Stephanas (early Christian), 20
 Stephens, Thomas, Additional Note III
Stotramāla, 113
 Stewart, J. S., 41

Streeter, Canon B. H., 248, *see* Bibliography
 Subhan, Bishop J. A., 225, *see* Bibliography
 Swārāj, 281
 Sweetman, J. Windrow, 205, 214, *see* Bibliography
 Suffering, Value of, 265-9, 288-90
Sufi, 216, 225
 Surat, 73, 303
 Syrian Church, 128
 Tagore, Rabindranath, 55, 128, 158
 'Tainted Money', 307
 Tambaram Conference Report, 126
 Tamil proverb, 65
 Tarsus, 17
 Tattvabhushan, Sitanath, Additional Note III
 Taylor, W. S., 125
 Temperance, 303
 Temple, Archbishop, 219, 242, 325
 Teresa, St., 126
Thebaid, 13
 Theosophy, 64, 182-94
 Theosophical Society, 182
 Thibaut, Dr., 54
 Thomas, Daniel, 321
 Thomas, W. H. Griffith, 3
 Thorat, Rev. S. N., 145, 150
 Thucydides, 15
 Tilak, Bāl Gangādhār, 279-81, Additional Note II
 Tilak, Narayan Vāman, 133-60, 271-81, 296, 321
 Tilak, Mrs. Laxmibāi, 136-9, 141-5
 Tilak, D.N., 135, 145
 Tinnevely, 46
 Torrey, C. C., 214
 Townsend, Meredith, *see* Bibliography
 Toynbee, 27
 Travancore and Cochin, 120
 Trevelyan, G. M., 323
 Truman, President, 244
 Tukārām of Dehu, 17-18, 38, 192
 'Turbans, Eighteen', 169
 'Uncle Hamilton', 222
 Underhill, Miss Evelyn, 117
 'Unknown God, The', 16
 Underwood, A. C., 232
 Unity, 225-41, 297f.
 Untouchability, 311f., Additional Note II
 Upanishads, 55

Irquhart, W. S., 110, 182, 194, 292ff.
Irs, 329
 Jaggare, Rev. B. K., 146
 Jark, Principal, 128-31
 Jenabāi, 99
 Jerrall, A. W., 13-14
 Jivekānanda, Swāmi, 34, 69
 Jadia, Sir Hormasji, 221
 Walker of Tinnevely, 46, 65
 Walters, Howard, 164
 Warkari sect, 90
 Wantage Sisters, 162, 185-6
 Watts, Isaac, 287
Way's Translation Of Paul's Letters, 121, 227-8, 263
 Welch, J. W., 288
 Wells, H. G., 23, 56

Wesley, Charles, 223, 287
 Wesley, John, 30, 328
 Westcott, Bishop B. F., 44, 122, 238, 246, 303
Westminster Gazette, 117, 282
 Weymouth's Translation, 13-6, 228
 Whitham, A. E., 293
 Whittaker, Frank, 206
 Williams, A. T. P., 294
 Williams, Sir Monier, 172
 Wilson, Dr. John, 115
 Wittington Ingram, Bishop, 270
 Winslow, J. C., 134, 247
 Wuseh, 11
 Yogabhrashta, 97
 Zacharias, H. C. E., 71, 78, 188-9
 Zoroaster (Zarathust), 220-2
 Zwemer, S. M., 217, *see* Bibliography

ENGLISH BOOKS AND BOOKLETS

BY

J. F. EDWARDS

N.B.—As the number of people in India who can read English is fast increasing, and as many do not know how to get hold of suitable books in English on Christian truth, the following publications will be found to expand many of the points dealt with briefly in the present book. These publications are obtainable (on written application) either *through* the Christian Literature Society, Park Town, Madras, or from the Christian Bookshop, Sir Pherozshah Mehta Road, Fort, Bombay.

	Rs	As
1. <i>The Holy Spirit the Christian Dynamic</i> (Pages 450) ..	3	0
2. <i>Article on Tukaram in Dr Hastings' Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics</i> (Vol. xii, Pages 465-469) ..		
3. <i>Life and Teaching of Tukaram</i> (Pages 322) ..	2	8
4. <i>A Study of Prohibition</i> (Pages 40)		
5. <i>Prostitution under Religious Custom</i> (a Joint Report)		
6. <i>India's Need of Christian Literature</i> (for N.C.C. Commission)		
7. <i>India's Challenge to Christian Missions</i> (Pages 30) ..	0	8
8. <i>Drink and Opium in India</i> (Reprint of Memorandum to Simon Commission—Pages 47) ..	0	6
9. <i>Ramdas</i> (In Maharashtra Poet Saints Series, Joint Author—Pages 434) ..	2	0
10. <i>Stories of Indian Saints I</i> (In Maharashtra Poet Saints Series, Joint Author—Pages 507) ..	3	0
11. <i>Stories of Indian Saints II</i> (In Maharashtra Poet Saints Series, Joint Author—Pages 499) ..	3	0
12. <i>Nectar from Indian Saints</i> (In Maharashtra Poet Saints Series, Joint Author—Pages 498) ..	3	0
13. <i>Dnyaneshwar the Out-Caste Brahmin</i> (In Maharashtra Poet Saints Series—Pages 525) ..	3	0

MARATHI BOOKS AND BOOKLETS

BY

J. F. EDWARDS

N.B.—The following publications *for workers in the Marathi language* will be found to expand many of the points dealt with briefly in the present book. The publications are obtainable (on written application) either *through* the Christian Literature Society, Park Town, Madras, or from the Bombay Christian Bookshop, Sir Pherozshah Mehta Road, Fort Bombay.

	Rs	As
1. <i>Tukaram's Bridge</i> (Pages 203)	0	8
2. <i>The Death and Resurrection of Jesus Christ</i> (Pages 96)	0	4
3. <i>The Holy Spirit: A Daily Study Textbook</i> (Pages 192)	0	4
4. <i>The Holy Spirit the Christian Dynamic :</i>		
Vol. 1 (Pages 172) ..	0	6
Vol. 2 (Pages 111) ..	0	6
5. Foreword to Erdman and S. warkar's <i>St. John's Gospel</i> (Pages 23) ..	0	8
6. <i>Liquor and Opium in India</i> (Marathi Edition) (Pages 47) ..	0	6
7. <i>The Call of Jesus to our Muslim Brethren</i> (Pages 90) ..	0	4
8. <i>The Kingdom of God and the Church of Christ</i> (Pages 90) ..	0	4
9. <i>The Holy Spirit in Inspiration and the Incarnation</i> (Pages 124) ..	0	8
10. <i>The Divinity of Christ and His Saving Work</i> (Pages 83) ..	0	4
11. <i>The Lord's Second Coming, and Other Doctrines</i> (Pages 32) ..	0	4
12. <i>Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles :</i>		
Vol. I (Pages 202) ..	0	8
Vol. II (Pages 158) ..	0	8
13. <i>The Religious Hunger of Maharashtra</i> (Pages 218) ..	0	8