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Point out the "Way '—however dimly, and lost among the host—as does the evening star to those who tread their path in darkness. —The Voice of the Silence

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THE THEOPHILANTHROPISTS

If ever a universal religion should prevail, it will not be by believing anything new, but in getting rid of redundancies and believing as man believed at first.—Thomas Paine.

Often some "Adorer of God and Friend of Man" arises when "times that try men's souls" precipitate themselves in human history. Such an inspirer was Thomas Paine who nelped masses of people to pass the test imposed and right the prevailing wrongs. The second centenary of his birth is being celebrated everywhere this month by lovers of iberty. We give the place of honour n this issue to a contribution about his great servant of humanity, by one who is himself an esteemed numanitarian.

The works of Thomas Paine, the nternationalist and Spiritual Reormer, are well known, and yet The lights of Man, Common Sense and he Crisis ought to be better known these days when liberty of hought and freedom of speech are eing suffocated. Paine's penetrating and convincing analysis of creedal Christianity, which is described as "an investigation of true and fabulous theology," is also well known; yet *The Age of Reason* deserves even to-day a wider circulation in Christendom, and the methods of treatment there used need to be properly applied also by religious reformers elsewhere.

One aspect, however, of Paine's constructive labours is not very widely recognized. While large masses readily accepted the political lead he gave, they were not prepared to follow him in matters of religion. Prejudice, which Paine compared to a spider, thwarted his attempt in this direction. His Age of Reason, published in two parts—in January 1794 and October 1795—failed to precipitate a mental revolution, for which he had probably hoped,

similar to the political one which had followed the publication of *Common Sense* in January 1776.

If mental and moral upheavals often give birth to a real genius, the presence of the latter awakens the slumbering intuitions of at least a few who gather round him. arose in his day, and with the cooperation of those kindred minds Paine founded the Society of Theophilanthropists. He delivered the inaugural address, the ideas and programme of which did not suit the ultra-radical atheists of France on the one hand, and on the other hand alienated from him the entire orthodox Christian world. Thus Paine met that which is ever the fate of the expounder of Divine Wisdom in every age and clime.

Thomas Paine and his companions called themselves "Adorers of God and Friends of Man," and looked upon the "study of natural philosophy" as "a divine study." His "Discourse" to them opens with a declaration which names fanaticism and infidelity as the two principal enemies of Religion, and to overcome them he advocates the use of reason, the cultivation of right morality and the study of natural philosophy.

What was the basis of this Society? In Paine's words:—

It has been well observed at the first institution of this society that the dogmas it professes to believe are from the commencement of the world; that they are not novelties, but are confessedly the basis of all systems of religion, however numerous and contradictory they may be. All men in the outset of the religion they profess are Theophilanthropists. It is impossible to form any

system of religion without building upon those principles, and, therefore, they are not sectarian principles, unless we suppose a sect composed of all the world.

The programme of the Society's activities was also outlined by him:—

The society is at present in its infancy, and its means are small; but I wish to hold in view the subject I allude to, and instead of teaching the philosophical branches of learning as ornamental accomplishments only, as they have hitherto been taught, to teach them in a manner that shall combine theological knowledge with scientific instruction; to do this to the best advantage, some instruments will be necessary for the purpose of explanation, of which the society is not yet possessed. But as the views of the society extend to public good, as well as to that of the individual, and as its principles can have no enemies, means may be devised to procure them.

If we unite to the present instruction, a series of lectures on the ground I have mentioned, we shall, in the first place, render theology the most delightful and entertaining of all studies. In the next place we shall give scientific instruction to those who could not otherwise obtain The mechanic of every profession will there be taught the mathematical principles necessary to render him a proficient in his art. The cultivator will there see developed the principles of vegetation: while, at the same time, they will be led to see the hand of God in all these things.

The Religion of Deism for which the Theophilanthropists laboured looked upon God as "a first cause," "to be discovered by the exercise of reason."

What was Paine's conception of Deity?

Incomprehensible and difficult as it is for a man to conceive what a first cause is, he arrives at the belief of it, from the tenfold greater difficulty of disbelieving it. It is difficult beyond description to conceive that space can have no end; but it is more difficult to conceive an end. It is difficult beyond the power of man to conceive an eternal duration of what we call time; but it is more impossible to conceive a time when there shall be no time.

Not only does Paine use the symbols of Space and Duration but also that of Motion. He says to his companions that "the universe is composed of matter, and as a system, is sustained by motion. Motion is not a property of matter, and without this motion, the solar system could not exist."

Thomas Paine was a mystic, and he was a politician because he was a philosopher. We give below a few short extracts which show the trend of his own Religion:—

I do not believe in the creed professed by the Jewish church, by the Roman church, by the Greek church, by the Furkish church, by the Protestant church, nor by any church that I know of. My own mind is my own church.

I had no disposition for what is called politics. It presented to my mind no other idea than is contained in the word ockeyship. When, therefore, I turned ny thoughts towards matters of government, I had to form a system for nyself, that accorded with the moral nd philosophic principles in which I ad been educated.

It is from the study of the true theolgy that all our knowledge of science derived, and it is from that knowledge hat all the arts have originated.

All the principles of science are of ivine origin. It was not man that invent-1 the principles on which astronomy and

every branch of mathematics are founded and studied. It was not man that gave properties of the circle and triangle. Those principles are eternal and immutable. We see in them the unchangeable nature of the Divinity. We see in them immortality, an immortality existing after the material figures that express those properties are dissolved in dust

It is only in the CREATION that all our ideas and conceptions of a word of God can unite. The creation speaketh an universal language, independently of human speech or human language, multiplied and various as they be. It is an ever-existing original, which every man can read. It cannot be forged; it cannot be counterfeited; it cannot be lost; it cannot be altered; it cannot be suppressed. It does not depend upon the will of man whether it shall be published or not; it publishes itself from one end of the earth to the other. It preaches to all nations and to all worlds; and this word of God reveals to man all that is necessary for man to know of God.

The structure of the universe...is an ever existing exhibition of every principle upon which every part of mathematical science is founded. spring of this science is mechanics; for mechanics is no other than the principles of science applied practically. The man who proportions the several parts of a mill, uses the same scientific principles, as if he had the power of constructing an universe: but as he cannot give to matter that invisible agency, by which all the component parts of the immense machine of the universe have influence upon each other, and act in motional unison together, without any apparent contact, and to which man has given the name of attraction, gravitation and repulsion, he supplies the place of that agency by the humble imitation of teeth and cogs. All the parts of man's microcosm must visibly touch; but could he gain a knowledge of that

agency, so as to be able to apply it in practice, we might then say that another *canonical book* of the Word of God had been discovered.

Any person, who has made observations on the state and progress of the human mind, by observing his own, cannot but have observed, that there are two distinct classes of what are called Thoughts; those that we produce in ourselves by reflection and the act of thinking, and those that bolt into the mind of their own accord. always made it a rule to treat those voluntary visitors with civility, taking care to examine, as well as I was able, if they were worth entertaining; and it is from them I have acquired almost all the knowledge that I have. As to the learning that any person gains from school education, it serves only like a small capital, to put him in the way of beginning learning for himself afterwards. Every person of learning is finally his own teacher, the reason of which is, that principles, being of a distinct quality to circumstances, cannot be impressed upon the memory; their place of mental residence is the understanding, and they are never so lasting as when they begin by conception.

Seekers and students of the Universal Wisdom, which Paine calls "real theology" and the principles and doctrines of which are of "divine origin" have laboured from age to age—sometimes in secrecy and silence like the persecuted Rosicrucians of the fifteenth century; sometimes publicly as did the Theoso-

phists taught by Ammonius Saccas in the third century or by H. P. Blavatsky in the nineteenth: sometimes the work is forwarded by agents who are unconscious of their blessed mission, while others, like the famous Comte de St. Germain. work with full vision and understanding. But behind all such individuals or organisms are the true Theophilanthropists. Adorers Immortal Spirit and Friends of mortal men. Of Them and Their companions and apprentices. whom he himself seems to have been one. Walt Whitman wrote: ---

That we all labour together transmitting the same charge and succession,

We few equals indifferent of lands, indifferent of times,

We, enclosers of all continents, all castes, allowers of all theologies,

Compassionaters, perceivers, rapport of men,

We walk silent among disputes and assertions, but reject not the disputers nor anything that is asserted,

We hear the bawling and din, we are reached at by divisions, jealousies, recriminations on every side.

They close peremptorily upon us to surround us, my comrade,

Yet we walk upheld, free, the whole earth over, journeying up and down till we make our ineffaceable mark upon time and the diverse cras,

Till we saturate time and cras, that the men and women of races, ages to come, may prove brethren and lovers as we are.

THOMAS PAINE—SERVANT OF HUMANITY

[Mr. Frederic J. Gould is well known as a Humanist, and indeed his autobiography is published under the title of *The Life Story of a Humanist*. He is a lecturer and demonstrator in Moral Education, and in 1913 he visited India and gave demonstration lessons in eight Bombay Presidency cities by arrangement with the Bombay Government, and also in Baroda City. His wide experience and sympathies render him peculiarly suitable to pay an understanding tribute to the memory of Thomas Paine.—Eds.)

The man who said "My country is the world, and my religion is to do good," was a man who vitally and amazingly influenced the souls of England, France and America, and, when he died in 1809, left a memory cursed by dull Christian bishops and admired by democrats and progressives. Born (January 1737) in a serene little English country town his life and utterances thundered east and west of the Atlantic. Son of Quaker parents who reverenced the divine Inner Light and recoiled from weapons of war, he flung himself into the crimson glare of the French Revolution and eagerly marched in the ranks of George Washington's republican army. He worshipped God in philosophic manliness, but scorned the miracle-legends of the Jewish-Christian Bible as a hindrance to the expansion of man's mind and the healthy advance of politics, economics and world peace. Under the presidency of Edouard Herriot, former premier of France, an International Committee erects a monument Thomas Paine in Paris this month. Though Paine's Deism was strong and sincere, he has always been a shining hero in the eyes of English, French and American Freethinkers.

Like his Yather. Paine made

women's "stays." Then he measured wine barrels as an excise officer. Then he married, and discovered himself physically and temperamentally unsuited to marriage, and peaceably and courteously separated from his wife. Had he been in harmony with the Roman Catholic faith this mansmooth-faced, brilliant-eved, broadshouldered--- would have travelled as a dynamic celibate missionary. His spirit was otherwise shapen, and he strode the wide world platform, not as an orator (though he was a bright conversationalist), but as an evangelist whose pamphlets and books spread republican thunder among the so-called "lower classes" and the political liberals. The shrewd scientist and statesman, Benjamin Franklin, perceived the young man's genius for clarity of ideas and vigour in reform, and encouraged him to voyage west, and Paine spent an astonishing thrill of thirteen years in America.

I have walked the streets of forty cities in the United States and looked musingly at many American landscapes, and it seems to me very natural that the spontaneous urge of self-reliance, such as we witness in so many lands to-day, explains the break-away of the American Colonies from Britain. To Franklin and Washington, however, and to the

eighteenth century Colonials, the one brutal cause lay in the British aristocracy and monarchy; and assuredly, in a superficial sense, the Colonials had ample reason for resentment. Paine gave the resentment a tremendous voice. In a vigorous pamphlet (1776) he upbraided the English King as a "Royal Brute," and called upon the Americans to elect a Congress to govern "The Free and Independent States of America." A storm of cheers greeted the Declaration of Independence six months later. Paine faced a soldier's hardships for awhile, but his truly solid help was rendered in print. When wintry conditions appalled not a few of the rebel people. Paine burst into thus :--

These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph.

Through a tempest of vicissitudes and adventures—defeats. quarrels. money troubles-Paine incessantly printed appeals, and lovally maintained the note of confidence. Once he risked a voyage to France and back in order to provide Washington's treasury with a load of French silver. After the acknowledgment by England of U.S. A. Independence, the republicans gratefully gave Paine stone-built mansion. a farm. and bags of dollars. In leisure hours, he-not without a touch of engineering talent—framed designs for novel iron bridges. But his ears

seemed to catch significant murmurs and pulsations from the passionate spirit of Europe. He found his way to Paris and then to London, and in *1791-2 he shocked the so-called "upper classes" by publishing a book on The Rights of Man. Sold cheap, it warmed the hearts of the workingclasses who could read, or the poor wretches who could not read but eagerly listened to its pages recited aloud. Paine scorned monarchy and disdained a hereditary peerage. He wanted civilization to shape itself into a "Pacific Republic" or Confederation (and in so doing he was forecasting the League of Nations). He spoke in words of fire on behalf of what were essentially the Depressed Classes of England, and demanded, first, heavy taxation of the rich, and then child-allowances at birth and for education, labour-houses good meals for all willing workers, old age pensions, and freedom for wage-earners to make their own bargains with employers as to their pay. In a country thus economically born again,—"The poor, as well as the rich, will then be interested in the support of government, and the cause and apprehension of riots and tumults will cease."

The tumults did not cease in England or in Europe. The English ruling classes and their lackeys tumbled into tumults of the soul. Up and down the land crowds of people who took the constructive pioneer Paine for a mere iconoclast made and burned images of him; and the pompous figure of Law raised its menacing fist and summoned him as "a wicked, malicious, seditious and ill-disposed person." It is said that the

visionary William Blake,—he who penned the lines often sung to-day---

Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand, Till we have built Jerusalem In England's green and pleasant land,

out his hand on Paine's shoulder, warned him of the coming constables and advised him to go over the water.

Paine rushed to Dover and never saw his motherland again. Calais growds roared: "Long live Thomas Paine!" Soon he sat as a member in the revolutionary Convention Paris. But though he spent ten years n France, his enthusiasm for its gosbel of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" aded out. He had opposed the condemnation of King Louis to the guilotine. He had been thrust into prison for nearly a year as a man of ideas too moderate for a pure democracy. Napoleon flattered him, and then rowned. Paine was suspected, pernaps rightly, of sympathy with the Negro rebels against French rule in Haiti. At last he murmured to a ransatlantic friend: "I know of no republic in the world except America, which is the only country for such men as you and I," and to he United States he eagerly fled in 1802.

During those ten years in France, nowever, he expressed both intellect and heart in two achievements,—one in smashing dull and useless images in eighteenth-century. Christianism, he other in outlining a noble Humanist religion. The iconoclastic work was the publication of a blunt, cathing and dynamic criticism of Bible "miracles" in his book entitled The Age of Reason. Whether in the egends of Moses, or Solomon, or lesus, Paine poured burning con-

tempt on miracle-tales that diverted men's thought from the central values of religion and ethics. His fiery assaults ended in a serene Deism thus:—

I believe in one God and no more, and I hope for happiness beyond this life. I believe in the equality of man, and I believe that religious duties consist in doing justice, loving mercy, and endeavouring to make our fellow-creatures happy.

