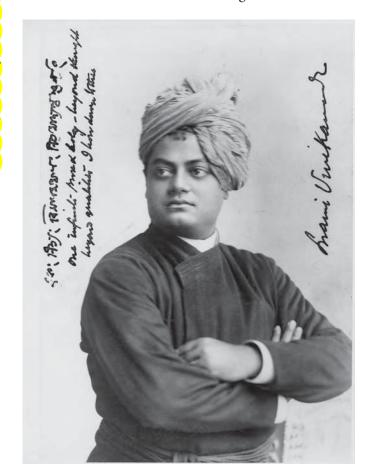
# Truth Swami Vivekananda Taught the US at Detroit —Lasting Significance of His Teachings

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'I have a truth to teach, I, the child of God'— Swami Vivekananda<sup>1</sup>

WAMI VIVEKANANDA astounded the US with his culture, personality, and eloquence in articulating<sup>2</sup> a new philosophy of religion in the World's Parliament of Religions at Chicago in September 1893. While the leading press and intellectuals in the US recognised that even the most materially advanced nation of the West had lessons to learn in religion, spirituality, and ethics from persons of Swamiji's calibre and genius that India still produced, the orthodox clergymen resented Swamiji's rejection of the Christian doctrine of the original sin<sup>3</sup> in the World's Parliament of Religions as also his rejection in the same forum of the superiority of Christianity over all other religions of the world or for that matter, its finality in all matters that concerned the religions of the world. In the days following the World's Parliament of Religions when Swamiji, in his public lectures in Detroit during February to March 1894, 4 sought to correct the US misperception of India such as resulted from the slanted representation of India by some Christian missionaries, the orthodox clergymen, with axes to grind, intensified their attacks against him, calling him a heathen and branding India—the country he hailed from—a benighted country. As Swamiji himself said: 'The orthodox clergymen are against me; and seeing that it is not easy to grapple with me, they try to hinder, abuse, and vilify me in every way.'5

Swamiji arrived at Detroit from Chicago on 12 February 1894 and the very next day an uncharitable attack was launched on him. At Detroit, he was the guest of Mrs John J Bagley, wife of a former governor of Michigan. As one of the managers of the World Columbian Exposition at Chicago, of which the World's Parliament of Religions was



a part, Mrs Bagley was already familiar with Swamiji and admired him for his performance at the Parliament. Having received him at her house as an honoured guest, she organised a reception in her house in his honour on the evening of 13 February 1894 and invited the leading members of the society including the representatives of nearly all the religious denominations of the city of Detroit to the reception. However, even before Swamiji could utter a single word by way of addressing the assembled guests, a lady, present at the reception, threw all de-

corum to the wind and denounced Swamiji and India in words unbecoming of the occasion. Swamiji understood that the lady was a 'churchwoman'6 and that the inspiration behind her malevolent and slanderous attacks against him and his motherland came from the motivated clergymen in the US. He did not reply to her words of denunciation, but chose other occasions to give the US a true picture of India as also to warn the US against the pitfalls of her 'current' Christianity, underlining in the process the need for the US to go back to Christianity as preached by Jesus Christ. Such is the backdrop against which the present article gives an analysis of truth Swamiji taught the US about India and Christianity, and in the process it reflects on the course Swamiji outlined for the truly progressive development of the civilisation and human beings in the US.

1

In an interview granted to the press a day after

his arrival in Detroit, Swamiji responded to a criticism directed

against India to the effect

that a materially backward country could not be regarded as great by any means. Swamiji explained that India lagged behind other nations in the material sphere because while other nations prospered materially through war and bloodshed, India was disinclined to resort to such means. India was, nevertheless, great as a civilisation because she had the most ancient religion of the world that originated in the Vedas, a religion

that declared way back in the ancient past that religions were nothing but the endeavoision.

ours of humanity towards realising the infinity of Self. He pointed out that India was great also for proclaiming to the world through an edict of the great emperor Ashoka as early as 200 BCE the duty of all people, irrespective of the religions rds of they belonged to, to profess and practise the especial moral tenets of all religions of the world.

