



perhaps greater as a mathematician ; while the activities of the former spread over various fields of public life such as, social reform, politics and education, Asutosh was firstly, the foremost educationalist and only secondarily, a social reformer, and as has been said before, a builder of the Indian Nation—an architect of India's national greatness.

We must, however, bear in mind that the complexity of his character, the synthetic greatness of his personality as well as his remarkable achievements and lifework were all his own and entitle him to a distinct class of national workers and heroes, apart from the common run of public man. Not only this ; the different traits in his character, the different aspects of his personality have appealed to people in various ways and they have laid particular stress upon what they were most impressed by. Some people, if not most of them, who knew him, were struck by the range of his reading, the depth of his learning and the versatile nature of his scholarship ; some admired his unique independence of spirit, some, his patriotism ; some, again, his infinite and inexhaustible capacity for sustained and multifarious labours ; others were more impressed and astonished at his massive intellectual powers and his uncommon moral calibre ; some emphasised his representative character, some, again, dwelt on the peculiar greatness and synthesis in his personality.



It is interesting, in this connection, to note the different tributes paid by different prominent men to his greatness. His Excellency Lord Lytton said in the course of his eloquent presidential speech at the condolence meeting of the Senate, "Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was the most striking and representative Bengali of his time. The versatility of his intellect and the variety of his interests were so great that there is scarcely any department of public life of this province which has not been left the poorer by his death." "He was the greatest Bengali of his generation," said the Hon'ble Sir Lancelot Sanderson, "I do not think I should be wrong if I were to say that in many respects he was the greatest Indian of his day." "In Sir Asutosh Mookerjee... India has lost one of her greatest men and the world, one of its commanding personalities... He was mighty in battle; he could have ruled an Empire...", said Sir Michael Sadler. "We shall long mourn the departure of a man," wrote Sir P. J. Hartog, "whose vast capacity and encyclopedic learning, whose devotion to the cause of higher education, and whose ceaseless energy made him the admiration of all who knew him. In Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, India loses one of the greatest of her sons." "To my mind," said Prof. Radhakrishnan, "his claim to greatness rests not so much on the reforms he initiated and worked out—great as they were—as on his sympathy for scholars—enthusiasm for learning and the power to communicate them to all near him." But Sir



P. C. Roy's tribute laid bare the truth nicely ; thus wrote the great Bengali savant and scientist, "Fortified with all modern intellectual equipments in science, literature and law, gifted with the imagination worthy of a creator, possessing enthusiasm and endurance rarely equalled, Sir Asutosh was one of the greatest men born of any age. Apparently a complex personality, the whole passion of his life was the intellectual regeneration of his country... Had he been born in a free country, where his intellect might have found untrammelled scope, he would most certainly have followed politics, as his career, and would have ranked as a Bismark." "Like all great men," said Dr. George Howells in the course of a striking tribute, "he had his failings, but I can truly say that I revered him as an elder brother. His driving force, executive ability and extraordinary genius in grasping both principles and details, made him a king among men, ... by far the greatest personality it has been my privilege to come in contact with, whether in the East or in the West."

No less striking was the tribute from the pen of Dr. Sylvain Levi, the distinguished French Orientalist, "There was in his nature a power of will, energy, and activity that impressed at first sight as in Nature's grandest works, in lofty mountains, in oceans ; but this power was not inert or destructive. No machine, however big, was too huge for his power of



construction. What he could do of the Calcutta University looks rather like a miracle ; he was too realistic to believe in the efficiency of stones and monuments, he wanted to have it built of men and he spared no pains to train a new generation of young scholars, as devoted as their forefathers, to the search of truth, but able to search on new lines,...his towering genius could survey the whole range of human sciences, and he wanted to have it explored by competent workers." But in estimating the greatness of Asutosh, in judging his work or in ascertaining his proper place on the roll of the illustrious sons of India of today, we must bear in mind the memorable, short and lucid speech of the late lamented Deshabandhu Das, delivered from the Mayoral Chair of Calcutta, in an inspired moment. "It has been said," declared the first Mayor of Calcutta, "that he (Asutosh) was a great lawyer, so indeed he was but his greatness was greater than the greatness of a mere lawyer. It had been said that he was a great Judge but here again his greatness was greater, far greater than the greatness of merely a great judge. It has been said that he was a great educationist. Undoubtedly he was. He was one of the foremost, and if you count the number of educationists all the world over, I doubt whether you can come across a greater educationist than Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. But here again I stand on my original observation—he was far greater than merely a great educationist. His heart was with the nation. He was a builder.