To the judgment of 1937 it is clear that Paine desired, with his whole heart, to help in building a world-unity, and to inspire the universal republic with a rational ethic and faith. But the slow-witted English priests looked out at him from their castle of vested interests and howled at his Age of Reason as devilish infidelity.

In a modest chamber in Paris, Paine and a small group of comrades often assembled in the Society of ("Adorers of Theophilanthropists God and Friends of Man"), their ethical aspiration being associated with ample respect for the sciences as aids of human welfare. The Theophilanthropic church (if so it may be termed) issued a volume containing a summary of the lectures and musical exercises, with readings from Chinese, Hindu and Greek classic scriptures. The Society, in genial memorial celebrations, gave honour to the work and ideals of Washington, St. Vincent de Paul the Roman Catholic, Rousseau, and Socrates. I may here note that, some years later, Paine became acquainted with the researches of Sir William Jones the Sanskrit scholar (d. 1794), and he alertly recognized the value of such learning when he remarked: "A Society for

inquiring into the ancient state of the world, and the state of ancient history, so far as history is connected with systems of religion ancient and modern, may become a useful and instructive institution." Such societies have since accomplished a vast work that would have cheered Paine's liberal heart, in uniting the moral sympathies of East and West.

Paine passed to the United States, dined with the Deistic-minded President Jefferson, and pursued his mission of encouraging America in its young republican career. shrewd and concise phrase he indicated the U.S.A. as "now the parent of the Western World," and thus foreshadowed the Monroe Doctrine (1823) which warned Europe against laving intrusive hands on American territories. Most of his time, till his death in June 1809, was placidly spent on his farm at New Rochelle in the State of New York. Old-fashioned pietists and worshippers of Bibletexts reviled him, and a dwindling number of such weaklings snarl at his name even in 1937, but students of social evolution increasingly respect Paine as a powerful constructive agent in the unfolding of modern democracy,-or (if I may use the far preferable term coined by Auguste Comte) of Sociocracy.

In recent years I have ventured to

define the difficult conception of "Religion" as "Obedience and enthusiasm toward the Best in nature without and human nature within." All noble personalities have ever combined the two spiritual dynamics of enthusiasm and obedience. If I may employ simple Indian symbols, I see the obedience typified in the poor and solitary Dharwar Hindu woman whom I saw lighting, gracefully and reverently, a little lamp under a tree in homage to some divine spirit; and for enthusiasm I point to my friend Dhondo Keshav Karve of Poona, and his travel round the globe on behalf of the Indian Women's University. Or, on the largest possible scale, I behold a magnificent obedience, all through the long ages of history, in the honest daily toil and service of untold millions of peasants, coolies, miners, seamen, craftsmen, traders, artists, scientists, organizers, administrators, educators, and, above all, of the housewives of all races: and I behold a glorious inspiring enthusiasm in the heroic quests and attempts and achievements of saints, poets, pioneers, breakers of outworn images and creeds, self-sacrificing rebels, unyielding reformers, geniuses of re-birth and rénewal and development, sons and daughters of the invincible religion of Humanity. Among the sons I honour Thomas Paine.

FREDERIC J. GOULD

LINCOLN AND THE WORLD CRISIS

[This article from the pen of the eminent American historian, James Truslow Adams, naturally succeeds Mr. Gould's study of Thomas Paine. There is a curious parallelism between Paine and Lincoln. The principles for which they stood and the work they accomplished cannot be limited by any regional area. From the preceding articles the reader will gain some idea of the moral force of Thomas Paine. In the establishment of the American Republic the rights of man were safeguarded. When these rights were vitally threatened, Abraham Lincoln arose to safeguard them once again. Mr. Adams points out that "the United States as he [Lincoln] came to see it, had been founded as the first great experiment, in the world, of a widely extended democracy." It was to preserve this democracy that Lincoln went to the uttermost length—armed force. "In his mind, at that fateful moment in the history of mankind, the fundamental problem was that of the freedom of the human spirit, not simply the freedom of one section or the other or the freedom of the negro slave, but the future of freedom for all mankind." A tremendous principle was at stake. Unless all who undertook to sustain the Republic remained loyal to its foundations, unless those who had accepted the Declaration of Independence, which was born as a result of Paine's words, were made to recognize their moral responsibility to it, the cause of liberty and democracy was doomed. Is it not the disregard of this very principle that has given such a knock-out blow to the League of Nations?

Lincoln fought the vested interests of the South, but he acted throughout "with malice toward none, with charity for all." He "not only preached but felt love," as Mr. Adams says. In the War of 1914-1918 there was much talk about ideals, but those who fashioned the Treaty of Versailles and those who are facing the baffling situation of to-day have been without the clarifying power of love. Even the grand programme of the League of Nations has not evoked it, and without vision the people perish.—Eps.]

Westminster Abbev in London is the very heart of the vast British Empire. It is the holy shrine of British history in which lie the bodies or memorials of the mighty dead warriors, statesmen, poets, all who have notably contributed to the rich and varied life of Empire. But seated in front of the Abbey where all men who approach it see him, is the figure of a simple, uncouth man who was not a citizen of the Empire. who was an alien although of British race, and the head of a nation which had won its freedom by revolting against the Empire which has thus paid him the noblest of tributes. It is the figure of Abraham Lincoln.

In Washington, the capitol city of the United States, is an exquisite marble temple in which also is seated the figure of Lincoln. Before it, stretches the still water of the long lagoon in which is reflected the great shaft raised to the memory of the founder of the country, and which, as reflected, seems to bow before the statue of the later President.

In these days, when every newspaper, every radio broadcast of news, brings us word of the breakdown of law and freedom, and seems to presage the end of civilization, we may ask why the entire English-speaking world, the hundreds of millions of inhabitants of both the British

Empire and the United States, have paid unique tribute to this simple, lowly, unassuming man, born in poverty in a log cabin in the wilderness and slain at last by an assassin's bullet? The answer illuminates the fundamental character of the English-speaking peoples, and is a commentary on most of the leaders of the world to-day.

It is a commonplace saying that in our time democracy and selfgovernment stand at the cross roads. at bay. But there are many cross roads in history, as there are in any country-side. Democracy stood at the cross roads in 1860 when the great American republic faced revolution, civil war and disruption. In our country two different types of civilization, two different interpretations of the constitution, two different economic systems, had grown up. happened with us that the division was not only political, economic, social and intellectual but also geographical. Either the disruption of the nation had to be peaceably allowed or force had to be used. In the latter case, the greatest civil war in all history would be the result, as was proved.

Lincoln came into power as President at the very height of the crisis, the very cone peak of the storm. We need not here go into the military or other material aspects of the struggle because we are concerned in this article only with the spiritual. Lincoln had not hitherto been very prominent nor had he had wide experience. Slowly and somewhat fumblingly, but surely, he found his way to the heart of the problem. There was apparent right on both sides. We

often speak of "half-truths." It would be better, perhaps, to think of them as truths of parts as contrasted with truths of the whole. The North felt that it was entitled to its system of economy and philosophy of life, and the South felt that it was entitled to its. So far, each was right, though problems of human life are not susceptible to mathematical demonstration of verity, and even in the field of geometry we are now told that there are contradictory axioms. However, speaking roughly and humanly, each section could honestly claim to be right in its partial views. Lincoln. almost alone, thought in terms of the whole.

The United States, as he came to see it, had been founded as the first great experiment, in the world, of a widely extended democracy. Greek city-states had been tiny There was self-governorganisms. ment in England but only for the homestaying people of a small island. On the North American continent, for the first time, self-government " of the people, by the people, for the people," in Lincoln's phrase, was being tried out. If the entire nation could be disrupted by the opinion of either a minority or majority, then the process would extend further, and every serious cleavage in opinion would continue the disintegration until the Union would be broken into many small and hostile states. From various reasons the tendency was for modern states to become large aggregates. The extension of empires overseas, the great increases in population due to the industrial revolution, the necessities of both modern commerce and wars, all pointed to the aggrega-

tions of vast populations in what we know as the modern nations. Could such aggregations be made capable of self-government or was that a mode of government fitted only to small groups under special conditions? Did the growth of the modern nations of necessity spell despotism and tyranny with loss of hard-won individual liberties as the only price of maintaining order? The only experiment tried so far was the Union known as the United States. If that experiment failed, no more might have been tried. The problem of combining great populations and power with self-government might have been considered to have been proved insoluble, as indicated by the American failure. and the world would have reverted to absolutisms and the crushing of freedom of speech, press and thought.

These freedoms had been won only at enormous price through the more recent centuries. They seemed, as I still deem them, things most precious in life, and the only assurances held out that man may continue his intellectual and spiritual as well as material advance. The problem which faced the simple backwoodsman in the White House, with little experience of national affairs or of the world, was one of the most momentous ever set for solution to any statesman.

If the Southern States seceded, as was threatened and as they did, and if they were allowed, as many advised the President, to go in peace, then the Union would be broken with the effect on the future of self-government and the future of the world which we have noted above. The cause of self-government and of individual liberty

would be certainly set far backward in development and possibly irretrievably ruined for centuries. On the other hand, if no agreement could be reached and if peaceful secession were not allowed, and force had to be used to preserve the Union, with which the future of democracy and self-government was linked, what would become of the theory of self-government? If approximately five million free white citizens were to be coerced by about nineteen million, each group occupying different sections of the country. could it be claimed that real selfgovernment continued? Could force and freedom be reconciled?

On the surface, the answer would unequivocally, No! But this seems to me, descended as I am from ancestors of both the warring sections, one of those half-truths, or truths of a part, of which I have spoken. Lincoln was essentially an almost over-kindly and peace-loving man, but when he chose the alternative of force and war it was because. in one of the great decisions of history, he saw the larger truth, the truth of the whole. In his mind, at that fateful moment in the history of mankind, the fundamental problem was that of the future of the freedom of the human spirit, not simply the freedom of one section or the other or the freedom of the negro slave, but the future of freedom for all mankind. If a great modern nation could not settle its problems, then the great modern populations could not govern themselves and would have to be governed by others,-an absolute monarch, a dictator, an oligarchy or what-not. If the American Union could not govern itself then the two

parts into which it would first split, and the many parts into which it would almost inevitably later split, could not govern themselves either. In the world view and the long historical view, freedom was doomed if the Union failed. For that reason. as the struggle went on and his own mind steadily matured, Lincoln announced that he was not interested in the freedom of any one group. "If I could save the Union without freeing any slave." he said in answer to newspaper goading, "I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would do that also." And the reason he wanted to save the Union was that he wished to preserve the hope of human freedom for all in the longer run.

But force,—armies, battles, all the incidentals to revolution and civil war, the suspension of Habeas Corpus, partial control of the press, the treatment of traitors, and so on, —how reconcile all this with freedom and democracy? At this point we begin to glimpse the immense moral stature of Lincoln which lifts him to a level infinitely above most of the leaders of world to-day. He this seemingly insoluble problem by a synthesis in the moral rather than the legal or intellectual spheres. From the beginning Lincoln not only preached but felt love for all the people, on whichever side, whether for or against him. In his first Inaugural address, when war still held in the balance, he said to the South as to the North :---

We are not enemies but friends. We

must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when touched again, as they surely will be, by the better angels of our nature.

Lincoln made his decision with no thought of domination over any section or any group of citizens. He fought not to impose his own will, to exalt himself, to establish a particular economic system, or to place one class above another, but solely for freedom, for the maintenance of the Union for the sake of that freedom, and always with the thought of eventual peace and harmony at the end. There is not, through the entire struggle of years, a single instance in which he showed injustice, spite, hatred or revenge toward friend or foe. He had, as he said in one address, "malice toward none." had, moreover, not a trace of personal ambition to be the ruler of his country's destinies or to strut upon the stage of the world. Never shirking the responsibility of making the most momentous decisions by himself, possessing more power than any previous President, he yet remained humble and never considered himself a "saviour of society" who would have to continue in office. He strove solely to build up the belief in self-government and the ability of the people to govern themselves. The struggle over, and the Union assured, he declined to allow the President of the Southern Confederacy to be hanged. "Judge not, that ye be not judged," he quoted; and said that

there was much too much talk of revenge and "bloody work." He wished that, certain simple obligations complied with, the revolting States and their citizens should be as before, "We must accepted extinguish our resentments if we expect harmony and union," he declared only a few days before his assassination. He had never fought for power or prestige or to make Abraham Lincoln a great man. He had fought solely for the freedom of action and spirit of the human race, from the most exalted to the most lowly, whom he genuinely loved. He looked forward to restoring the rebels, whom he recognized as honest, chivalrous and worthy citizens, to their full share in the freedom of the Union with a minimum of ill-feeling. The bullet of a fanatic assassin ended that hope, and the life of the President.

A leading Englishman, the present Governor-General of Canada, once spoke of Lincoln as one of the two or three leading men of the entire British race. That that race, in its two great sections, the British Empire

and the United States, has chosen to honour him as I wrote in the beginning of this short article, speaks volumes for the ideals of that race. In this day, when throughout a large part of the world, in the name of one political theory or another, individuals are in reality seizing power for their own selfish ends, and crucifying that freedom of thought and spirit which alone can lead man upward from the stage of brute or human slave, it is well to contrast them—I need not name them—with Lincoln. As the dark cloud of despotism covers more and more of the earth, and as the brightness of the free spirit shines only in ever diminishing territory, the tribute paid in homage by all parts of the Englishspeaking race to Lincoln is not without its own hope and significance. Lowly in origin, always poor, ever humble, thoughtless of self, responsible for decisions of world importance, he spent his years and met his death in the service of freedom of spirit and the enfranchisement of the life of the common man.

JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS

[In response to our inquiry, Mr. James Truslow Adams has sent an addition to his article, which we print on p. 34,—Eps.]

THE BIRTH OF MELODIES

AN INDIAN VIEW

[Mr. O. C. Gangoly, the well-known authority on Indian art, was the Editor of Rupam. His latest work, Ragas and Raginis, is "a pictorial and iconographic study of Indian Musical Modes, based on original sources." This two-volume work, alas, is only for the elect, since the price is Rs. 600. But he is also the author of several monographs and articles more within popular reach, and special mention may be made here of his "Little Books on Asiatic Art," a series of popular volumes published by the Clive Press, Calcutta, in 1929.