In his public lectures in Detroit, Swamiji pursued the theme of India's greatness as a civilisation, drawing the attention of the US to the following points:

- (a) That India regarded the conquest of self and the subservience of the material to the spiritual as the two greatest marks of civilisation and that India excelled other countries in such characteristic marks of civilisation.
- (b) That though India was repeatedly overrun and conquered by foreign nations due to her weakness in the material

sphere, no adversaries were ever able to defile the soul of India or despoil her spirituality. This historical fact proved that there was something Christ-like in the humility of India: even when she suffered the reverses of fortune, she remained steadfast in her faith in spirituality and through such unswerving faith India sustained herself for ages.

(c) That being such a country, India had no need of Christian missionaries to preach to her people, for:

Theirs [the Indians'] is a religion that makes men gentle, sweet, considerate, and affectionate towards all God's creatures, whether man or beast. Morally, ... India is head and shoulders above the United States or any other country on the globe. Missionaries would do well to come there and drink of the pure waters, and see what a beautiful influence upon a great community have the lives of multitude of holy men.<sup>8</sup>

The last-mentioned point that Swamiji made, that India as a spiritually charged and inspired nation had no need of Christian missionaries to preach to them, was meant to make it clear to the Christian preachers that he was unhappy with the work that they had been doing in India. His disapproval of the missionary work in India was on the following counts:

- (a) That the missionaries' main objective in India was to convert people to Christianity. As religions were nothing but the endeavours of humanity by different routes to reach the same goal of the infinite Self, conversion was unnecessary and from the point of view of those upon whom it was practised it was nothing but the perpetration of perversion on them.
- (b) That the missionaries had no real humanitarian motive in raising the native people. Any help they gave—financial

- or otherwise—was conditioned on the recipients' agreement—cajoled or otherwise—to embrace Christianity. The missionary spirit, that is to say, was mercenary.
- (c) That some missionaries had opened educational institutions to impart education to the poor people of India and that such enterprises did some good to Indians was true, but if they produced some denationalising effect on the Indians in the process of educating them, then it could not be said that their work was all for the good of the Indians.
- (d) That the missionaries coming to India to preach had a vested interest in doing so. It kept the money flowing to them and as professional preachers earning their livelihood, such money enabled them to live comfortable lives in India along with their wives and children.
- (e) That the missionaries coming to India lived among the white people and never or hardly among the natives whom they professed to serve proved the gap between their profession and practice which resulted in their failure to touch the hearts of Indians.<sup>9</sup>
- (f) That, more often than not, the Bible followed the sword in colonial countries such as India and in that sense missionary activities in India constituted 'religious colonialism' in the wake of political and economic colonialism.
- (g) That the missionaries failed to 'read' correctly the minds of the Hindus. Generally happy with their religion, the Hindus did not bother much about the missionaries preaching against idolatry or such other practices that the missionaries considered superstitious. Even the bait of material aid could not make any

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appreciable number of Hindus swallow the hook of conversion.<sup>11</sup>

Having criticised the Christian missionaries and having shown why they were not needed in India, Swamiji made a distinction between 'ignorant, hypocritical, or self-deceiving' Christian missionaries and missionaries of Christ (8.217). He said: 'We want missionaries of Christ. Let such come to India by the hundreds and thousands. Bring Christ's life to us and let it permeate the very core of society. Let him be preached in every village and corner of India' (4.198). He reiterated his reverence for Christ and his missionaries when he said on another occasion: 'Send to India missionaries like Francis Xavier, who mingled with the downtrodden people.'12 Another missionary of Christ of whom he spoke highly was Dr James Long who stood by the people of India in exposing the evils perpetrated in India by indigo planters and courted jail in the

process.<sup>13</sup> Swamiji had great admiration indeed for the missionaries who were true servants of Jesus Christ. He objected only to those who spread falsehoods about India and her people.