He tried to build the great Indian nation and honour it with his activities.”

This remarkable utterance coupled with the appreciation of Drs. P. C. Roy and Sylvain Levi will give us the key to his synthetic and peculiar greatness and enable us to ascertain his place among the departed great of India, among her advanced, active and creative spirits, among the standard bearers of her freedom—among the shapers of her destiny in the modern age.



CHAPTER XIX.

His Life-Work and Message.

Asutosh was not responsible for the Act of 1904 or for the absence of ideal results and method—The overcrowding of the legal profession, its disastrous consequences—Asutosh's life-long association with Governmental institutions and, his aloofness from the Freedom Movement in the sphere of politics, unlike Deshabandu Das and Pandit Malaviya—Parasitic tendency of big organizations, the rise of the Calcutta University eclipsed the life and prevented the growth of other institutions, the country's loss on that account—His disassociation with the National Congress, but 'his heart was in unision with his time and country'—His contribution to the great forward movement in various ways—He tried to save India's eternal soul and rouse her creative spirit—He demonstrated India's capacity, to add to the common heritage of humanity, and stimulated her genius for mastery, of European Science and Thought—Asutosh, a world-personality, his visualization of the path of human progress and his contribution to the international understanding and harmony—The verdict of posterity, a maker of modern India, a hero of action, a representative man and a great builder.—Asutosh's Message.

In judging the nature and estimating the worth of his lifework, one must not fall into some popular and plausible fallacy or misunderstanding and call for the head of Asutosh on the charger for the many deplorable consequences resulting from, or associated with the system of education—of which University is at the top—with the constitution of the Government, or with the transitional period of world-wide unrest and universal economic distress. One of the popular



fallacies is that the undemocratic, obnoxious Act which Asutosh worked out and laboured under, was his own making; and the highly complimentary remark of the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Universities Bill about Asutosh's work on the select Committee in shaping it, lent colour to this popular fallacy; but Asutosh was far too great an idealist, far too great a patriot to be satisfied with such a halting, unsatisfactory Act as the present one is; but he was not simply an uncompromising idealist; he was a worker, a man of action; like the workers all the world over, he decided to accept the second best and mould and shape it and wring from it as much good as he could. As Lord Carmichael said in the course of his Convocation speech in 1914, 'he (Asutosh) has aimed at getting something done and getting that something done quickly. I have talked with Sir Asutosh about University development, and he has told me more than once that if he could set up his ideal and work for it, it might be very different from the ideal which has been set up for him and for which he has had to work...'

It would be quite out of place at the end of our study, to discuss and meet all the criticisms that have appeared in regard to Asutosh's work in the University; we have already dealt with some of these; but there are many—and their number is on the increase—who deplore the absence of ideal results, of systematic development and methodical, well-planned advance; for them, let Asutosh



himself speak. "The fact is," said he in 1913, "we are not permitted to work under ideal conditions... Let us conceive that some powerful magician were all at once to appear on the scene and address us, as follows: "I know, my friends, that it is your great wish to establish a true model, teaching residential University...Here I present you with an extensive plot of land...observe, scattered all over the place those manifold groups of palatial buildings...All these I freely place at your disposal...you have access to a gold mine from which you may draw half a million pounds a year...you will find in the treasury ten million pounds for initial expenses. Take possession of all and prosper."—Let such an offer be made, and I promise you that we shall at once set to work vigorously, and methodically build up a perfect University; but alas, such pleasant things do not happen, at least not at Calcutta. We are compelled to make the best of what we have—limited means, unfavourable surroundings, unsuitable buildings, intermittent opportunities."