In this article the student of Occultism—great word sorely degraded—will find some basic principles analogically linked. The knowledge of the intimate connection between sound and colour is necessary for practices of real Magic; the "seeing of mantras" (words of power), the control of Devatas (Elementals or Nature Spirits called by our author "the presiding ethos") the evoking of Devas, also called Archangels, Planetary Spirits, Dhyan Chohans, etc.—all depend on knowledge of the language of colour and sound, with which numbers are intimately related.

Pythagoras taught at Crotona the theory and practice of the Divine Magic and so included in his programme the study of music and mathematics.

Such a contribution as this is a dim silhouette which offers the reader's imagination a faint but faithful adumbration of the profound knowledge of the Seers of old India.—EDS.]

The most characteristic feature of Indian Music is the theory and evolution of the Rāgas, or Melody-Types, which have for their structure Fundamental Notes. Seven ("essential life-resonances"): C, D, E, F, G, A and B, from the peculiar permutations and combinations of which emerge the "images" of the Rāgas. The group or assemblage (grāma or village of musical homesteads) of the seven notes (saptaka), the seven layers or spheres of resonance, the seven veils of Isis (prakriti), together with their intervening microtones (śrutis) constitute the fundamental alphabets out of which the melody-types are spelled out. All these notes have separate or individual and significant emotive values and are "secretly" linked up with different members of the planetary system-as the source of sound in

the Solar firmament. In Brhad-deśî, a Sanskrit musical text, said to have been composed some time between the fifth and ninth centuries, but which contains data which are much older-each of the notes is assigned to its appropriate Rsi-i.e., Seer, Sage, or Expounder, just as we have for the Vedic mantras their appropriate Devatā (presiding ethos) and Rsis. Thus the Sadja Note (c) has for its presiding genius Bramhā (Sadjasya daivatam Bramhā). the second note Rsabha (d) the god is Agni (" Rsabha vahni daivatah ") and, so on, each note being under the protective influence of a presiding deity. Like the component notes the synthetic melodies or rāga-compositions have their corresponding governing deities (rāga-devatās) which are the source and inspiration of the peculiar emotive flavour of each melo-

dy. Thus, the śuddha-sādhārita melody has for its god the Sun (Ravidaivata). The śuddha-kaiśika has for its lord—the Earth (Bhauma-Vallabha) and so on. These presiding gods, or protective divinities for each of the musical notes are in some secret way connected with the rasavalue, or emotive significance of each note. According to the Indian theory, particular notes have a peculiar quality or potentiality for interpreting and expressing particular emotions and moods. Thus the notes Sadja (c) and Rsabha (d) are said to be appropriate for interpreting the emotions of wonder, resentment and heroism; the note Dhaivata (a) is suitable for emotions of terror or disgust, the notes Gāndhāra (e) and $Nis\bar{a}da$ (b) are appropriate for emotions of sorrow; and the notes Madhyama (f) and Pancama (g) are suitable for emotions of love and humour. These inherent emotive values are said to be symbolised by the presiding deity of each note which may be taken and understood as the source or the essence of the peculiar emotive value of each note or svara. Then we come to the application of the notes in building up a rāga, or a melody. A rāga-composition is, as we know, a musical structure in which certain notes are used in certain sequences, in certain emphasis, in certain patterns of ascent and descent, and in which certain notes take predominant places and in which certain notes are skipped over or avoided. On the basis of the peculiar emotive value of each particular note, the composer of a melody of a definite emotive purpose will have to use that particular note as a dominant, or, as we

say, as the "speaking" or Vādî note of that particular emotional flavour (rasa) which that melody is designed to arouse and awaken in the auditor. Thus, if a melody is intended to express and interpret the feeling of love or humour, it should contain in its structure, as prevailing notes, Madhyama (f) and Pancama (g). As Bharata, the author of the Nātya-Śāstra has pointed out, a song in order to interpret the flavour of love and laughter must contain a large dose of the notes Madhyama and Pancama. ("Madhyama Pancamabhūyistham ganam singara-hasyavoh.") If a melody is intended to arouse feelings of pity, it should use in its structure a profuse quantity of the note Gandhara (e). ("Gandharah saptama-prāyah karune gānamisyate.")

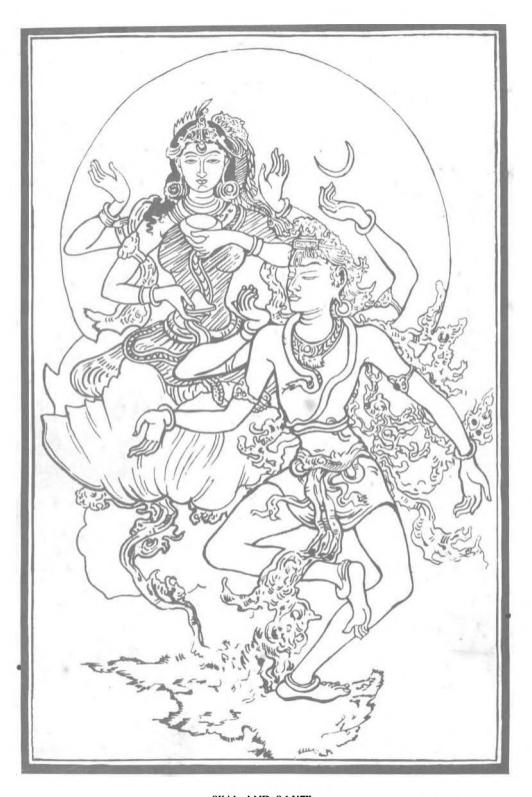
Not content with ascribing the several notes to their peculiar emotive powers, and ascribing protective deities to each of the notes, Matanga, the author of Brhad-desî, sums up his description of the notes by asserting that "all the notes have emanated from the mouth of Siva and are current in musical applications in the folk-songs of the world," $(Mah\bar{a}$ deva-mukhodbhūtān Desîmārge ca samsthitan.) This suggestion as to the voice of the Rudra-devatā, the Roaring God of the Vedic "pantheon," being the source of the musical notes is later on developed by another myth which derives the six principal major rāgas, the janya or the pravartaka rāgas (the parent, or the originating melodies) current in the North from the mouth of Siva and Pārvatî. In the Pancama sārasamhitā, a text attributed to Nārada,

we have the earliest indication of this myth describing the sources of the six root-melodies of the North. According to the doctrine embodied in this myth, it is the cosmic union of the primordial Matter and Energy, the mystic marriage of Siva and Pārvatî, that produced the World of Music and of Melodies. (Siva-Sakti samāyogāt rāgānām Sambhavo [v. r. ud-bhavo] bhavet.) Melody is the dance, the resonance, or the vibrant manifestation of the Primordial Energy (prakriti, śakti) in rhythmic and cosmic union with Primordial Matter (Siva). It is when the Sonal energy passes through the primordial substance, and shakes the molecules thereof in a rhythmic resonance. that sound-waves are produced. This is the first step in the birth of the fundamental notes (the essential resonances of Life). In the building up of the melodies $(r\bar{a}ga)$ the cosmic energy has a similar rhythmic function. It is the orderly arrangement of the fundamental notes in a significant rhythmic form that brings into existence a raga or melody. Here the designing energy mates with the musical substance to build a melody. The musical alphabets are made to move and live in the pulsating form of a melodious structure. The inert matter takes a plastic shapeless form. The Sonal energy becomes manifest in the melody.* version of Mr. Nanda Lal Bose, in his conception of Siva and Sakti reproduced in the drawing, a very skilful presentation has been given of the process how from the circular firma-

ment of Space, the cosmic Energy is bringing into life, into rhythmic form the primordial inert Matter. sleeping substance has not vet fully achieved consciousness, though its body, its molecules, have begun to acquire a dancing pose. His dance is not a conscious movement for which He Himself is responsible but He is the automaton of the Cosmic Energy the moving spirit, the motivating power (śakti) of the rhythmic activ-(śiva) — which manifests itself in the happy activities of life. In the nebulous stage depicted in the picture, we notice how the substance is going through the evolution of queer forms. Some parts are evolving into a lotus-form, a throne for the goddess,-for which a queer moving frame is providing a "lotus-stem." Other forms of the matter are passing through the nascent stage of lightning-forms which will presently develop into the moving forms of the long matted locks of the Dancing Siva. Except the portrait of the Sakti—the four-handed Goddess nothing is definitive or crystallised in form. It is chaos blossoming into Cosmos by the magic inspiration of Energy.

If we follow the dreams of the Indian myth-makers we find the music texts justifying the graphic delineation of the artist. Narada, the great musical theorist, recites that at the beginning of the cosmic Dance of Siva (nartārambhe), out of the five different faces of Siva came out the five rāgas: the Sri-rāga from the face known as Sadyo-vaktra; the

^{*} Similarly, in the sagas of the Wars of the Titans and the Angels (asuras and suras) the touch of the martial Energy (Kālî) turns a corpse (śava) into Siva—the source of Life, Bliss, and Happiness.



SIVA AND SAKTI

Vasanta-rāga from the face known as Vāma-deva; the Bhairava-rāga from the face known as Aghora; the Pancama rāga from the face known as Tat-purusa; and the Megha-raga from the face known as Isana. The five faces of Siva exhaust the five of the principal rāgas—but another has still to be accounted for, and the myth-maker is compelled to seek the grace of Giri-jāyā (Pārvatî, the Sakti of Siva) for explaining the origin of the sixth raga-Natta-narayana; the melody of Natta-nārāyana (asserts our text), emanated from the voice of Pärvatî, in the graceful ecstasy of a lāsya dance.

But whether this theory of the origin of these six melodies is the product of the fertile imagination of a myth-maker, or not, the basic myth of the origin of melodies from the union of Siva and Pārvatî (Sakti)—the fusion of Matter and Energy, and their transformation into musical forms—is a fundamental scientific datum picturesquely presented in the formula of a Saivaite Myth. For no musical sound can be produced except through the application of energy through the medium of matter.

On the other hand, the distinction of matter and energy is vanishing before the light of new discoveries.

With the demolition of the old atomic theory and the discovery of subtler forms of ingredients of matter (electrons, etc.) all that was left of the whole structure of nineteenth-century materialism has crumbled away. The subtle and indivisible ingredients of matter, are, after all, not very substantial "materials"—are nothing but rotating electrical forces; we are not standing or sitting on firm earth, but on these moving forces-śakti in Indian terminology. It is her "will to live" which is keeping the universe going and helping Nature to function. This a spiritual force, this "will to live," this moving spirit can perhaps be best suggested by the word love, and in terms of Indian myth-makers this energy, this will to live, this principle of Love, is visualized in the feminine form Sakti It is said that all Art is the imagination of Love, and it follows that Music is imagination of Love in sound. And it is through the imagination of Love or the ecstasy of the composer, the builder of musical sounds, that a melody is born, an exciting and ecstatic music pattern which casts its spell on all normal human beings and moves them into like manner and types of ecstasy.

O. C. GANGOLY

PRISON REFORM

THROUGH A CRIMINAL'S EYES

[Mr. H. E. Degras writes to us of himself thus: "Born in 1910, criminal environment. Both parents served sentences of imprisonment for theft. My first appearance in Police Court, 1919. Subsequent convictions, 1920, '21, '24, '27, '30, '31, '33. Educated, Industrial School, Borstal, Chelmsford Convict Prison. First book, an analysis of my criminal career, to be published by Peter Davies, under the title of 'Low Company' and the pseudonym' Mark Benny."

Very likely Mr. Degras is not familiar with Asiatic psychology, and therefore has not suggested that which we regard as the most practical and vital way in which the criminal can be helped. Asiatic Psychology recognizes that the greatest of all sinners can cross over his sins in the bark of right knowledge. Further, it looks upon even the criminal as an unfolding soul who is fettered with self-forged karma, yet who is potentially divine and therefore possesses the inner strength to face and overcome his limitations. Reform must fail when it is imposed from outside; it cannot but succeed when the prisoner is taught that none but himself can fight his way out to normal human life.—Eps.]

Ouite early in my criminal career which began officially at the age of six and ended unofficially with my release from penal servitude six months ago—I noticed a strange discrepancy between the actual consequences of my felonies and the consequences I had hoped for. Crime has always been for me a means of resolving the difficulties I found in adjusting myself to people. As a child, seizing upon the most obvious aspect of social relationships in a slum community, I was impressed by the cash-nexus and stole to acquire money. In adolescence, when sex became important, I stole to facilitate passion. Later still, when I perceived the social advantages of culture, I stole to obtain leisure for educational development. Always, behind the crude fact of the theft, was a warm, vague impulsion to get on more mutually satisfying terms with my fellows. Now that seemed to me a perfectly good motive. And when I found that my felonies only served to estrange me further from society. I was hurt and deeply perplexed. The central fact of my life was a sense of loneliness, of alienation. There were barriers between me and the rest of men, not of my making. I had committed crimes in order to break down these barriers, and the laws of my being could not allow me to comprehend how an effort to achieve closer relationships with men may wrong. But that lack of comprehension itself constituted a further barrier, and by rendering fellowship less realisable made it all the more precious. So I was driven to the underworld to find intimacies, where the barriers are not so strong. again alienated me further from general society.

In my periodical appearances before the courts, I came into contact with several very sincere social workers. But from the first I found that, sincere as they were and I was, such contacts were almost wholly useless. I felt fundamentally that, whatever

excuses there were for society, I was right in my crimes; they felt fundamentally that, whatever excuses there were for me, I was wrong. Their judgment was based, articulately, on my crime. My judgment was based, inarticulately, on my motives. They expected repentance of me, expected me to consider imprisonment in the light of an atonement. But I felt strongly, deeply, inexpressibly, that I had nothing to atone. It was a deadlock; and I passed through an Industrial School, a Borstal Institution and three prisons without the deadlock being resolved. It is only by the most fortuitous of accidents that I am not a burglar still.

I preface my article with autobiography in order to emphasise what I consider to be the central verity concerning criminals. Subjectively crime is essentially a straining towards social communion. The criminal is, while he remains a criminal, never conscious of this; but for all that it is his root-motive. Once this is realised, it becomes clear that the task of reform lies not in changing the criminal's motives, but making him conscious of his motives, and helping him to find a more satisfying mode of expressing them.