2

There were real reasons why Swamiji had to expose the Christian missionaries for what they were. They had deliberately misrepresented India and her people to the world causing untold harm to them in the process and he had to correct the erroneous ideas they gave about his motherland. Their main contention was that India was a land of idolatry, immorality, and superstition. As for idolatry, they contended that there were not less than thirty-three million deities that the Hindus worshipped as divine and that Hinduism was primitive in accepting a combination of idolatry and polytheism. <sup>14</sup>

As for immorality, they contended that



infanticide and burning of widows was a common practice in India. As for superstition, they claimed that suicide by jumping beneath the wheels of the chariot of Lord Jagannatha was a superstitious religious practice of the Indian Hindus.

Reverend Reed Stuart of the Unitarian Church of Detroit, a voice of liberal Christianity, candidly admitted that the books the bigoted Christian missionaries wrote 'abounded in illustrations of the car of Juggernaut and the deluded mortals casting themselves under the wheels; of widows burning themselves upon the burial pyre of their husbands; of devotees torturing themselves in many ways; of aged parents exposed to die of neglect; of mothers flinging their babies into the jaws of hideous crocodiles' (1.344). Having given a list of the contents of books written by missionaries who had a stint or so in India, Reverend Stuart observed that 'whatever good there was was all concealed from us' (ibid.). And that was precisely the reason why Swamiji had to step in and give the undistorted picture of India before the world.

First, Swamiji warned people against reading those '10 cent' books about India, which the Americans and Englishmen wrote after coming back from a few weeks' tour in India. Songs for the Little Ones at Home was one such book written by a Christian missionary in India for the 'edification' of the young. To quote one of the 'edifying' songs of this book:

See the heathen mother stand
Where the sacred current flows;
With her own maternal hand
Mid the waves her babe she throws.
Hark! I hear the piteous scream;
Frightful monsters seize their prey.
Or the dark and bloody stream
Bears the struggling child away.
Fainter now, and Fainter still,
Breaks the cry upon the ear;
But the mother's heart is steel
She unmoved that cry can hear.<sup>15</sup>

It needs no telling that the 'song' is about the throwing of a baby by her heartless mother into the jaws of crocodiles. Having described such a pathetic scene, the singing poet, in his anxiety to save the heathens, wrote:

Send, oh send the Bible there, Let its precepts reach the heart; She may then her children spare— Act the tender mother's part (ibid.).

Another book of the strain 'Send, oh send the Bible there' was *India and Its Inhabitants* written by Caleb Wright and illustrated with line drawings, the book, first published in 1858, was full of false, calumnious, and sensational information about India. <sup>16</sup> Swamiji regretted that such books ran into editions which meant that they were patronised by a large number of people in the US.

Swamiji not only showed the '10 cent' books about India for what they were; he also cited a few that, according to him, gave a true picture of India. One such book was Sir William Wilson Hunter's A Brief History of the Indian Peoples. 17 According to Swamiji, Hunter's book was 'almost the only book published in English about India and the religion and customs of the Hindoo people that can be depended upon'.18 Another book that he highly praised as giving a true picture of India and Indians and that deserved as such to be publicised more was India and Its Native Princes—Travels in Central India and in the Presidencies of Bombay and Bengal. This book was a translation of the French L'Inde des Rajahs. 19 The original book was authored by Louis Rousselet and was first published in 1876. In this book, Rousselet asks the question, 'Is there a people in the world more tolerant than this good gentle Hindoo people, who have been so often described to us as cunning, cruel and even bloodthirsty?' (568) and answers it himself by asserting that in spite of the West's reputation for civilisation, the West could not stand in comparison