There is one aspect of his lifework—though not the main but a most important one—which has been most lamentable and disheartening in its consequences; it is the invasion of the legal profession by all sorts and conditions of people, by hundreds and thousands of graduates, good, bad and indifferent. If the unemployment and under-employment of educated youths of the country is nothing but the



waste of the flower of its manhood and worse than the waste of its material resources, the pitiable overcrowding of the profession of law is far more deplorable and disastrous. The University Commission over which Dr. Sadler presided, eloquently condemned the system responsible for the wastage of the nation's intelligent and youthful manhood; but the ever increasing influx of graduates in Law, the continued distress and disappointment of the young pleaders with whom the Bar Libraries are crowded to suffocation not only add immeasurably to the growing volume of discontent and disillusionment but also lead to very far-reaching and disastrous consequences; for it is not merely a matter of personal distress and domestic troubles and worries, to the innumerable pleaders; it is far more serious and nation-wide in its results; their enforced idleness and inactivity, physical and mental, dwarf the healthy growth, sap the vitality, destroy the initiative and the buoyancy of the nation, to a large extent. Law, moreover, is a jealous mistress—it is almost a truism to say so; but Law requires not only intelligence and eloquence in a foreign tongue, not only ability and dexterity—more than ordinary ability and infinite patience—which can hardly be found in the common run of men; w, requires something more than all these, and in a greater degree. With all these and other qualities it is almost impossible to earn a decent living—not to speak of shining—at the Bar, specially in the first few years.



of one's career, unless one is pushed and supported substantially; even the greatest leaders, the veritable giants had to wait years and years together before they could make any headway, and this, before this profession was flooded with thousands of new comers; the situation is a hundred fold bad and even desperate today; and not one in a hundred is on the road to prosperity. The remedy of this national distress was not within the competence of Asutosh; nor was it within his reach; and strictly speaking. Asutosh's was not the positive responsibility for this country-wide evil; but a leader of long vision as he was, Asutosh might have ranged himself against this inrush, this invasion and influx of law graduates; surely he could have raised his voice against the disastrous tendency, against this suicidal inclination of the nation's youths; he ought to have tried to turn the tide; a statesman of imagination as he was, he was surely alive to the baneful effects of the adoption of legal career by increasing numbers of the young men; not that legal education is without its bright side; but to the vast majority of the young, aimless and indifferent lawyers it is at best a luxury and not a necessity, not a road to prosperity and happiness, individual or national. And the only exonerating circumstances that can be cited in support of Asutosh was this: he was too busy, too pre-occupied, too worried with the scheme and consolidation of Post-Graduate Studies, its developments and expansions, to exert



himself against the popular tendencies of adoption of legal vocation.

Before we proceed further in our estimate of his greatness and in ascertaining his place in the history of our country as a maker of modern Bengal, and a shaper of Indian Renaissance it is necessary to refer to a line of criticism that may be and is applied to him; this criticism is mainly directed against his lifelong association with a foreign Government, with his position as a High Court Judge in a system of foreign administration, which to put it briefly, has been characterised by Mahatma Gandhi as satanic; naturally enough his consequent and necessary aloofness from the political agitation and the Congress movement may come in for its share of criticism.

There is one aspect of this question which should not be lost sight of. Now that several years have elapsed since the leaders of the Non-co-operation Movement aimed their powerful blow at the University and Asutosh met it with his bold stand, no one questions the wisdom of his attitude, no one deprecates his part in that critical period. But without leaving the University to the tender mercies of the bureaucrats and reactionaries, political adventurers and academic impostors, retaining power and position of authority and influence, and the threads of control and management in his own hands,—Asutosh might have put himself at the head of the Freedom Movement in the political sphere,



might have placed his Bengal Tiger's spirit and strength, his intellectual powers and his genius for action, at the service of the nation in the arena of politics. No one can blame him for sticking to his post at the University when the Non-co-operation Movement blowed over it. But Asutosh might have anticipated Deshabandu Das in the days when he was Mayor of Calcutta, the head of an institution established by the Government and at the same, he was the redoubtable leader of the strongest party ranged against the same Government. Like Pandit Madan Mohun Malaviya he might have served and controlled the University as well as joined the political arena; if Pandit Malaviya could be true to the cause of political Freedom and, if he could champion it, as he has been doing in his heroic and dignified manner, more than two decades, without sacrificing the interests of the Hindu University which owes much of its prosperity—nay even its birth—to his unflagging zeal and untiring energies, surely it could not be altogether an impossible task for an intellectual giant and hero of action, for a versatile personality and resolute patriot of Asutosh's calibre, to divide his energies between politics and the University in a way not detrimental, but conducive to, the prosperity of both. No doubt it would have meant giving up much of the vantage ground he occupied, owing to his very important official position. It was his seat on the Bench, his innate abhorrence of the sensational, his deep-rooted dislike of the role