My experiences in penal institutions, and my readings in criminology, have shewn me that the failure to realise this fundamental axiom is at the root of the failure to deal successfully with criminals. Officials approach the prisoner with legal preconceptions; reformers approach him with socio-ethical preconceptions. Both attitudes prevent an understanding of the prisoner, whose modes of thought and feeling are quite foreign to these. Before an effective reform system can be established, there must be readiness to see the prisoner, not as an *object* of reform, but as a *subject*.

Because the attitude of the authorities goes wrong from the start, faults show themselves from the moment one begins to enquire into the workings of the present penal The primary practical measure of reform is the classification of criminals for treatment. Without adequate classification there can be no adequate system, or rather systems. For different types of criminals require different types of systems if their reform is to be facilitated and not retarded. This is to some extent recognised by the Prison Commission in this country, and in recent years an effort has been made to classify prisoners and to segregate them in institutions adapted to their types.

But let us examine the bases of the classifications used. First. necessary distinction is made between the sexes: women completely segregated from male prisoners, and no communication or are permitted. convicted and unconvicted prisoners are kept in distinct categories. So much is inevitable, although not entirely satisfactory. It is when we come to the classifying of convicted prisoners that we see how really inadequate is the present system. Criminal antecedents are made the prime distinguishing factor. In the words of the present head of the Prison Commission:—

It is obviously desirable to separate

the first offender from the habitual offender—the man who comes for the first time to prison from the man who comes for the fifth or the fiftieth time. (Mr. A. Paterson, Annals of the American Academy of Social Science, 1931.)

It is obvious, in the sense that the earth is obviously flat. It is the first impression one would gain from a superficial survey of the problem. But a knowledge of prison-psychology soon disproves it. Anyone who has experienced both institutions will know that crime is more enthusiastically discussed and planned in a first-offenders' prison than in recidivist institutions. Macartney. in his book Walls Have Mouths has testified that old lags have a positive reluctance to discuss crime; and readers of Dostoevski will recall that he confirms this as being true of the Siberian convict-settlements. It is true that under the prevailing regime recidivist criminals tend to adopt a fatalistic attitude about crime, but that is only because the authorities adopted it first. In the convict prisons, where recidivism is accepted and no efforts are made to reform, fatalism is imposed on the prisoners. In short, the authorities have manufactured a characteristic and then used it as a basis for classification.

Age gives another basis for classification under the present system. If the classification were according to mental age it would be well. But this is not the method applied. Only the physical age of the prisoner is taken into account, and institutions are set aside for lads under twentyone, men under thirty, and so on.

Enough has been said to show that the bases for classification adopted under the prevailing system are largely arbitrary. And they are arbitrary because they take little account of the subjective aspects of the prisoner. What the prisoner feels and thinks about himself is at least as important as what the jurists and penologists think about him; and a classification based on such subjective characters will prove vastly more fruitful. Let us explore the possibilities of such a classification,

Most psychologists will with me, I think, in saying that Jung's analysis of psychological types is, for our present purposes at least, the best available. Jung has the advantage over Adler, Gross or Spearman in that his presentation is based upon the "subjective conscious psychology of the individual." He makes his classifications according to the self-presentation of his subjects, and does not seek to rely wholly on his own judgment. By this method he has distinguished four primary function-types,* which he calls respectively the thinking-, feeling-, intuitive-, and sensationtypes. These types are rarely found pure, and Jung subclassifies further into what he calls "mixed functiontypes." But for each individual, life is more integrated and satisfying if his dominant function is well difsystem ferentiated. Hence a penal reform based upon Jung's classification would have two obprisoners iectives: to segregate according to their dominant func-

^{*} For the purposes of this article I have ignored Jung's primary distinction between intravert and extravert types, since the overwhelming majority of criminals are extraverts.

tions in order to further the differentiation of the functions, and to provide new, more satisfying orientations for these functions.

How would this apply practically? First, it is evident that the dominant function in the individual determines largely the class of crime commits. The intuitive-type takes naturally to confidence tricking; the feeling-type-rare in males -is disposed to seek attractive atmosphere for its crimes, shoplifting in high-class stores, pickpocketing in fashionable restaurants and dance-halls, or, failing the provenance of such an atmosphere, to create one with the use of stimulants. Car-bandits, on the other hand, are largely of the sensationtype, as are burglars, card-sharpers, sexual offenders, petty thieves; while the thinking-type is given up to methodical safe-breaking, financial jugglery, ingenious "rackets," etc. In most cases, that is, the dominant function seeks satisfaction not only in the ends of the crime but in the means as well. But this satisfaction can be obtained equally well by other means. In institutions adapted to each type the functions would be reorientated through vocational and educational training, the set situation would allow less scope to the repressed functions, and so the prior functions would be better differentiated, making the individual life more integral.

Such a reform system could not be carried through in our present prisons. Their very architecture would frustrate every effort. The existing prison buildings embody the idea of punishment purely and

simply. They are aggregations of separate cells (or, to use Byron's phrase, separate hells); where educational facilities have been introduced, the classrooms are stuck away in odd corners, in cellars and converted condemned-cells, so that the prisoner can only receive the impression that his education is an after-thought. Even the workshops seldom form an integral part of the prison, but have been built round the central edifice in a casual and makeshift way. In a rationally planned prison the position would be reversed. The central building would be devoted to workshops, vocational guidance rooms, lecture halls and classrooms, with outlying blocks of cells or dormitoprisoner ries. Thus the receive the impression that the main purpose of the prison is not to punish him for his past but to fit him for his future.

If the Jungian classification be accepted, the prisons would fall into four categories, adapted to deal exclusively with one or other of the four function-types. The vocations taught would be real vocations, selected for their suitability for the types. Thus the feeling-type is most suited to services of one sort or another, while the intuitive-type make good showmen or salesmen. The thinking-type is manifestly adapted to engineering or occupations calling for similar qualities of mind. The sensation-type, vocationally the most difficult to approach, generally favours outdoor work, cooking, motor driving and fancy craft-work.

The range of educational and recreational facilities would also be accommodated to the different types. For instance, amateur dramatic work would be exceptionally suitable for the intuitive- and feeling-types, but disregarded by the others. Among the sensation-types, sports, music, artistic work and gardening would prove formative. Macartney's account of the popularity of chess among the thinking-types at Parkhurst shows what can be done in this way.

Many people will hold up their hands in horror at the mere idea of so much pains being taken with mere criminals. But an appeal to figures may help them to see the necessity for it. Nearly a million pounds worth of unrecovered property is stolen by the criminals of this country each year; and another million pounds is spent by the

country to punish these thieves. And the only effect so far is a steady annual growth in the criminal population of Great Britain. If the country can afford to spend a million pounds a year without any returns. it can surely afford to spend another million to reduce the criminal population instead of adding to it. Whether the system of reform I have advocated in this article is the best for that purpose is a matter for discussion. But with the authority of an intimate knowledge of thieves and the effects of imprisonment upon thieves, I am convinced that there can be no efficient reform system in this country until the classification of thieves is made upon a psychological basis.

H. E. DEGRAS

Not where the wheeling systems darken, And our benumbed conceiving soars!— The drift of pinions, would we hearken, Beats at our own clay-shuttered doors.

The angels keep their ancient places; — Turn but a stone, and start a wing! "Tis ye, 'tis your estranged faces, That miss the many-splendoured thing.

But (when so sad thou canst not sadder) Cry;—and upon thy so sore loss Shall shine the traffic of Jacob's ladder Pitched betwixt Heaven and Charing Cross.

Yea, in the night, my Soul, my daughter, Cry,—clinging Heaven by the hems; And lo, Christ walking on the water Not of Gennesareth, but Thames!

-Francis Thompson: The Kingdom of God

ACHIEVEMENTS OF PSYCHICAL RESEARCH

[Dr. G. H. Estabrooks, a Canadian by birth, has had a varied educational career, since he was "discharged—gassed" from the army after having served for the first two years of the War. He graduated from Acadia University in 1920, was a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford from 1921-1924, and received his Ph.D. in Psychology from Harvard. He is now Professor of Psychology at Colgate University where he also acts as Director of Placement. His first interest in Hypnotism was aroused by watching fake shows in the army, and eventually he studied under Professor McDougall, whom he considers to be one of the greatest authorities on the subject.—Eds.]

Psychical research has had serious scientific aspirations for roughly half a century, or since the founding of the British and of the American societies. To be sure, much suggestive work preceded these events, and much has been prosecuted outside their ranks. This we would in no way discount, but for fifty years the work has been more systematic and under more critical supervision. whether within or without the groups in question, allowing us to use the half century mark as a legitimate point at which to take stock.

Just what claims of solid accomplishment can we advance as judged by the sober rules science? Perhaps far more than most of us would suspect, if our view be broad. Probably much less than most of us had hoped, if we hold to more narrow, preconceived goals. Science welcomes truth, and truth has little regard for personal bias. Many of our greatest discoveries have been purely incidental to some other line of research, many resulted even in personal disappointment, but posterity cares little for human emotions. Columbus was a failure- -to himself. He sought the wealth of China-he found only malarial islands inhabited by savages. His reward was prison and disgrace—but Columbus was a glorious success. So let us not be too short-sighted in evaluating the scientific results of psychical research. The incidental, even the disappointing, may yield a cue for future accomplishment.

Many are the pitfalls into which we, as individuals interested in these problems, have fallen in times past. Science demands repetition, and will only accept those facts which can be repeated on demand. Also, needless to say, any suspicion of fraud is absolutely alien to the real investigator. I stress these two points at the very beginning, because on these counts most men of science would rule out practically every achievement in psychical research up to the present day. I think they are mistaken in this wholesale condemnation and will return to these points later, but we must always appreciate their fundamental importance.

I would like to stress one or two other points of criticism which we should always bear in mind. One flagrant, and pardonable sin, which we all commit against the scientific method, is our invocation of prestige. All too frequently we find the name of Lord or Lady X quoted as conclu-

sive evidence of fact. This is very unfair to all concerned, because respectability can easily be mistaken, More dangerous is a tendency to transfer scientific or literary acumen. The world's greatest physicist might be very easily fooled by a clever magician while even the ability to write great detective stories may not of necessity prove the author a practical detective. I say this with a full knowledge of the excellent work by Sir Oliver Lodge, using him as an example because, in my opinion, he of all people has done extremely valuable work in this field. But we must bear in mind that genius in one line of research does not, of necessity, guarantee such a satisfactory transfer.

Finally let us bear in mind an objection which has peculiar force against much of the evidence for psychical research. Based as it is on isolated experiences, often accompanied with considerable emotion. what guarantee have we that the experience in question is not an hallucination induced by the wish of the subject? I can, by post-hypnotic suggestion, make any good hypnotic subject hear spiritistic rappings at any time of day or night. I can produce these phenomena in myself. We know that intense desire can do the same with many people, producing all the gamut of hallucinations, delusions, anæsthesias, paralyses, and organic upsets which we can exhibit in hypnotism. Such being the case, the fact that you undergo a certain experience by no means guarantees its objective reality. I have seen a group of half a dozen persons bow in awe before a priest who didn't exist,

a beautiful case of mass hallucination—hypnosis, if you wish. That indignant statement we so often hear that you "saw it with your own eyes" may be quite correct yet prove nothing at all.

After these preliminary words of caution let us consider our present position. First, what can we report of real accomplishment in the field of the physical medium, the individual in whose presence voices are heard, lights appear, "ectoplasm" is formed, or objects float around the room. I fear that this has been the most sterile of fields. Oh for another D. D. Home who produced his phenomena in good light and scorned the subterfuges of the present day medium! It may be that these later day performers are more highly sensitive than their rugged predecessors, but when we find that their nervous systems cannot even stand the infrared camera, using light invisible to the naked eye, we may be pardoned a little scepticism.

At any rate, the usual séance here takes place under such conditions that no man of science can give serious credence to the results. Given darkness and controls dictated by the medium, the suspicion of fraud is just too strong. I have some excellent "magicians" among my friends. Their performance in broad daylight without apparatus is so convincing that I simply refuse to attend any dark séances. Granted that results are perfectly genuine. I should still be unconvinced and no other psychologist would pay the slightest attention to my findings. We should help our cause immensely in the eves of the scientific world if, as

a group, we frowned on these dark séances of the physical medium, permitting them only in the most exceptional cases.

The mental medium, on the other hand, can claim definite accomplishment. To be sure, he or she has not proven the case for survival. On the other hand, a mass of evidence has been produced which no truly scientific mind can ignore. Whatever the explanation, it is still unexplained. Fraud is not so easy in this realm of mental mediumship and the séances of Piper, Chenoweth, and Leonard were very well controlled. In my opinion, the best evidence for the supernormal comes from this field and we must be eternally thankful for the painstaking work of such men as Myers, Lodge, and Prince. Scientifically we can only regret that it has partly yielded place to the more spectacular but less important manifestations of the physical medium.

While the Piper technique has given our best results, there are two other lines of attack which come to us from the mental medium and which seem well worthy of future careful investigation. First we would refer to those studies in psychometry exemplified by the work of Pagenstecher in Mexico. As we read through these reports edited by Prince we are again struck by the fact that the phenomena are still unexplained. Similarly the very striking case of Patience Worth offers an angle which should be followed wherever such individuals can be located. One psychologist has described this particular case as the best individual piece of evidence for survival which we possess. It certainly seems very difficult to offer an explanation from the limits of our present knowledge.

Then, of course, we have a great deal of material which is of interest to psychical research but which is quite independent of the medium. I have always regarded the work of Podmore on phantasms as being of the greatest importance. To be sure, such work can be subjected to severe criticism as to sources and methods of collection, but we have so much evidence along these lines that it would seem to offer promise for more concentrated attention. Of almost incalculable importance are those few cases of phantasms experimentally produced. Could this but be reduced to a laboratory technique—and certain cases seem to indicate the possibility—we would have scored a tremendous advance.

Experiments on telepathy have been legion and in some cases highly suggestive. Probably the best investigation is that still being prosecuted at Duke University, Durham, North Carolina. under the direction of Results have been positive Rhine. and in some respects totally unexpected. For instance, he finds, working with the "Zener" cards, that clairvoyance gives just as positive results as does telepathy, that only certain people appear to have this power of "extra-sensory perception," and that certain drugs have characteristic and constant effects on the subjects. Some investigators in other centres have not been able to duplicate these results while others have apparently been more successful. Rhine has instigated an extremely suggestive line of investigation which we will all follow through the next few years.

What have we accomplished at the half century mark? Much, but we must keep our perspective. Fifty years is just—fifty years. Half a century after the time of Mesmer found our knowledge of hypnotism but little advanced, fifty years after Galileo saw but little progress in astronomy and that same period from the death of Vesalius, not to mention Hippocrates, found medicine still in the very dark ages.