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with India with regard to the culture of tolerance. He gives an example of what he saw himself in Benares near the temple of Lord Vishvanatha. A Protestant missionary was preaching there on the errors of Hinduism—he equated it to polytheistic paganism—to the following effect: 'You are idolators! That block of stone which you worship has been taken from a quarry; it has been carved by a workman, and it is as inert and powerless as the stone post leaning against the wall of my house' (ibid.). Rousselette observes that the crowd listened to the missionary without showing the least hostile feelings towards him and this showed how tolerance ran deep into the bloodstream of the Hindu people of India, 20

That such books counted for little in the face of the enormity of missionary propaganda and that the 'benighted-heathen' myth had become ingrained in the nineteenth-century American thinking<sup>21</sup> was found by Swamiji over and again and such findings left him no option but to do his best 'to dispel that national fallacy' (ibid.). In Detroit, Swamiji was asked if Hindu mothers threw their children to crocodiles. Though he thought that the question was as absurd as asking an American in India whether the Red Indians of America kept running around in the streets of New York, he still answered it with his usual sense of wit and humour that when he was a baby his mother had taken him to the Ganga, but then he was "such a fat little baby that the crocodiles refused to swallow me"; and he added facetiously, "whenever I feel badly about being such a fat monk, I think of how I was saved from the crocodiles and am comforted".22

However, the myth of crocodiles being fed with Indian babies was so deeply ingrained in the American mind, thanks to the missionary propaganda, that even after what Swamiji told them about the absurdity of the thing they heard about, some of them kept asking why only female

babies were offered to the crocodiles to which he indignantly replied 'that probably it was because they were softer and more tender and could be more easily masticated by the inhabitants of the rivers in the benighted country' (1.334–5).

The second most asked question about the 'benighted country' was: Do Indians kill themselves beneath the wheels of Jagannatha? Swamiji answered that it was indeed the custom in India to grasp the rope of the car of Lord Jagannatha and pull it. Perhaps, on some occasion, a few in the process of drawing the car slipped and were crushed under the wheels of the car and this gave rise to a frightened belief in Western countries, no doubt, nurtured and excited by elements hostile to Hinduism and India, that such was the religious frenzy in India on the occasion of the car festival of Lord Jagannatha that people took to suicides on such occasions as a matter of course.

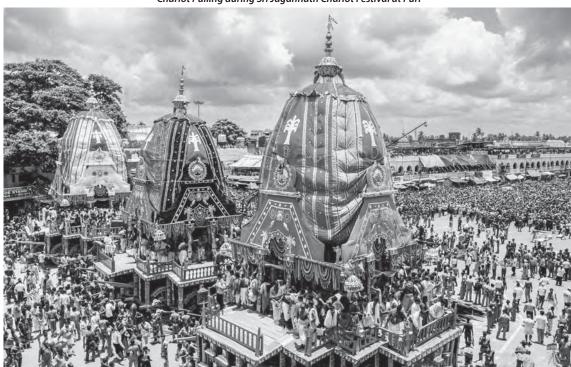
The third question that Americans asked Swamiji at Detroit was: Do Indians burn widows in the pyre of their husbands? He replied that it was a malicious lie to say that people burned widows in India, but in some stray cases the widows burned themselves in the funeral pyre of their husbands voluntarily when they decided to join their husbands in the transformation that had taken place. But when they took such decisions, in spite of the urging of priests and holy men not to do so, they were tested as to their fiery resolve by asking them first to put their hands in the flames and only if they still desired to continue with the ordeal, 'no further opposition was placed in the way of the fulfilment of their desires' (1.335). Having explained the so-called widow-burning, he reminded his American audience that it was not the practice however in India to burn witches. The oblique reference was to the burning of witches in Salem in the state of Massachusetts in the US (1.339).