of the politician, and political agitation, which stood between him and the leadership in the political movement. Not only this; as we have said before, he was not a leader of the masses; and thanks to the progress of the political movements all the world over, which tends to enlarge the area of its influence and broaden its base, no one can direct or control them, unless he is fitted by nature and temperament to lead and sway multitudes and masses of the people. Had he chosen to plunge himself whole-heartedly into the political movement, what a tower of strength, what a great acquisition, what an irresistible force, what a determining factor he might have proved himself to be. With his immense organizing capacity and untiring energy, with his strategy and effectiveness, with his long vision and perseverance he would have undoubtedly influenced and changed for the better, the course of events and currents of thought in the sphere of politics and the history of the nation's struggle for freedom would have probably been different in some way or other; as the late Mr. Pat Lovett truly wrote,..."The Bureaucracy may thank its stars that he gave up to the Calcutta University the genius that could have made India a nation in the true sense of that hardworked and much abused phrase."

There is still another aspect of the question of Asutosh's connection with the Governmental institutions. Both the High Court and the University of



Calcutta were by far the principal scenes of his activities and absorbed his thoughts and energies; they also afforded ample scope for his genius and patriotism. But the present glory and prosperity of the University, which is entirely of Asutosh's making, has not been won without sacrifice on the nation's part; the nation has had to pay indirectly for its rise and progress; for institutions—specially great and growing institutions like the Calcutta University—are parasites,—just as the great men generally are. No great man is born and rises without absorbing the greatness of a host of his predecessors; 'nations, poets, artisans, women have worked for him and he enters into their labours'; and we have seen, not to speak of Ram Mohon Roy and Vidyasagar, Vevekananda and Bankim Chandra, intellectual giants and pioneers like Rajendra Lall and Mohendra Lall have devoted a life-time to pave the way for Asutosh who, when he came, absorbed and even eclipsed their greatness to all appearance. So the University, as it progressed in its triumphant and glorious career under the leadership of Asutosh, absorbed and eclipsed the life of other institutions—it even precluded the possibility of any other institution rivalling its pre-eminence or attaining a normal and healthy growth; nay, one may go farther and say that the University flourished at the cost of smaller and other institutions and its progress and prosperity of the latter. Not only did it attract and draw all the best intellect and



potential genius of the nation in the professoriate and the student; but it had at its helm, greatest organising genius and hero of work—which made it difficult for institutions and individuals outside its orbit to live and thrive. And not simply students and teachers only; the money and materials for original work that could only be utilized on its behalf might contribute to the rise and growth of other institutions in the country. And there might have been—there might be—other Universities, other flourishing centres of higher studies and researches, different homes of highest intellectual activities and original thinking which might have added to, and enriched India's contributions to the forward march of knowledge and truth, as well as India's own intellectual regeneration and cultural renaissance. And the academic spirit and advanced thought both in Europe and America tend to express themselves in the rise and development of various centres of learning and scholarship rather than be crystallized and stereotyped into one gigantic institution; variety of life and growth in the cultural and intellectual world would certainly make for diversity and excellence of cultural and intellectual output, for independence of spirit and originality of thought; and big institutions like big factories must aim at mass products and standardised results which have in their turn, a serious tendency to neglect the individual, individual genius and individual intellect except at the highest stage. And



inspite of the subtle but serious parasitic tendency of the Calcutta University, and apart from the Asiatic Society of Bengal, there are the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, the Varendra Research Society and the National Council of Education which have amply justified their existence and have stood many attacks and onslaughts; that they are worthy of the greatest support and might have risen—or might rise—to greater eminence, had they been fortunate enough to have the support and sympathy of the country on a larger scale. Calcutta University which is a Government institution might well be taken care of by the Government; and who knows, what the history of higher education in Bengal, would have been if with his gigantic brain, the organizing genius and the constructive statesmanship, Asutosh would have worked, independently of the Government, for the non-Government institutions and Universities.