We have prepared our foundations. We have removed masses of rubbish and drilled through to solid rock. We are learning where to concentrate our efforts and also the areas which we should frankly desert as impractical. No doubt many an early investigator visualized rapid progress and startling discoveries. Science seldom works that way. Progress comes very slowly, with much waste effort and many silly mistakes. In certain sections the works of Lombroso or Charcot are positively funny while any schoolboy can tell just why Napoleon lost Waterloo. This takes nothing from the glory of the name.

Much of the material accumulated in the name of psychical research is of great value to abnormal psychology. Many of those séances by the medium yield excellent mental material on multiple personality, if nothing else. Perhaps W. F. Prince did unconsciously model the Doris Fischer case to fit the picture already supplied by Miss Beauchamp, and perhaps he used hypnotism to accomplish this result. Such a possibility is of tremendous importance quite apart from the intentions or contentions of the investigator. Patience Worth may not prove survival. It does illustrate in beautiful fashion the astounding versatility of the unconscious mind. Let us not overlook the importance of these side issues.

In the direct linc of our endeavour we may claim to have established at least presumptive evidence of the super-normal. We must not be unreasonable for, according to the tenets of science, we have not yet proven our case. We have accumulated a respectable mass of data. We are learning to avoid those avenues where fraud is most easily perpetrated, to discount reports which may be due to hallucination and above all to respect that scientific dogma which demands repetition.

The basis of past accomplishment would lead us to concentrate our efforts on certain phases of research. The very careful and painstaking technique developed with Mrs. Piper has yielded much and promises more. It is time-consuming, expensive, and at times discouraging, but this applies to almost any line of scientific investigation. Psychometry has given us valuable data, as has the Patience Worth technique. Automatic writing, crystal gazing, and other methods of tapping the unconscious have been fruitful, generally with the mental medium. Possibly the most significant piece of work since the war is that on extra-sensory perception by Rhine. The results can be measured accurately, concise records kept and the ability in question seems to have a wide range of distribution throughout the population.

We must especially be on the alert for new techniques. Perhaps the action of certain drugs will yield significant results, possibly the technique for measuring "brain-waves" now so popular in research circles may be of assistance. Hypnotism is always a possibility, furnishing as it does a key to the unconscious. In theory at least, identical twins should have a *rapport* which would be of assistance.

In closing we may be permitted a word of warning. It is best not to play with these abnormal forces, especially in those cases where any form of trance is involved. The unconscious has a disconcerting habit of misbehaving. Hysteria in its various forms furnishes us with examples of this outcropping of the unconscious, which has a tendency to take control

of the body when given the opportunity, yet is absolutely unfitted for such a position because of its high suggestibility and emotional unbalance.

At the half century mark, or in nineteen hundred and thirty six, if you prefer, we can report substantial progress. Nothing spectacular to be sure but the ground has been cleared. In some cases we may find the foundations have been placed. Disappointment, even failure, but also success are ahead. Slowly and in the course of time we will solve our problems. As long as the answers are truthful we need never fear to present them before the altar of science, whatever the implications may be.

G. H. ESTABROOKS

At Brâs-ss-Pungs, the Mongolian college where over three hundred magicians (sorciers, as the French missionaries call them) teach about twice as many pupils from twelve to twenty, the latter have many years to wait for their final initiation. Not one in a hundred reaches the highest goal; and out of the many thousand lamas occupying nearly an entire city of detached buildings clustering around it, not more than two per cent, become wonder-workers. One may learn by heart every line of the 108 volumes of Kadjur, and still make but a poor practical magician. There is but one thing which leads surely to it, and this particular study is hinted at by more than one Hermetic writer. One, the Arabian alchemist Abipili, speaks thus: "I admonish thee, whosoever thou art that desirest to dive into the inmost parts of nature; if that thou seekest thou findest not within thee, thou wilt never find it without thee. If thou knowest not the excellency of thine own house, why dost thou seek after the excellency of other things?...O Man, Know Thyself! In thee is third the treasure of treasures."

CONDUCT AND ENTHUSIASM

[C. Delisle Burns, M.A. (Cantab.), D.LITT. (London), is the author of numerous volumes, the latest of which is *Challenge to Democracy*. He worked at the Ministry of Reconstruction from 1917 to 1919 and was Assistant Secretary, Joint Research Department of Trade Union Congress and the British Labour Party. He is a lecturer in Logic and Philosophy at Birkbeck College of the University of London.

Knowledge and experience form the background of the clear thinking epitomized in this article which refers to the failures and limitations of the politician and the scientist. Professor Burns advocates "the creation and canalizing of enthusiasm" in the life of the populace as a means for "the improvement of citizenship" in a "world without poverty and war." It is self-evident that conviction breeds enthusiasm and "enthusiasm" says Bulwer Lytton "is the genius of sincerity and truth accomplishes no victories without it"; while Emerson most truly remarks that "every great and commanding movement in the annals of the world is the triumph of enthusiasm." But where can we obtain the conviction necessary for enthusiasm? The Dictator and the Pope have ever raised it as the black magician raises the "devil." Sectarian religion is as bad as sectarian nationalism. Right enthusiasm can be born only of right philosophy—grand and all-embracing, consistent and logical, above all creeds and nationalities.—Eps.]

Great men need no rules. Small men need nothing else. But the majority of men and women are not altogether either great or small. They need rules for normal times, when it is not difficult to keep rules: and at crises, they need what great men They must themselves become in some way, at some moments, great. They must therefore have both good conduct and great enthusiasm, if their lives are to be worth living. And indeed no prophets, but quite ordinary folk have proved the truth of that doctrine. For example, when the Great War broke out in Europe, ordinary men and women in every country showed that they had in them some greatness. It is indeed tragic that the enthusiasm and selfdevotion, which is shown in war, is inevitably wasted: for all war is futile. But it is like any other dis-Although war is evil, it proease. vides opportunity for virtue, in the

same way as an epidemic will arouse kindliness in those who help the victims and endurance among the victims themselves. We forget in normal times the great stores of enthusiasm that are hidden in common folk whose daily good conduct keeps the world alive. But there is another lesson to be learnt from the four years of world war. The Great War was followed by "the Small Peace." The enthusiasm for high ideals among the ordinary men and women of all countries in the conflict, is not to be denied. Politicians were cynical in their "War Aims"; and Generals never understood the moral qualities of the men they sacrificed by their primitive strategy. But it was in hope of a better world to follow the war, that most men and women endured it. And when the war ended. the enthusiam which had buoyed them up was exhausted. They fell back upon the old ways. The effort

had been too great or too utterly misused; and instead of "ending war." the Great War has left the peoples of the world desperately preparing for another. Evidently, therefore, the problem is the relation between the good conduct of normal times and the enthusiasm which is necessarv in a crisis. It is a problem of psychology and moral training--a problem, at once, of public policy and personal action; for it is ridiculous to concentrate attention upon making natural forces available, without any attention to the forces that move men from within themselves.

economists and practical politicians know all about the oilresources of different countries; and science is now everywhere applied to improving the growth of plants and animals, as well as to perfecting the use of internal combustion engines and electricity. But there is another kind of "internal combustion engine" in any ordinary man or woman: and its use is hardly understood by the reckless amateurs who play with massed audiences. In the first place, the normal forces which make any life in community possible may be underestimated. They are the impulses of conduct from day to day. They run in the control of habit, which saves energy for use by directing it. And a system of government or of education, perhaps even a stable religion, should develop and use these quite ordinary impulses to get food, to find clothing and shelter, to enjoy converse with friends. There is nothing degraded or mean in what is simple and common; and superior persons who have cut themselves off from ordinary life in order to reach

some heaven of their own, have usually perished uselessly in deserts. The Dictatorships of to-day, which spend so much energy upon exciting enthusiasm, are less stable and less likely to endure than systems of government which rely upon the mutual friendliness of ordinary men and women. But we do not know enough yet of the art of government, because we do not know enough about the shared experience of normal life. More time has been spent by the psychologists upon the vagaries of lunatics and upon abnormal obsessions than upon the conversation of ordinary people. No doubt abnormalities reveal factors to be found in the normal; but most men and women do not suffer from obsessions. Common folk may be gullible and cunning rascals may take advantage of them; but even credulity is only an exaggeration of the quite admirable tendency of the ordinary man to believe what he is told because he himself is inclined to tell the truth. The rule of normal conduct, therefore, is as important as the skeleton of a man, for keeping him upright.

But it is not enough to be always quite reasonable and prudent; for life is not always at one level. Even an ordinary day has its ups and downs. The dawn may be bright; and a storm may come at noon or in the evening. A person's own moods may change from acquiescence in what happens to excitement at an accident: or the changes may be more extreme, from violent fear to great joy at some chance meeting or at some suddenly perceived beauty. The art of living well and fully

should provide for the use of these exceptional moments throughout the rest of experience. The poet, for example, who is inspired to write a great poem at one moment of vision, may not be always a poet. But the poem is of use to many men and women who are not poets at all: and because their appreciation of the poem may transform their normal understanding of life, they may be said to have some poetry in them, without being poets.

Enthusiasm is the additional inner force which drives men and women to efforts for greater ends than their own advantage. Such enthusiasm may arise, without any known cause, in exceptional men; but it can obviously be aroused in most men and women by unusual experiences, and it can be created and maintained by skill in education, government or primitive religious practice. In societies, the crises through which we pass in adolescence, for example, are made easier to surmount and are used for lifting the mind to a higher level, by rites de passage, as they have been called, rituals and ceremonies tradition. That is the use of all ceremonies at changes of the seasons or on occasions of political importance. The Dictatorships have taken advantage of such methods. But in a free society of equals, as well as in a slave-society of infallible Authorities, the creation and canalising of enthusiasm is necessary; and in the more civilised kind of society the methods would be less crude and the results more lasting. There is all the difference, for example, between "revivalism" in religion and that more permanent elevation of spirit which comes from appreciation of the Fine Arts. But the Fine Arts are not merely instruments of something else—religion or politics or what not. They and the Pure Sciences provide for vision or enthusiasm which is its own justification.

Traditional rituals and ceremonies are not to be despised; and it is difficult if not impossible to invent a new ritual which will not be ridiculous before it becomes habitual. But in fact new rituals are always unconsciously coming into existence: for example, there is already a sort of unconscious habit of action and thought coming into existence on Armistice Day, Such "Days" maintain enthusiasm for some cause, even when, as in the case of Independence Day in America, they also provide an outlet for quite meaningless but not wasted excitement. The "play" of the unconscious tendencies of men rejoicing together will always be useful; but it is possible also to develop some more conscious technique in the creation of enthusiasm. It is assumed, in suggesting that possibility, that the needs of a modern community in the present world cannot all be met by traditional or accidental rituals. They cannot be met by the repetition of platitudes in speeches by leaders, at stated intervals. But just as the teaching of arithmetic or history can be improved by the use of new methods, so can training in the art of living. Similarly, the improvement of citizenship does not depend only upon giving information about "facts"; it depends as much upon the creation of a certain emotional "set" in the minds of a

community or a certain "tone" in the relationships between its members. The technique for the creation of such a "tone" involves a use of modern instruments, cinema and radio, as well as a more subtle appreciation of the functions of the Sciences and the Fine Arts in the life of a community. And the social conditions of a modern community must be clearly envisaged. To take its simplest features, variety of food depends upon transport between very distant places; security from epidemic disease depends upon communication between scientists in widely separated countries: in any modern community the relations of adults to children and women to men cannot be the same as they were in days before books were common and before clothing was manufactured on a large scale. The "place of women" may have been "in the home" when all the family clothes and food had to be produced there; but "the home" has changed.

The more distant contacts of any community and the more intimate

relationships of its members define the "area" of enthusiasm. The new vision of a possible world, without poverty and war, defines the aim of a civilized enthusiasm. Oppression and regimentation are still excused by the need for "defence" of Law and Order or "defence" against foreign peoples. But enthusiasm skilfully directed could get rid of the need for any such "defence"; for indeed to base public policy upon "dangers" increases those dangers by producing the obsessions of fear and suspicion. Enthusiasm, however, is not a force merely to be produced by public policy or to be used by it. In the personal life of each man and woman there is the need and opportunity for enthusiasm. No human life is worth living unless something worth living for is discovered. Such ends must be sought with intelligence and energy by each one of us; and even the search will make life worth living. For in that search, as well as in the attainment of any vision, the light shines in upon the commonplace, of whatever in the world is divine.

C. Delisle Burns

THE SPIRAL OF HINDU THOUGHT

VEDAS—UPANISHADS—GITA

[Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, the well-known Indian leader, like his illustrious clder, Gandhiji, has retired from active political work and is devoting himself to the service of the Motherland in other spheres of activity. At the village of Tiruchengode (South India) he has established a "Gandhi Ashram" which is rendering excellent aid to the poor while offering a healthy playground for the training of new labourers in the field of human service.—EDS.

Reverence for the past and the spirit of conservatism that characterises Hindu thought should not be mistaken for unprogressive rigidity. In spite of its undoubted conservatism it has always displayed the boldest varieties of conception. In no other religion is there greater elasticity, freedom of thought or respect for the truth as it can be reached without emotional bias.

No bigger revolution was ever achieved in the history of human thought than that which we see recorded in the Upanishads. The transition in thought from the many Gods to whom the most elaborate forms of worship and sacrifice were ordained in the Vedas to the One Absolute of the Upanishads, is bridged by a single span that transcends in grandeur all other known revolutions belief. This great deposition the Gods to the position of subordinate intelligences was accomplished quietly and philosophically, and all the rituals and sacrifices became symbols and texts for the deepest Vedantic speculation, by a mere process of interpretation. Such a revolution among other peoples would have demanded a not inconsiderable amount of strife, physical violence and bloodshed as the price for the establishment of truth.

It is a fact that no evolution is possible unless the germ is there in the original. In this sense, the later philosophical synthesis was contained in the original worship. as the tree is in the seed. The evolution of the Upanishadic doctrine was truly a drawing-out; it was a lifegiving new emphasis. It inevitably meant a definite and great change in the way of life, though, with characteristic conservatism, the forms and the rituals of the old worship were maintained even as the British democracy still maintains the royal office and dignities. The liberalisation of thought having been achieved, the shell that remained did not matter; and it was felt that had better remain until disappeared of itself. Until the new tissue is well-grown and becomes weather-proof, the slough remains as a protective plaster. So does ritual remain in the religions of philosophic peoples, until philosophy becomes an organic part of life and ritual disappears of itself. This is the way of all peaceful revolutions.