Having explained that India was not really

the land of immorality and superstition, Swamiji took up the question of idolatry to say that the Westerners really suffered from a misperception of this practice in India. Hindus worshipped not the idols or images but only God through the symbols of images. And idolatry was really considered to be the lowest stage of worship in India, practised only by those people whose mental capacity was insufficient to grasp abstract ideas. <sup>23</sup>

Having dealt with the misperceived claim that Hinduism was a primitive religion, Swamiji offers the following arguments to indicate the loftiness of Hinduism as a religion. First, Hinduism is the most liberal religion of the world in terming the struggles of every human soul towards freedom and light as *religion*. As a religion in this most broad and liberal sense, Hinduism accepts all existing creeds, and unlike other religions such as Christianity, never seeks to convert the people of other faiths. Second, Hinduism is basically a

religion of non-self. It holds that all self is bad and all non-self is good and that by living true to the philosophy of non-self, one may attain infinity. The Christian religion is one of self; egotistical in its aspirations, it holds up promises of reward or threats of punishment. It is egotistical also in asking its practitioners to 'do unto others as you would be done by'. This means that, as Swamiji observes, the thought of self always underlies the Christian creed.24 The golden rule that Christianity teaches its adherents is: 'love thy neighbour as thyself'. The Hindu religion goes further than this golden rule of Christianity and teaches its followers to treat neighbours better than the treatment received from them. By all means, this is impeccable morality and cannot be excelled by any other religion (1.322). Third, Hinduism has a far better theory of love of God than Christianity. In Hinduism true love is absolutely unselfish; it asks for nothing in return. In Christianity, on



Chariot Pulling during Sri Jagannath Chariot Festival at Puri

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the other hand, as Swamiji puts it, 'the love of God appears to be based upon a theory of "What can I get out of it?" (1.374). Finally, Swamiji offers the following as a clinching argument: 'I take your Jesus ... I take him to my heart as I take all the great and good of all lands and of all times. But you, will you take my Krishna to your heart? No—you cannot, you dare not—still you are the cultured and I am the heathen' (1.348).

Swamiji reminded the Christian missionaries that many of them, after coming to India, took to cursing the religion and everything of the Indians with expressions such as, 'You idolators, you will go to hell!' The gentle Hindu never returned the compliment. Now that Swamiji struck a departure from such practice of the Hindus and pointed out the defects of *current* Christianity, the ministers of the churches felt aggrieved against him, their indignant message in this being that they had the inherent right to criticise and curse all the heathens of the world but the heathens had no right to answer and defend themselves.

In the context of such unreasonable stand of the ministers of churches, an anguished Swamiji requested them to keep one simple fact in mind: 'If all India stands up and takes all the mud that is at the bottom of the Indian Ocean and throws it up against the Western countries, it will not be doing an infinitesimal part of that which you are doing to us. And what for? Did we ever send one missionary to convert anybody in the world? We say to you, "Welcome to your religion, but allow me to have mine."25 Unfortunately, for the heathens, the Christian missionaries turned a deaf ear to such an appeal. 'You rascally heathen, you must be converted!'—continued to be their stand.<sup>26</sup> But even then, even with such aggressiveness the success rate of missionaries in conversion, compared to non-aggressive religions such as Buddhism, was insignificant, which proved that aggressiveness did not pay much in the long run. The Arabs were

aggressive as were the Romans. While both passed into oblivion, the pacifist Hindu retained one's spiritual glory and identity. This showed that aggressiveness could not help any individual or for that matter, any nation, retain its glory for long. This further showed that, to quote the prophet in Swamiji, 'Everything that has selfishness for its basis, competition as its right hand, and enjoyment as its goal, must die sooner or later.'<sup>27</sup>

Swamiji's lasting regret was that regardless of such truth, the Western preachers of *current* Christianity spent huge money in India, a staggering thirty-thousand dollars, not for people's genuine welfare, but for converting a Hindu to Christianity. Commenting on this mad craze for conversion, Swamiji observes with deep pathos and sorrow in heart that 'if I should become a Christian, I could get a million dollars tomorrow for my school for the poor in India.'<sup>28</sup> To Swamiji, the money spent and offered for conversion was revealing of another crude facet of *current* Christianity: its misconceived notion and attendant lavishness in contrast to the noble work and penury of Jesus Christ who had 'nowhere to lay his head'.