As we have already said, he would have been an invaluable asset, a great acquisition, to the National Congress, had he seen it fit to join it; but he chose to work for his country independently of the political and Congress movements of the day and even took upon himself to save his 'alma mater' from its sweeping onslaughts; he was drawn to the University, from his early youth, as it had placed at his disposal a world of materials which he was determined to work, improve and build upon; it made him a master in a great nation-building department—



gave him a vantage ground where his constructive statesmanship, his organizing and administrative powers as well as patriotism found ample scope. But we are free to admit that there are certain periods, certain junctures in the history of a people, struggling for a greater and fuller life and eager and almost impatient to wring the birth right of their freedom from the not overwilling hands of their foreign rulers, when disassociation with, and aloofness from, the main political organization and political movement, might appear to be an act of moral cowardice, folly or selfishness. But before Asutosh could be condemned on this account, it must be established that this political organization and the Congress movement had assumed such proportions as to be the sole and indispensable channel of the people's fight for their freedom and struggle for a larger and nobler life, and that he did not really strengthen the forces of freedom, or advance the cause of his country's larger and nobler life, by his actions and words outside the political arena.

Whether or not the political agitation and the Congress movement assumed such immense and all-important proportions as to demand, as of right, the enlistment and whole-hearted devotion of all the available men, we leave it to the future historian of our country to decide. But the great movement for freedom, for progress, for emancipation from all sorts of shackles and fetters, that has come to our country and come to stay, can, by no stretch of argument, be



interpreted to be confined within the four walls of the political movement; indeed, as we have seen before, it is much larger than the mere political movement; it has embraced our life as a whole and penetrated into all departments of our activities and thought, manifesting itself in our inner and outer struggle for a larger, fuller and truer life—individual, social, national and even cultural; as we have already said, it was, in fact, the unique glory of Asutosh to have advanced the larger cause of his country, to have laboured incessantly, to have struggled for, and devoted his massive intellectual powers and moral equipments to, the realization of that larger, fuller and truer life of his people; it was his one over-powering ambition, one overwhelming passion, one over-mastering obsession; his was a lifelong endeavour to herald the dawn of that glorious life, a life of which he had such alluring vision in his inspired mood. In the words of Emerson, his was 'a heart in unison with his time and country', so Desha-bandhu Das pithily said, 'his heart was with the nation', notwithstanding his association with the system of administration and with the institutions founded by our British rulers. In working, through the University, for the intellectual regeneration of his country at home, and for a world-wide recognition and glory of his motherland through the achievements of our alma mater, as well as in living his daily life—private and public—in the way he



lived, he served the greater cause of his country in a manifold way. One of the most brilliant and pre-eminent personalities of his age who shone in diverse departments of activities and thought he was the child of his country, always alive to its present distress and past glory; he identified himself with the life of the Indian in his habits, in his dress, in his manners and in his food, as few, very few, men of his position did; whether in the High Court or in the University or on a Committee, or a Commission, he championed—as only few men of his status did—the hopes and aspirations, the struggles and longings, of his people for a fuller and more glorious life. A professed educational reformer that he was, he deliberately worked for, as we have just said, for the intellectual regeneration of his people and for the recognition and reputation abroad of India's genius and capacity for literary and scientific achievements and varied scholarship; but there are some great men, towering head and shoulder over the so-called great men, the men of the hour, who accomplish many things unaware, who carry on much of their lifework unconsciously and without much labour and pain on their part; and Asutosh, without consciously and specially labouring for the purpose, advanced his country's larger cause and served its larger interests in the domains of social, political and religious reform and progress. His couragious act of remarrying his



tender-aged widowed daughter advanced the cause of social reform to a great extent; his living the simple, unostentatious, patriarchal life of his people set a thriving example of plain living and high thinking in the true sense of the words and went a long way in re-establishing old values of his country's dress and manners; his manly stand against the Government's obduracy, his practical enthronement of the principle of independence of spirit, his bold enunciation of the doctrine of 'freedom first, freedom second and freedom always', his lifelong efforts to translate it into practice—which in the words of the Hon'ble Justice Manmotha Nath Mukherjee—will go down to posterity as a great national asset, full of self-respect, furthered the cause of political advancement and national awakening immensely; for the movement for the national advancement and awakening received a great impetus at his resistance to Government's actions and policy, at his unique independence and unparalleled freedom of mind and love of freedom. A strict Brahmin, an orthodox Hindu—and a spiritually minded man—that he was, the way in which he adjusted the claims of the religiously regulated life of a pious Bengali with the multivarious demands and duties of the most prominent public man and busiest, most active and hardworking individual of his generation, the manner in which he reconciled the conflicting interests and injunctions of an old and outwardly