That attempts, prematurely, to remove the slough were firmly opposed by the exponents of philosophical truth can be seen in the following among other verses:--

अन्धं तमः प्रविशन्ति येऽविद्यामुपासते । ततो भूय इव ते तमो य उ विद्यायां रताः ॥ अन्यदेवाहुर्विद्ययाऽन्यदाहुरविद्यया । इति ग्रुश्रुम धीराणां ये नस्तद्विचचिहिरे ॥ विद्यां चाविद्यां च यस्तद्वेदोमयं सह । अविद्यया मृत्युं तीरवी विद्ययामृतमश्रुते ॥

Īśāvāsyopanishad 9, 10, 11.

All who worship what is not real knowledge (good works), enter into blind darkness: those who delight in real knowledge, enter, as it were, into greater darkness.

One thing, they say, is obtained from real knowledge; another, they say, from what is not knowledge. Thus we have heard from the wise who taught us this.

He who knows at the same time both knowledge and not-knowledge, overcomes death through not-knowledge, and obtains immortality through knowledge.

The location of the Supreme in the secret recess of one's own heart was almost simultaneous with the synthesis of the Gods into one Ultimate Reality. The Aryan seekers after Truth appear to have lost no time over this translation of Heaven from beyond the skies into the "cave" of man's own heart. Not conscience and soul only, function within, but God and His very Mansion become intimate and one with oneself. It is impossible to conceive of more courageous a revolution, and vet we see accomplished as if without the slightest effort.

Great as these revolutions were, the progress of Hindu thought did not stop here. A further revolution is recorded in the *Bhagavad-Gita*. The consolidation and merger of the Gods was over with the Upanishads and they also completely record the Vedantic conception of the Supreme. The life-giving rays of free thought were now directed to the idea of sacrifice and the concept of renunciation or Sanyas. Ceremonial gradually became Karma, work in the true and comprehensive sense; and Renunciation was released from the forms of Sanyasa and became selflessness of purpose in all activities. Detachment became the watchword of Hinduism. This at once transformed Vedanta from being a cult of isolation and asceticism into a living and social doctrine of duty and human co-operation. This revolution is recorded as an accomplished fact in the Bhagavad-Gita. Here, too, it is true the germ was there in the old Upanishads themselves, but we should not ignore the vast difference between the seed and the full-grown tree. We see in Gita the full-grown, wide-branching banyan, yielding protective shade to all pilgrims.

It bears repetition to note that neither the *Gita* nor the Upanishads were instruments of revolution. The respective revolutions had already taken place and they are but recorded in these works. The interval of the transitional thought not being covered by the written document, some may even mistake the Upanishads and the *Gita* as having been conceived for the revolution.

Hinduism has unfolding power; it convinces us that it is a living tree and not dead timber.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR.

LINCOLN IN MODERN EUROPE

[Arising out of his article on p. 9, Mr. James Truslow Adams sends us an answer to our question as to "what Lincoln would do, were he a living European statesman of to-day"—which we append here.—Eds.]

In answer to a question which has been raised as to what Lincoln would do were he a living European statesman of to-day. is impossible, of course. be specific. but some suggestion may be made. The circumstances of the armed camps of democracies versus dictatorships of our day are different from those of the sections of the American Union seventy years ago, but there is something which transcends circumstance, and that is character. When we speak of Lincoln we mean a certain human being who had, among other things, a certain character. If "Lincoln" were alive to-day we should have to predicate that he would have the same character. The troubles of the world of 1936 come not only largely from the war but also from the terms of peace. Had Lincoln been at the Peace Conference of 1918-1919, or had the statesmen there been at all like Lincoln we may certainly affirm that he or they would have made every effort to bring about a healing peace and not a terrified and vindictive one. The statesmen of 1918 talked of hanging the Kaiser. In 1866 Americans talked of hanging

Jeff Davis, and Lincoln instead of playing to the mob spirit answered merely, "Judge not that ye be not judged." He envisaged the warring sections as having after peace to form again one Union, and he would have seen that after the World War the closely connected nations of Europe would again have to form one comity of nations. To those in America who called for vengeance on the South he replied that there was too much talk of "persecution" and "bloody work." By making the simplest possible terms with the conquered and treating them with generosity and kindness he hoped to bring about a new Union of Co-operation in the work of civilization. After his assassination American statesmen of the post-war European type seized power, and for a generation the South suffered largely as Europe has suffered. The line Lincoln would have taken at Versailles is clear as daylight. In determining in general the line he would have followed since then we can determine it in the same way by following the accurate compass of his character alone.

JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS

NEW BOOKS AND OLD

FORGO SECURITY*

[John Middleton Murry offers a timely suggestion for renovating European civilization which, as it is, is not worth saving. His remedy is to forgo security in politics, in religion, in the whole of life, and for nations to practise love.—Eps.]

It was without any sense of shock, without any rubbing of my eyes to reassure myself that what I read was really there, that in the final chapter of Count Sforza's absorbing book I came upon this astonishing paragraph:—

The broader the outlook of France, the safer will she be. Safe, let me explain, in the only sense one should desire to be safe. Absolute safety, if it existed, would probably be a cause of decadence, as in the China of the Ching, behind a supposedly impassable wall. The safety of nations is like happiness in love—a miracle that must be performed anew every day. No philtre or ramparts exist that will guarantee either for ever.

Those words, coming from a diplomat of what is sometimes called "the old school," are truly astonishing: yet still more astonishing is the fact that they arouse no astonishment in the reader of Count Sforza's book. They are the natural and unforced flowering of the attitude that underlies his treatment of political happenings in Europe since the beginning of the twentieth century.

It may have been my misfortune; but I have never read a book dealing with those events—which culminated in the world-war and its aftermath—by anyone who played a part of

authority in them (as Count Sforza did) in which the author displays so deep a conviction of the supremacy of the moral idea. That is not a fashionable conviction in the world to-day. It is alien to the modern Zeitgeist. Whether men are revolutionary or reactionary to-day, they are at one in their complete disregard of the ethical factor. For Communist and Fascist alike, it is non-existent, save as an obsolete element, a kind of rudimentary organ, in the psychology of a few groups of unenlightened individuals, The Communist or the Fascist will admit, for instance, that there are various religious bodies whose fantastic convictions have, in fact, to be considered, solely as a matter of practical politics. They can be used, as the Communist now seeks to use them in his effort at alliance with the forces of revolutionary religion; or, they must be reluctantly admitted to exist, as Herr Hitler has found in his efforts to de-spiritualize the German Protestant Church. In this sense, and in this sense alone, is the reality of the ethical factor allowed in European politics to-day. But essentially for the contemporary mind it is illusion. Realpolitik—of

^{*}Europe and Europeans: A Study in Historical Psychology and International Politics. By Count Carlo Sforza. (George G. Harrap and Co., Ltd., London. 10s. 6d.)

interests and armaments—alone is real. What violence, or the threat of violence, can compel is alone worth having. It is, indeed, the only solid thing; for nothing will be yielded except to violence or the threat of violence.

It is not that Europe is so far gone on the road to perdition that it believes that this is true. The infinite moral distress of Europe to-day is that it cannot believe this. But neither can it believe anything else. It is for lack of any positive belief that it falls back on this belief in which it cannot believe. For this belief is utterly negative; it is based on the complete elimination from the process of history of all that is felt to be human and ideal. And on that basis no belief-in the sense of an active and dynamic faith—is possible. A faith which does not satisfy our total being is no faith at all: still less is that a faith which is based on the deliberate negation of our deep and ineradicable human desires.

I have myself no doubt at all what is the deepest and most ineradicable I used to think that human desire. it was simply to live. Nor was I wrong, if we make a distinction (as I did) between living and merely existing. If to live means to live more abundantly, to realise the individual's potentiality of complete and harmonious being, then indeed it is true that man's deepest desire is to live. But I have come to acknowledge that we can and must go further than this, and press our self-knowledge and our definition still more intimately home. We must say, then, that the deepest and most ineradicable desire of the human being is to love, simply because in love alone does life find fulfilment. And this is the simple law of life. The man, the nation, the continent which denies love, ends by killing itself. The refusal to surrender to the life that obscurely clamours to be born—and this surrender is love—turns the nascent life into decay and corruption.

From this simple point of view, the malady of Europe is simple. nations of Europe cannot bring themselves to love. They are afraid: the risk is too great; they demand security. It is human, all too human, to demand security. No one in his senses dares to deny that the desire for security is also a natural and deep human desire. The question is whether it is an ineradicable desire. I do not believe it is. Not that I believe that it can be easily eradicated: nor am I blind to the possibility (or even the probability) that a terrible price may have to be paid by the nations of Europe before they learn to forgo their demand for security. Nevertheless. I have come to believe that the lesson will be learned, simply because unless this lesson is learned, life will cease. Most men who have a spark of imagination to-day are aware of the deadly peril in which Europe now stands. The danger is, they say, that "civilization will per-And that is true, so far as it goes. But it might not be easy to reply to one who looked round upon " civilization " European moment and asked: "Is such a civilization worth saving?" Intrinsically, I do not believe that what we call "European civilization" at the moment is worth saving. It will only be proved to be worth saving if it makes the effort to save itself. And that effort demands the abandonment of the idea of security.

Only a Europe which can abandon the demand for security will be worth saving; and only such a Europe can be saved. That means, guite simply, that the nations of Europe must learn to love, or they will perish, crushed under the weight of their own piled and pitiful security. The necessity of learning to love is simple and plain; for that is what love means-to forgo security. Of course, it seems childish to ask of a modern European nation that it should forgo security. And, in a sense, it is childish. Precisely because it is childish the demand may succeed. Indeed, I believe that we have reached the point at which the simple cry of "No security," raised by men and women who really believe in it, would sweep through Europe by the virtue of its own sheer simplicity. The time for such simplicity, I feel, is come. We are made tired and hopeless by the complexity of our own thinking in terms of what we call reality. This is only the demand for security in another form; we want to be sure of our results. And the great allurement, and the great illusion, of the most prevalent modern doctrine of history--namely, the Marxist-is that it enables one scientifically to prophesy the invisible event. But no power in earth or heaven can make us sure of the future. The mere possibility of such security would mean that life had ceased.

"No security," then, in our thinking, or our politics, must be the wildfire word that lifts men's hearts again. "No security" in our religion or in our lives. For all these things -our thought, our politics, our religion, our lives-are one thing. We cannot believe in "No security" in our politics, while we continue to demand security in our lives or our religion. There must be a total and joyful acceptance of the experience of "No security." No piecemeal admission of the idea will avail us. Still less can there be any security that the cry of "No security" will prevail. It cannot be organised into The completeness of the victory. certainty must depend on the completeness of the risk.

I cannot conceive that any one of the European nations will take this childish and impossible road, as a nation. That is not how things happen in life. Life, new life, can burst through only in individual men and women. That is the great and forgotten truth that D. H. Lawrence preached. It is only when some individuals are completely pervaded by the conviction that life in them can have no security, and that only in so far as they cease to demand security can life move free in them, that the process of change will have really begun. Therefore, the idea of "No security" is one which must involve the total activities of the individual. It cannot be segregated and set apart; it cannot be confined to the "political" man. It must be embodied and living in the whole And that, it seems to me, is man. inevitable. There is no middle ground between life and decay, no place of compromise or stable equilibrium. Either we must live more and more, or we must die more and more. Either more and more of us must yield to the knowledge that there is no security, or more and more of us will seek security. We must either go forward to complete love, or we shall be driven backward to complete hatred. Either I must love my neighbour, or I will kill him.

Because I have come to believe all this, I would change one single word in Count Sforza's profound saying that "the safety of nations is like happiness in love—a miracle that must be performed anew every day"; and I would say that "the safety of nations is happiness in love." It rests ultimately on those individuals who have achieved happiness in love,

who have learned to know what happiness in love really is-namely, the knowledge and acceptance of complete insecurity. That alone is love which loves without expectation of return. It loves because it must. because the experience of love is the only thing that matters, because without love it cannot breathe. And the miracle is this: that love of this kind creates love. It calls love forth of the same kind as itself, "No security" is the only security. But we cannot be secure of that. We can only believe it. But this belief is real belief-the knowledge that is more than knowledge, because it is insecure.

JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY

The Birth of China. By HERRLEE GLESSNER CREEL. (Jonathan Cape, London. 15s.)

This book is something in the nature of a revelation. The advance of scientific method has swept away the old traditional chronology of China, and the heroic figures of the past--the Yellow Emperor, Yao and Shun, even the Great Yü-have been unceremoniouscast down from the ١v they have occupied so long. Some reactionary scholars have even gone length of declaring that authentic history of China does not begin before the Eastern Chou dynasty, when the capital was moved to Loyang in 770 B.C. With the new material at his command, however, Dr. Creel is able to take us back much further than this: "From the archæological and scientific point of view," he says, "the curtain rises on Chinese history with the Shang people living at Anyang in the fourteenth century B.C." Prior to that date, we have only vague and unreliable traditions; but many relics of the Shangs exist which enable us to reconstruct their daily mode of life in considerable detail.

It all began with the discovery of the oracle-bones. Quantities of these were being turned up by farmers in North Honan over forty years ago, and because they were mysterious products of the soil they were generally reduced to powder and used as medicine. In 1899, Chinese antiquaries first recognized the markings which some of them bore as an archaic form of Chinese script. After years of constant effort, many of the characters still remain undeciphered; but it is established beyond question that these inscribed bones form part of the royal archives of the Shang dynasty, and preserve the record of questions which were put to the gods or ancestor-spirits on a great variety of matters. It is estimated that more than a hundred thousand pieces are now in the hands of collectors, and facsimiles of fifteen thousand pieces have already been published. It may be imagined what light is thrown on the lives and habits of thought of the Shang people by these contemporary documents, brief though most of them are.

The discovery of the oracle-bones was due to a lucky accident. The second

great source of our new knowledge is the systematic excavation of sites in the Anyang region, which was begun as recently as the autumn of 1934. In spite of serious difficulties arising from the climate, constant dust storms, the opposition of the local peasantry, and the activities of bandits and grave-robbers. the results to date are nothing less than astounding. Before June, 1935, more than eleven hundred skeletons of the Shang period had been recovered, and more than three hundred Shang tombs. four of them undoubtedly royal, had yielded up scores of bronze ritual vessels and pieces of marble statuary of the first quality.