## 3

As a cure for the ills of *current* Christianity, indeed, for the ills of Western civilisation, Swamiji suggested that the West go back to Christ, reversing in the process the aggressiveness and lavishness of its life and character. To quote him:

Reverse this if you want to live, reverse this. It is all hypocrisy that I have heard in this country. If this nation is going to live, let it go back to him. You cannot serve God and Mammon at the same time. All this prosperity, all this from Christ! Christ would have denied all such heresies. All prosperity which comes with Mammon is transient, is only for a moment. Real permanence is in Him. If you can join these two, this wonderful prosperity with the ideal of Christ, it is well.<sup>29</sup>

The last sentence contains the key to understanding Swamiji's approach. He did not mean to be unkind in his criticisms of Christianity or American civilisation. Yet if he was critical and at times sternly critical of the aggressive and destructive characteristics of Western civilisation, it was because he wanted to save it from destruction by showing the American people the way out of self to God. Selfishness lay in bigotry of *current* Christianity, in the attitude such as 'be Christian or be doomed'. Selfishness lay in the dishonesty and cruelty of America's social and business world. Selfishness lay in the denial of the dictum 'He that hath shall freely give to him that hath not, in the denial, so to say, of an America, with double the area of India and with one-fifth—then sixty-five million—of the population of India—then three-hundred million—to give aid to a famished and poor India. Selfishness lay in 'every man for himself regardless of his brother man' attitude. Selfishness lay in the ruthless pursuit of the law of the survival of the fittest, in the cut-throat competitiveness and destructiveness of fellow men, so to say. Selfishness lay in living only for one's own narrow self, or, so to say, in the enjoyment of material things of life and in the insatiable love of gain to that end. Certainly, Jesus Christ could not have meant by Christianity selfishness, competition, and enjoyment when he asked his followers to 'love thy neighbour as thyself' or when he asked for forgiveness even for enemies who crucified him. These were the imperfections of current Christianity, of Western materialistic civilisation, and of Western standards of character and life to which Swamiji drew the attention of his American audiences and of the American people at large when he gave them a call to go back to Christ. And he did it in the most earnest and sincere spirit of a holy man who meant well and who wanted to be outspoken in the interest

of truth. To quote his ringing words:

I am a rather plain-spoken man ... but I mean well. I want to tell you the truth. I am not here to flatter you; it is not my business. If I wanted to do that I would have opened a fashionable church in Fifth Avenue in New York. You are my children. I want to show you the way out of self to God by pointing out to you your errors, your defects, and your vanities. Therefore you do not hear me praising your current Christianity or your ideals of civilization, or the peculiar forms of character and life that are developed by Western ethical standards.<sup>30</sup>

It would be wrong to think that Swamiji only criticised the US through his Detroit lectures. He duly recorded his appreciation where the appreciation was due. He appreciated the intellect and kindness of the American women as also the freedom and position enjoyed by them in the American society. He also appreciated the hospitals and charitable institutions of the US as also the labour-saving machinery developed in the US to ease the problems of life of the poor and the labouring people. He did not however admire the materialist US, for the all-important reason that material progress alone could not make Americans better human beings.

### 4

Developing human beings for the better was Swamiji's overwhelming concern. In fact, that is the objective with which he gave the US a thorough exposition of his philosophy of nonself that lifted man from his egotistical self to the infinite Self. Swamiji was realistic enough to know that it was too much to expect that the Americans or the Western people would take at once to that lofty philosophy and live up to it. He, therefore, advised the people in the West to make a harmony between energetic materialistic pursuits and the spiritualistic pursuit of

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non-self through the gentleness of a Jesus Christ, an ideal that was characteristic of the East. Join these two, as he said, the energy of the lion, typifying the West and the gentleness of the lamb, typifying the East and bring about the development of a new type of human being. Material power was rampant in the US but spirituality was lacking and with a view to bringing about a harmony between the two and with the larger goal of bringing to fruition a new type of human being that Swamiji envisioned, he alerted the US to the most pernicious aspects of her civilisation. He did so in order that with such alertness the US could get over the negative side of her civilisation and rise to the goal of a fuller life for a human being in the fullness of time.