conservative faith with the trends of modern thought as well as his adjustment of his reforming zeal and the intellectual side of his nature with the tendencies of his unprogressive society and his retrogressive environment made for that readjustment, reconciliation, and reformation from within—the only ways through which our ancient religion or society can live and thrive in modern age and can assert itself as a guiding and controlling factor in the evolution of a world federation of nations and religions towards which humanity is marching stowly but surely.

As we have already said, Asutosh worked for the 'Return Movement' in India; he laboured to bring about a wide-ranging Indian Renaissance, an intellectual regeneration through a nation-wide progress of education; above all, he made it the mission of his life to blot out the stigma of India's cultural inferiority, to explode the fiction of her intellectual defeat and raise her once more to her lofty pedestal of glory. A statesman, builder and idealist, Asutosh's angelic eyes probed beyond the surface; in spite of her political subjection, the organized and subtle economic exploitation, the surging tide of western civilization and culture, which threatens to stamp out her own individuality, in spite of all these and more, India's soul is not dead yet and with his prophetic vision, Asutosh had a glimpse of India's eternal soul. No doubt she is bleeding, groaning and going under, under the heels



of a foreign Power and Civilization; yet the spirit of India's Culture and Civilization, her eternal soul, essentially creative and active, could and must be saved; no doubt, the threads of her external life, the controlling power and the initiative, in her politics, trade, commerce, finance and in her unlimited material resources is mostly in foreign hands; she is bound hand and foot, tied to the chariot wheels of a modern materialistic nation. But life is not all external—life is not all commerce and industries, politics and finance—however prominent factors they might be. Beyond and above all these, beyond the noise and bustle of politics, above the dust and din of controversy and conflicts of interests in trade and commerce, there is such a thing as culture and thought more subtle, more enduring, more abiding; and in the realm of culture and thought, where there is no naked display and ultimate sway of organized force and where the nations and individuals are not out—and out with a vengeance—to aggrandise and exploit, appropriate and exterminate each other—India can and must be made to hold her own against the nations of the world; she must rise to the height of her powers and potentialities of her genius; political subjection and economic exploitation notwithstanding, she must develop the best brains and utilize her best manhood in the select few in order to bring about a renaissance and regeneration which will, ultimately wipe out her political and economic subjection and give



her an honoured place in the economy of the nations.

The soul of a nation, like the individual's, is the mainspring of its outward life and the fountainhead of its strength and spirit; with all the glammer and glitter, with all the noise and bustle, apparently at the height of its power and glory, a nation might be really on the verge of decay and on the brink of death; all the material resources and worldly things at its command, the nation is sure to fall unless the soul lives and thrives, unless the inner spirit is sustained. When the inner life of our people was groaning under the weight of outward things and events, when its eternal soul was threatened to be crushed under the impact of a foreign culture and drowned in the surging tide of a foreign civilization, Asutosh set before himself the supreme task of saving and sustaining this inner life of our people, this soul of India, rousing it to its creative activities and products in a most effective way. No doubt the time was ripe; the materials were there and collected and ready to be utilized—still the glory of a pioneer was his. At a time when the capacity of Indian youth for research and original thinking were denied, or doubted, when moreover, higher studies and researches were looked upon as a luxury, Asutosh had the vision and imagination to see that in the revival of Indian scholarship and culture, in the encouragement to Indian genius and



talents, in the highest stages of study and researches and in the nation-wide progress of a liberal education lies the salvation of our country—this intellectual regeneration was to be the secret of saving her soul and stimulating its creative power. With this end in view, with the object of saving, rousing and nourishing India's soul, he built the centres of highest studies and researches, the home of the most profound intellectual activities and original thinking in diverse departments of Science and Letters. But this soul, this inner spirit and greater life of a people which supplies the bed-rock of its outward existence and is the source of its abiding greatness and glory is invisible to all but inspired eyes and prophetic vision; none-the-less, it is the soul of a people which expresses and manifests itself in its arts and letters, in its science and song, in the greater, better and fuller life of the people—and not in the trival, matter-of-fact, humdrum life co-extensive with, and consisting in, the superficial, uneventful and petty works and activities. It is the outward life—the dust and din, the conflicts and controversies, the gold and glitter—which 'struts and frets its hour upon stage and is heard no more', not the inner life, the soul. But 'the poor player', the time-serving, noisy, self-satisfied individual busies himself with the petty things and little affairs on the surface; it is only the statesman and the prophet who cares for the hidden, inner life—the soul. Few have a vision of this inner