From the interpretation of these remains Dr. Creel has been able to draw a fairly detailed picture of the life of the people in that remote age—their political and social conditions, their religion, arts and crafts, and methods and material of warfare. All the evidence so far available goes to disprove the old theory of a huge migration of Western tribes into the basin of the Yellow River. Foreign archæologists used to suppose that the invaders settled down as overlords of an enslaved Neolithic population, upon whom they proceeded to impose an entirely new culture of their own. But if there is one thing that now stands out clearly, it is that Chinese civilization originated and developed on Chinese soil, though certain elements may have been borrowed from other cultural centres.

In the chapter devoted to the subject of Chinese writing, Dr. Creel calls in question the statement (for which I am personally responsible, and to which I that at least adhere) per cent of all Chinese characters are formed on the phonetic principle; he tells us that, after analysing a number of specimen passages of Chinese, both ancient and modern, he finds that "in Chinese as it is actually written decidedly less than one-half of the characters employed contain any phonetic element whatever." But surely the fallacy here is obvious. In any piece of composition, the simplest characters will naturally

tend to recur with great frequency, and the relative number of phonetic compounds will be much lower than in a dictionary (the only real test of my assertion) where each character occurs only once.

The second half of the book deals with the Chou conquest, and the "formative which lasted roughly until 600 B.C. As the Romans borrowed their culture for the most part from the Greeks, so the Chous, who were comparatively barbarous, adopted the arts of civilization which they found among the people they had conquered. This does not agree, certainly, with the account given in the classical Book of History: but it must be remembered that this was a purely Chou compilation, those books which are supposed to date from Shang times being really forgeries of a later age. For all that, the Chous were the makers of China in a very real sense:

They were a young people, ... a crude people if you like. But they were an immensely vital people, and they succeeded in disseminating widely a culture, and laying the foundations of a political state, which have persisted longer, with less of fundamental change, than any others ever created by man.

The little group of men to whom the honour of these achievements is mainly due are Wên Wang, the "Accomplished King," who planned the conquest; his son, Wu Wang, the "Martial King," who carried it out; and, above all. Wu Wang's younger brother, the Duke of Chou, who as regent for his nephew consolidated the Chou power, established the dynasty, and with it the essential China as we think of it to-day. Confucius, it is well known, had the deepest respect for his character, and modern researches only tend to confirm the view that he was one of the greatest men in the whole of Chinese history.

Dr. Creel is to be congratulated on having produced not only a very readable, but a truly valuable book. For the first time we see solid facts looming out of the mist of legend, where previously all has been shadowy and uncertain. The plates illustrate bronzes of the Shang

period and other art objects. The inscribed bone trophy (pl. viii) is for no apparent reason shown upside down. There is a rather inadequate index and a number of "notes" at the end which,

being merely references to the volumes of Legge's Classics and a few other works, might with advantage have appeared as footnotes.

LIONEL GILES

The Psychology of Punishment. By ARTHUR B. ALLEN and EVAN H. WILLIAMS. (Allman and Son., Ltd.)

This is a book that is primarily intended for those who have entrusted to them the care of children. But, since the child of to-day is the adult of to-morrow, it can also be read and studied with profit by those who have the care and training of the latter.

The express purport of the authors is to advance a plea for a "new discipline," this plea being founded on the assumption that the "old discipline" has been tried and found very much wanting. Nobody but a hardened sadist would contest this or require to be furnished with examples. But there are still too many hardened sadists and believers in the virtues (alleged) of Solomon's precept. What is apt to be forgotten is that discipline should come from within, and not, as martinets demand, from without. Nor "discipline" necessarily mean punishment. After all, any fool can punish. No particular skill is wanted in terrorizing. Punishment, of course, is a problem, but its avoidance is a still greater one. Further, undue severity inevitably defeats its ends, for the victim becomes a martyr among his fellows.

Members of the teaching profession are dealt out some hard knocks. Some of them are merited; some of them might have been modified, for nothing is gained by overemphasis. Attention is directed to the commonly accepted

theory that the average pedagogue is a psychologist. As a matter of fact, he is much more often either a sceptic or a cynic. Perhaps his work makes him so. To fulfil its ordered purpose a school must function as a constructive laboratory. Keate plied a birch rod at Eton: Arnold trusted his charges at Rugby. That he secured better results is beyond question. A good deal of ground is covered in this survey. There are chapters on the "Problem of the Adoles-cent," the "Problem of Corporal Punishment," the "Teacher as Psychologist," and the "Child as a Social Unit." On each of these subjects the authors have something to say that is worth saying. It would perhaps be too much to expect that everybody will be in complete agreement with all their conclusions. One such is that a "spirit of rebellion should be recognised as a sign of the worth of a child." Parents and guardians of Little Lord Fauntleroy and his young friends are apt to regard this sort of thing as a nuisance to be suppressed. They are seldom far wrong. Young hooligans develop into adult hooligans. Hence, gangsters and racketeers.

Another point on which the authors insist is that "the criminal must be treated as a mental case." If so, the question arises, how are lunatics to be treated? Logically, as criminals. Fortunately, this theory has long been exploded.

HORACE WYNDHAM

Hindu Civilization. By RADHAKU-MUD MOOKERJI, M.A., Ph.D. (Longmans, Green and Co., London. 15s.)

In this long and carefully documented work. Dr. Mookerji has sought to present as fully as possible the political, social and cultural development of India from earliest times up to the invasion of Alexander in the fourth century B.C. To that end he has made a special study of Sanscrit literature less for its religious and philosophical implications, than for its social-economic background. As no historical records were kept during this period, beyond what can be deduced from the ruins of the ancient Indus civilization and from Vedic and post-Vedic sources, his task has been an onerous one, though, as he admits, considerably lightened by the publication of The Cambridge History of India. The present work should prove extremely useful as a text-book for specialized study of a period that is necessarily somewhat nebulous and indefinite. The general reader, however, is likely to be put off by the dry and severe manner in which it is written.

Setting himself the ideal of scientific objectivity, Dr. Mookerji's aim throughout has been to show the organic unity of Hindu culture throughout India, despite the vastness of the area covered and the various foreign invasions that, from time to time, have interrupted her inner history and the almost constant civil war of feudal chiefs and princes.

The history of India is generally taken to be the history of the Aryans in India. It thus begins with the advent of the Aryans

to India.

What, then, of the original Dravidians of Mohenjo-daro, of whom we read that they were "perhaps the givers of culture to India," and that by the end of the fourth millennium they had achieved "a high standard of comfort, art, and sanitation in city life"? The Rigveda speaks of them as a "noseless" people, strongly fortified in castles and cities, their women bathing in milk. The nomadic Aryan hordes came as destroyers of this civilization, driving the dark-

skinned non-Aryans into the forests and mountains, enslaving them and despising them as black men. Thus we read: "The Arvan had to face a three-fold mission in India, to conquer, to colonize and to civilize"—a mission in which the Aryan race has specialised ever since and for which the present peoples of India are, apparently, now working out their karma. From references in the Vedas it appears that the Dravidians were a good deal more sophisticated and certainly far more materially advanced than their invaders, just as the Romans were in comparison to the barbarian hordes that swept down upon the empire also from central Europe and the steppes. The Vedas as well as the epics tell us much of this Aryan conquest of India. When we reach the period of the Sutras the castesystem, elaborated in the Bramanas, has already become set and rigid.

On this subject, on the principal foundations of Hinduism, Dr. Mookerii is inclined to quibble. Caste, he says, "chiefly concerns one's private, domestic and religious life, and not public life" a strange assertion from one claiming complete objectivity. Again, after tracing the growth and development of Hinduism, Dr. Mookerji seems to regard this system as now permanently established and not subject to further historical change, and looks forward to the future federation of British and Native India-"which should mark the next stage in ...political evolution." He does not seem to be fully aware of the implications of this federation between two alien views of life and its effect upon the Hindu scheme, which is already breaking up under the influence of modern industrial conditions. Dr. Mookerji is not. however, concerned with this aspect and is content to concentrate upon the course of "an all-Indian history which is from the nature of the case not political, but cultural in its character; the history of thought which transcends local limits and administrative boundaries."

PHILIP HENDERSON

The Quest Eternal. By BRAJENDRA-NATH SEAL. (Oxford University Press.)

If a man needs courage, in these days, when he writes a long poem, he needs fortitude also, for very few persons now read any poetry, and the number of those who will patiently explore a difficult and elaborate poem must be microscopic. Sir Brajendranath Seal has accomplished a brave and ambitious task. The Quest Eternal comprises, he says, "three separate parts, the 'Ancient,' the 'Medieval' and the 'Modern,' and seeks to transcribe basic philosophical ideals in forms of pure poetry." "These verses," he writes, a little further on, "in depicting the ideal of any particular age adopt the method of visualisation, freely using long trains and processional rolls of concrete visual embodiments; but what is aimed at is not historicity, but the imaginative apprehension of the soul of an age, its humanism, its universe-idea and its viewed from the God-consciousness. standpoint of the living problems of to-day."

Thus, in Section One—"The Passing of the Ancient Ideal"—we are transported to an age when

...spreading to the windy glare Their floating skiey hair, The Muses danced, and swept the chords In lytic pageantry 1

The following passage from the same section will give a just impression of the author's manner:—

O come as trains of bright Bacchantes!
Laughing golden Loves and Fancies,
In reel and rout, in linked bout,
Breast to breast, and waist to waist,
Whirl away in wavy dances,
Swaying, swerving, curling, curving,
Break in spray, glide away,
A myriad Gopis, Vallabhis,
In clasps eestatic, trained postures,
Waist to waist, and breast to breast,
Linked as magic shapes of choudland's fiery
flight in Heaven's array!
Fall ye into Maya's dance,
Threading Creation's maze, the Cycle of the
Suns!

In writing of the Ancient World, Sir Brajendranath Seal imagines a background which "is half Greek, half Oriental, such as the *milieu* in which Gnosticism and Neo-Platonism grew up; and the hymn" he says "is supposed to be uttered by a Greek priest returned from Bactria to his island-home, after

many years sojourn, say at Taxila or Mathura, where he had familiarized himself with Indian speculation, Indian mythology and Indian art....."

This portion of the poem, though at times a little vague, conveys a sense of speed and rapture and a feeling of those far-off ages when man had not mentally separated himself from wild nature or from the primitive instincts of the crude life-force.

In the second section we are taken into the early Middle Ages. The protagonist is now a "Wizard Knight" who is "represented to have been a disciple. not of the Catholic hierarchy, but of the Platonic, Syrian and Magian Mystical Brotherhoods." The poet has chosen such a figure to stand for the soul-tendency of the period because there was, he tells us, "a type of medieval culture in the Eurasian borderlands which was as distinctly opposed to the medieval Catholic type as Gnosticism and Mithraism had, a thousand years before, been opposed to primitive Christianity The change of tone from Section One to Section Two is bold and effective. Sir Brajendranath Seal has, in fact, written his medieval poem in the metre of the border-ballads, and it is at first surprising to find ourselves thinking to the tune of

The braes were sheen, the shaws were green, Each merry leaf would dance; On russet brown, the Sun came down In showers of golden glance!

And it is in this or a kindred metre that he has written the whole of his second section. An alert reader will already have noticed that the author has so large an English vocabulary that, extraordinary in a "foreigner," it might well be envied by many persons who can speak only English. The reader may also have observed that Sir Brajendranath is overpartial to capital letters and admiration-marks. He has force of mind and of language, and these aids to emphasis are not necessary.

The first two parts of his ambitious poem were written, it seems, in 1893. The third and final part, which is called "The Modern Ideal," may have been written much later, and is, as it should be, the

best. For the most part it is written in blank-verse which, while sometimes recalling Milton and sometimes Shelley, now and again communicates the particular mental energy of the poet himself; and anyone who has studied poetry with care will realise how unusual it is for any modern poet to be able to write blank-verse with an accent of his own. Few passages in the book are finer than the following:—

Must then
The Spirit burn like chaff this fresh green life,
This sap and these carnation tints that clothe
With veined flesh this bald anatomy?
And what is Spirit but the breath of Life?
'Tis Passion-incense that the Spirit breathes,
But Passion-flowers on earthy stalk take root
In blood-soaked soil encharacing the brute!
And what is life but rhythm of Heart and
Brain?
A Picture fromed with the anatomical

A Picture framed with the star-veined dome! How can this life break its own image fair, How Spirit crucity its double, flesh! This is the Passion, O Humanity! That this brute Image, the sworn enemy, Is body of the body, sense of sense, Soul of the soul, locked in a deadly embrace! Brute! What's this brute but man's own emblem. Man

In the making, yea, man's maker, origin, Whom he must crucify! O riddle dark As fate, as pitiless, implacable.

The author has, perhaps unfortunately, provided the poem with a rubric. On nearly every page we are directed, in the margin, to compare the passage which we are reading with some passage of contrast or similarity in another part of the poem, and the effect is exceedingly disturbing to the reader. He will, however, soon apprehend how intricate was the philosophic pattern which the poet set himself to weave, the cross-references clearly proving that throughout a long work Sir Brajendranath maintained, as Dante did, his original design. The author is, indeed, to be congratulated upon the composition of a poem which reveals high mental energy, a noble aspiration and a remarkable facility in the manipulation of the English language.

CLIFFORD BAX

Obiter Scripta: Lectures, Essays and Reviews. By GEORGE SANTAYANA. Edited by JUSTUS BUCHLER and BENJAMIN SCHWARTZ. (Constable and Co., Ltd., London, 10s.)

The scattered lectures, essays and reviews by Mr. Santayana which the Editors of this volume have brought together have a concentrated quality seldom to be found in fugitive pieces. Their author laments in a short Preface that "that pure philosophy to which I was wedded by nature from the beginning, the orthodox human philosophy spoken of in one of these papers, has never had time to break through and show all its native force, pathos and simplicity." Yet if he has not achieved this pure philosophy of which he dreamed there is hardly a paper in this volume which does not show him labouring to clear a way for it. In the paper to which he refers he conceives of two methods by which a man might become a philosopher without being a heretic. The one is that of a completely true and comprehensive synthesis of known things —a feat, he admits, which has never yet been accomplished or is likely to be.

The other "lies in confessing that a system of philosophy is a personal work of art which gives a specious unity to some chance vista in the cosmic labyrinth," and thereby to "substitute the pursuit of sincerity for the pursuit of omniscience."