### **Notes and References**

- The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda, 9
  vols (Calcutta: Advaita Ashrama, 1–8, 1989; 9,
  1997), 5.93.
- 2. The *New York Critic* of 11 November 1893 eulogised Swamiji's performance at the World's Parliament of Religions in such terms. For a fuller version, see *Complete Works*, 9.434–5.
- 3. See Complete Works, 1.11.
- 4. Swamiji delivered eight public lectures in Detroit
- 5. Complete Works, 5.31. Letter to Alasinga Perumal dated 9 April 1894.
- 6. Swamiji had the following observation to offer about such 'churchwomen': 'These "Churchwomen" are awful fanatics. They are under the thumb of the priests there [in the US]. Between them and the priests they make hell of earth and make a mess of religion' (*Complete Works*, 5.211).
- 7. Obviously, Swamiji considered it below his dignity to engage in a verbal duel with a lady on that occasion, but his conviction that he had 'a truth to teach', he, 'the child of God' (*Complete Works*, 5.93) brought out in a short while, the teacher in him to give the US a true picture of India as also to teach the US how to be good Christians and true followers of Jesus Christ.

- 8. Complete Works, 8.207.
- 9. See Complete Works, 8.216.
- 10. Marie Louise Burke, Swami Vivekananda in the West: New Discoveries, 6 vols (Calcutta: Advaita Ashrama, 1985), 1.461.
- 11. See Complete Works, 8.216.
- 12. New Discoveries, 1.375.
- 13. See Complete Works, 8.215.
- 14. See New Discoveries, 1.228.
- 15. Thomas Hastings, 'The Heathen Mother', Songs for the Little Ones at Home, ed. Mary C Ward (New York: American Tract Society, 1852), 243-4. Quoted in New Discoveries, 1.222.
- 16. See A M Caleb Wright, *India and Its Inhabitants* (Cincinnati: J A Brainerd, 1856).
- 17. See Sir William Wilson Hunter, *A Brief History of the Indian Peoples* (Clarendon: Oxford, 1893).
- 18. New Discoveries, 1.212.
- 19. See Louis Rousselet, India and Its Native Princes—Travels in Central India and in the Presidencies of Bombay and Bengal, ed. Lieut-Col. Buckle (London: Hackers, 1882).
- 20. See New Discoveries, 1.224-5.
- 21. See His Eastern and Western Disciples, *The Life of Swami Vivekananda*, 2 vols (Kolkata: Advaita Ashrama, 2008), 1.465.
- 22. New Discoveries, 1.338-9.
- 23. Swamiji went on to observe that the more perceiving ones however, as they sit before the idol, shut their eyes and try to think: 'I am He; I have neither life nor death; I have neither father nor mother; I am not bound by time or space; I am Existence infinite, Bliss infinite, and Knowledge infinite; I am He, I am He.' (Complete Works, 8.210).
- 24. See New Discoveries, 1.337.
- 25. Complete Works, 8.212.
- 26. New Discoveries, 1.213.
- 27. Complete Works, 8.213.
- 28. New Discoveries, 1.213. Having pointed out the 'luxury' involved in preaching Christianity and the money he could have made by agreeing to be converted, Swamiji was quick to add: 'But I prefer to earn the money by hard work, though it seems like the work of a lifetime to get enough to make a start in the work I want to do' (ibid.).
- 29. Complete Works, 8.213. Emphasis added.
- 30. Life, 1.462.