life, of this soul of a people, fewer are those who have the privilege of labouring for the revival of this glorious life, who have the good fortune to nurish and invigorate it; for the tendency of the mass-mind, of the average man, in this materialistic and scientific age is to take everything at its face-value, to care for the external, immediate results and not for the soul.

The appreciation of India's genius and contribution to the common heritage of humanity was long began; and the recognition by the better minds of the world of India's claim to equality on the plane of culture and thought was begun with 'the discovery of Sanskrit' more than a century ago. Profs. Max Muller, Muir Williams, Horace Wilson and their race in India and the generations of Orientalists in Europe—more particularly in Germany—and lastly the brilliant addresses and lectures of Keshov Chandra Sen in Europe and of Vivekananda in America raised India in the estimation of the western world.* But so far

* We are happy to refer, in this connection to what has been recently said by a notable journalist of the West :—"The appearance of Prof. Radhakrishnan upon the philosophical horizon together with such notable figures as J. C. Bose the botanist, P. C. Roy the chemist, Tagore the poet and Gandhi the reformer may be evidence of an intellectual awakening in India that will be compared with the Renaissance in Europe. It is an intriguing fancy that the 'lay may come when the direction of student pilgrimages may be reversed and from Europe and America.



as marvellous progress of Science and of modern thought in all their aspects were concerned, Europe — European genius and culture—reigned supreme; and not only the mastery, but also, the homage of the world was hers. India was thought to have exhausted her genius and creative spirit in her monumental works in the ages past; original thinking and intellectual activities, researches and extensions of bounds of knowledge—as they are understood and practised in the West—were believed to be beyond young India; the mainspring of India's creative genius and the fountainhead of her intellectual activities were assumed to have dried up forever. India's contribution to the common heritage of humanity seemed to have come to an end once for all; and Indians were branded openly as incapable of original thinking and research work; as we have referred to, India's cultural and intellectual inferiority—specially of the young generation—were openly hinted at in the Imperial Legislative Council by responsible officials. The band of brilliant scholars, scientists and literary men who sprang up under Asutosh's fostering care and guidance and went abroad, proved to demonstration India's capacity for,

searchers after truth will journey to Calcutta, Madras, or Rangoon to learn from oriental masters the new wisdom of the east." It is no small part of Asutosh's lifework that he gathered round him in his University most of these world renowned savants and thinkers so as to make it a highest centre of intellectual activities and original thinking.



and mastery of, modern thought and science, which was supposed to be the unique privilege of the West alone. The vaunted advance of Europe in the various domains of science and letters, was not after all, the peculiar heritage of the western people. With scanty opportunity and scope, Indian intellect was shown second to none—even in those very branches of knowledge and learning, of research and original thinking which had their rise or their revival in Europe.

Apart, however, from what might be called this domestic side, his life work has a far wider and greater aspect, a subtle world significance which entitles him to an honourable place among the pre-eminent personalities of the world in our time. For a long time the nations of the world, the masses as well as the classes, have been fed up with false ideas and concepts of nationalism; they have been following false ideals in patriotism, misunderstanding and misrepresentation, mutual jealousies and rivalries, conflicts of cultures and clashes of interests had not only brought about the world conflagration that threatened to consume Civilization and Society but has left a legacy of world-wide distress and unrest, economic and political. War or no war, the nations are really in hostile camps—up in arms against one another. An inordinate yearning for wealth, an unseemly hunger for exploitation and aggrandisement have yawned the gulf between nations and nations—specially between the down-trodden Eastern



peoples and the powerful western nations. All the available statecraft and statesmanship, powers of organization and administration have been harnessed to the cause of 'national' prosperity and aggrandisement at any cost. Science has been tied to the chari-dst wheel of war-God ; and newer and newer monsters of destruction, newer and newer machines of death, newer and newer engines of devastation are invented and prepared for the annihilation of nations ; and every Power is anxious and eager to steal a march over the other.