This is the method which Mr. Santayana has himself tried to follow and the distinctive literary quality of all his writing reveals how nearly he has come to making an art of philosophy-and this not as a mere stylist intent on giving grace and a personal flavour to the pronouncements of the mind, but as one who has always distrusted the tendency of the mind to lose itself in lofty or subtle abstractions and who has sought by cultivating a humble and sceptical temperament to keep the mind in touch with concrete reality. Despite, indeed, the delicate relief of his scepticism he is at heart a dogmatic naturalist for whom man's "essence, at best, is animality qualified by reason" and who, although he pays his tribute to the spirit in us that worships eternal beauty, insists that "the very life of spirit springs from animal predicaments" and that "it moves by imposing on events a perspective and a moral urgency proper to some particular creature or some particular interest."

To bring speculation home to the actual world and to root it there in fertile collaboration with men and things has been in fact his constant endeavour and characteristically we find him confessing in his lecture on "The Unknowable":--

When I rub my eyes and look at things candidly, it seems evident to me that this world is the sort of world described by Herbert Spencer, not the sort of world described by Hegel or Bergson. At heart these finer philosophers, like Plato, are not seeking to describe the world of our daily plodding and commerce, but to supply a visionary interpretation of it, a refuge from it in some contrasted spiritual assurance, where the sharp facts vanish into a clarified drama or a pleasant trance.

The same dislike of subjective idealism is expressed in the first of these essays in which the shade of Socrates discoursing with Mr. Santayana in Limbo confirms his opinion of the speculative excesses of Schopenhauer, Fichte and Hegel. Similarly in a later essay he finds in Hamlet an image of spiritual incoherence, of romantic potentiality and romantic failure, while his careful and cogent criticism of Dewey's philosophy is an exposure of a naturalism which despite its denial of self-consciousness is too romantic to be true to the facts of Nature. It is, indeed, as a critic of all subjective systems of thought which are not in intimate touch with the material world, of all ecstasies which are not in "substantial harmony with the substance of things and with its movement," that Mr. Santayana excels. He is the enemy of ideas which intervene between us and things and keep the things from being known. Cherishing as he does "the knowledge of existence" he deplores the absolutist who would impose his own intuitive conception of reality on the workaday thoughts of men. Yet valuable as is his fidelity to substance as a corrective to romantic egoism and the idealism which merely dissolves instead of revealing the truth of the actual world, he himself is almost equally biassed in

his naturalism. He views subject and object as opposite partners in the dance of life, but in his determination to maintain the independent status of object, he would arrest the growth of subject whenever he sees signs of it striving to transcend the dualism of self and not-self. We may agree that "to set up in the place of substance any spontaneous ideas or pert exigencies of our own is contrary to religion." But we can only know the truth of substance and complete our identity with it in the degree that we become true in ourselves. And to do this necessitates a radical inner transformation for which Mr. Santayana makes no allowance in his philosophy. He admits in one place that in the direct possession of being which constitutes the mystical experience there is no division of subject and object. But for him this rapt identification far from illuminating the object merely casts a "luminous fog" over it, while speaking through the shade of Socrates he can discuss the religion of the mystics as consisting of "distaste for the world and of childish dreams with which to sweeten a Titanic egotism."

Such blind prejudice towards visionary truth cannot be reconciled with that reverence for the nature of things" which he professes and commends. It betrays only the limited view of reality to which a cultivated Latin mind jealously holds. But within the limits of a materialism which claims the sanctions of common sense he does admirably maintain a central position and vindicate, particularly in his essays on art in which he exposes the sickliness of an exclusive æstheticism, human values against all kinds of subjective heresies. And although his hatred of romantic egoism prevents him from recognising that the true mystic achieves at a deeper level that adjustment of inner to outer relations and of subject to object which is the key-note of his own endeavour, such passages as the following from his essay on "Ultimate Religion" prove how finely perceptive his naturalism can be :—

To love things spiritually, that is to say, intelligently and disinterestedly, means to

love the love in them, to worship the Good which they pursue, and to see them all prophetically in their possible beauty. To love things as they are would be a mockery of things: a true lover must love them as they

would wish to be. For nothing is quite happy as it is, and the first act of true sympathy must be to move with the object of love towards its happiness.

HUGH I'A. FAUSSET

The Nature of Religion. By E. C. MOORE. (The Macmillan Co., New York, 10s, 6d.)

The author does not treat of the subject of religion in the abstract. He does not give us exact definitions. His interest in religion is not philosophical. He takes religion as he finds it. He finds its highest expression in Christianity. takes that as his model. Not that he finds other religions necessarily inferior to Christianity, but he is not concerned with any comparative study of religions. He writes for Christians, as a Christian. There are occasional references to other religions with which he shows some acquaintance. But it is the acquaintance of an outsider who looks at every other religion through the glasses of his own religion.

Religion for him is a reality, but not a reality which imposes itself upon our attention from the outside. Religion is a venture of faith. Those who do not make this venture will never know whether the things of which religion speaks do really exist or even that they do not.

In this connection, the author gives the instance of beauty. Music, art and poetry are shy. We must surrender ourselves to them, if they are to be real for "Those whom music leaves untouched are probably of those who leave music untouched." But with this reservation, the reality of religion cannot fail to be recognised as older, more universal in its appeal and nearer to the ultimate well-being of man than any other form of truth. It appeals to the intellectual as well as to the most humble and ignorant and, generally speaking, it appeals to the latter more than to the former. It is not a reality which may be known

through the intellect. It has an intuitive self-evidence about it. That no one can afford to ignore this reality, is borne out by history.

The certainty enforced by all of human history is that in the measure in which the inner life is given up, the other life will take its vengeance on mankind.

We shall naturally ask: "But what is religion?" Without attempting any definition, the author tells us:—

Religion is impulse to worthier living.... It is belief in that which is ever beyond us. It makes us forget ourselves. It sustains us in the sense that we are not alone and do not live to ourselves.

This something beyond us is what we call God. There is no need to define God; for definition is one thing and experience another.

Our ideas concerning God may change, but not the inward experience of God. The most learned definition of God does not necessarily contain, or even necessarily imply, any deeper experience of God. One may have the experience of God and very little definition or a constantly changing definition and vice versa.

The thing that is alive is religion, not theology. The dogmas of theology are no more than certain formulations in terms of thought. These must necessarily change with the times if religion is not to lose its appeal to the intellectual. They are an interpretation of the fact of religion, not the fact itself.

The author tackles many dogmas of Christianity in a liberal spirit. He gives quite a new * and unorthodox interpretation of the doctrine of atonement. He rejects the feudal conception of an offended God, the humanistic-justice conception, and the devil ransom conception. He argues that Jesus was not a sacrifice made on behalf of humanity to

^{*} Not quite new. As far back as 1887 Mme. H. P. Blavatsky expounded this view, Cf. her "The Esoteric Character of the Gospels."—Eps.

save humanity. There can be no thirdparty atonement :--

It is rather that the spirit and example of one is intended to inspire all... It is a sacrifice of what is selfish in every man to that which is selfless in every man who would follow Christ and be at one with God.

Similarly the author does not believe in the devil :--

A man is in bondage to the evil only through his own acts. And he can be rescued from that bondage only through his own free acts.

He is inclined to reject the physical miracles supposed to have been wrought by Jesus, as improbable; but he is very emphatic in rejecting the so-called miracle of grace. There can be no moral miracle.

The view that God would, or could, suspend the orderly working of nature, in the interests of purposes of grace, has had deplorable consequences for men's view of the inexorable working of facts in the area of their moral lives.

Scriptures have no miraculous origin, and have not been miraculously preserved, transmitted or translated. They are not oracles, but literature by men. "Divine inspiration can never have been found in books except as it has found its way into the books from a devout heart."

The author raises the pertinent ques-Was the divine manifested tion: through the human once and for all once only-in Jesus? Was Jesus as a personality an unresolved, an irresolvable miracle, "two natures in one person for ever"? He accepts the view that Jesus was an incarnation of God. But in what sense? Jesus was an historical magnitude, God is not. Jesus was very man, God is conceived as very unlike man, almost an abstraction, a metaphysical magnitude. Still in him, God as the secret of character and power lived in a fullness in which he has lived in none other. Jesus realised an ideal of man, demonstrated the unity of the spirit of man with God as no one else has done.

Into the mystery of the transcendent God is he is in himself, Jesus of Nazareth gives

us, or rather, Jesus of Nazareth is, the farthest reach of which we know. There is much, very much, concerning God, which we should like to know which Jesus does not tell us. But his life and word and work are enough for our entrance upon a different life.

In accordance with this view of Jesus, the author rejects the medieval church view, of salvation as a conferment, a benefit, almost externally bestowed in consideration of the merit and satisfaction of our Redeemer. Salvation is what every one has to win for himself; and Jesus shows the way.

It is almost common ground between religions that there is a reality named Deity. Religion concerns our relation to this reality. But, in our opinion, it would be taking a rather narrow view of religion to confine this relation to feeling and in a measure to will, as is done by our author. The consequence is that God is necessarily thought of as a person. But "we distinguish persons largely by their limitations." This is admitted by the author. If that is so. can we rest satisfied with the approach to Deity through feeling? May there not be a way of knowledge and of realisation through knowledge? thought recognises this to be the highest form of religious ouest.

The way of feeling or of love may look simple to most men. We all have affections. Religion simply changes the direction of this life of affection. Love is in our nature. We can give of our love to the highest person we know. Belief in the incarnation of God is a natural aid to this reorientation of affection. God must be man before our love can go out freely towards him. The theory of incarnation, taken literally, may be untenable. But abstract truth has little value for religion. The theory of incarnation has the backing of religious spirit and religious experience. It makes love of God easy. For the same reason the Hindu religion recognises the value of idols in the worship of God.

But there is the way of knowledge. Those who are brought up in the theistic tradition cannot appreciate this seemingly cold and austere method of realising the highest goal of man. Hindu thought has sought to know Deity as our immost soul, the *Pratyag Atman*. It is known in another way, namely, through negation. "Those who think they know, they do not know. They alone know who know it as the Unknowable."

It is doubtful whether the author would recognise this form of religion which makes the realisation of the Self through knowledge the highest religion. It does away with the whole imagery of the Father and the Son, the Redeemer and the redeemed, sin and salvation. It does away with dogma of every sort, and undertakes a quest of Deity as the Self which should end in Self-realisation.

The book is written with understanding and a full appreciation of the needs of religious life in an age of great intellectual and social advancement. We commend it to those who like to know the essentials of religion as distinguished from its non-essentials.

G. R. MALKANI

A. R. Orage: A Memoir. By PHILIP MAIRET, with an introduction by G. K. CHESTERTON. (J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., London, 8s. 6d.)

Orage was an odd bird who winged a lonely flight to nowhere in particular. He was, and remains, a Figure—one whose reputation stood higher than its concrete justification, his creativity lying in what he was, as much as in what he wrote. This makes him hard to assess. and Mr. Mairet's biography, with all its merits as a portrait of an individual and the outline of a life, does not cope with the difficulty. Orage remains, with all his gifts and labours, a queerly unsatisfactory, unsatisfying being. Surveying his life, one finds him looking this way and that way, and the two outlooks are not perceptibly united even in the being of the looker himself.

As a young man, an elementary school teacher in Leeds, he was an ardent Platonist. Then he became a Theosophist and also a Socialist, seeking, one might suppose, a Platonic justice, a harmony, on the one hand in the metaphysical universe, the abiding realm of the mystical and occult, and on the other in temporal society. But the two pursuits were totally divorced. For some years he was an active Theosophist, if unorthodox by the limiting criteria of Mrs. Besant's

subservient organization, then turned completely away to become, as editor of The New Age, a "cultural politician" advocating in turn Fabian Socialism. Guild Socialism, and Douglas Social Credit. This period lasted from 1907 to 1922. He reverted to become the disciple of Gurdjieff at Fontainebleau and in America, and then again turned back to England and Social Credit propaganda and launched The New English Weekly in 1932. According to Mr. Mairet he was once more displaying signs of discontent with his purely economic advocacy and of a desire to return publicly to his "quest for the Absolute"---when death took him suddenly in November 1934.

This is a good biography as far as it goes, but definitely it does not go far enough. Orage is sketched well from the outside; he is presented, but he is not illuminated. His views on Socialism, Nietzsche, Theosophy, Social Credit, etc., are mentioned but never entered into. The book is in fact little more than pictorial frontispiece to that which might have been written and which might have revealed effective causes for the failure not only of Orage but of many other comparable modern minds, aware of the two worlds yet unable to bridge the gulf between them.

GEOFFREY WEST

ENDS AND SAYINGS

Numerous correspondents, some of them friends, others unknown to us, but still friends, we hope, have offered a criticism that in the excellent reading matter we provide every month, our own views and ideas are not given a proportionate amount of space. These readers are aware that the Editors are students of particular mystical philosophy, namely. Theosophy the of the Ancients suitably recorded for the modern world by H. P. Blavatsky. We have purposely refrained from injecting our own views and convictions so as to provoke thought. by enabling readers to evaluate contrasting views on many vital problems affecting humanity, and thus to point to the truths underlying conflicting beliefs of religious creeds. conflicting facts of scientific theories. conflicting speculations of modern philosophy, conflicting data tabled by the psychical researcher, the spiritist or spiritualist.

For seven years we have consistently pointed to the source where the truth can be found, though we have not expounded the philosophy of the rational explanation of things in any detail. This latter we now propose to do, in response numerous requests received, to which a reference has been made above. We shall therefore devote the Editorial to a consideration of different topics of value and interest, and from next month we shall consider the subject of the Invisible, a subject in which the man of religion, of philosophy or of science is equally interested and which will benefit him provided always he possesses a forward-looking mind. While each Editorial will be an independent contribution, naturally there will be a unifying thread running through them. All that we ask of our readers is not to expect anything sensational, nor to confuse the profound philosophy we sponsor with the bizarre phenomenalism of pseudo-theosophy, and, finally, in the words of Shakespeare—

Gently to hear, kindly to judge.

Lovers of freedom and advocates of Liberalism have been eagerly watching for some signs which might reveal that the soul of Europe is not altogether obscured by the clouds of One such sign is the autocracy. award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Herr Karl von Ossietzky who had been enduring untold suffering at the hands of the Nazi authorities—so much so that these authorities recently had to release him for they "did not wish to be held responsible by foreign countries for his death in prison." Not only for his brave declaration of principles, but also in view of the fact that he made them while subjected to cruel, ignoble treatment, von Ossietzki deserves this recognition. The gift to him of the Nobel Prize shines like a star of good omen, and let us hope that more such stars will soon show themselves in the Western sky.