But all this preparedness for, all this paraphernalia of war, all these engines of death and destruction, all the widespread jealousies and rivalries, clashes and conflicts, all the perversity that man has wrought in his being, can not alter the plan and course of evolution of a newer and truer humanity ; all these can not for ever retard the subtle march of mankind towards a closer understanding, and a truer and more abiding union ; all these can not obstruct the plan and aim of nature, which is peace and harmony, and not war and armament, unity and understanding and not distrust and jealousy, between nations and nations. And how is this peace, this understanding to be secured and strengthened?--not through commercial or industrial rivalry, political and economic exploitation, nor through war and armament but through international sympathy and toleration, through internalization of Knowledge-



and Learning ; it is only on the cultural and intellectual plane, that this international harmony and peace and amity can be first reached and safely retained. But most of the statesmen and the politicians, the merchant princes and industrial magnets, the financiers and lawyers who control and dominate, the affairs of the nations, leave international peace and understanding severely alone.

It is only the advanced spirits and idealists, solitary thinkers and lovers of humanity, men of long vision and imagination, who are anxious for international understanding and harmony, who care and labour for peace and progress among the nations of the world. Asutosh, inspite of the political subjection and economic exploitation, inspite of the prevalent myth of India's cultural and intellectual inferiority, dared to labour for this international understanding and harmony, by drawing, to his University, thinkers and philosophers, scientists and literary men from all parts of the world.

Intellectual giants and thinkers of the West like Paul Vinogradrauf, Hermann Oldenburg and Jacobi, Sylvain Levi and Pope, Young and Forsyth came to his University, came in contact with the students and teachers, and went away with first hand knowledge of India, of the currents of India's culture and thought ; on the other hand the many brilliant young intellectuals of our



generation whom Asutosh sought out and encouraged and helped into fame and eminence and whom he sent to Europe, made the greatest impression upon the cultural and intellectual world abroad and dispelled the illusion of Indian's inferiority in the domain of higher studies and researches and contributed not a little to the understanding of Indian life and thought by the West. Thus did he contribute to the international understanding and harmony and to the internationalization of learning and thought which must be the solid foundation of world peace and world harmony, the path along which humanity, and not simply nations and individuals, will tread in its forward march; thus he was not only a national hero but a world personality of his time.

But what will be the verdict of posterity upon the life and work of the great man of our country? how will the generations yet unborn look upon his career and lifework? what place will history assign him on the roll of India's illustrious sons? The hundreds and thousands of students whose education and enlightenment he promoted, the generation of enthusiastic young scholars and teachers of bright parts and possibilities that he nourished and encouraged and established in life, the countless men, that he was admired and adored,—and the many that he was criticised or maligned—by, the numerous individuals that he charmed and dominated,



the prominent European scholars and administrators whom he came in contact with, fascinated or dazzled, will all follow him, some day to the land 'from whose bourn no traveller ever returns'; and then?

And then, in Asutosh's own words, the sparks of the new inextinguishable fire kindled in our midst, 'that have already leapt to all parts of India,' will keep alive the sacred flame of learning and scholarship and scatter its light broadcast all over our country and over the world abroad, as it happened in the days of yore when the lamp of Knowledge and Truth lighted in India, illumined all the world; and 'the mighty spirit that has been aroused', at whose birth Asutosh and his predecessors and compatriots baptised, the spirit which he tendered and reared up with his heart's blood and life's vitals—spirit of service and sacrifice—the spirit of the patriot and of the nationalist—the spirit of enquiry, of Knowledge and research—the spirit of the scholar,—this mighty and majestic spirit 'will not be quenched'; on the other hand it will unfurl the banner of India's progress and prosperity in the modern age; it will herald the dawn of her resurrection, of her redemption and renovation, proclaiming in a new and commanding voice, the supreme truth of unity of life and harmony of the Universe! But perhaps it is too distant a consummation, too dim a future, too dreamy a destiny for practical and our immediate purpose.



It does not, however, require a prophetic vision to anticipate in a way the verdict of posterity upon Asutosh's life and lifework; our task is rendered easier as we have the benefit of the considered opinion and the deliberate judgement of a vareity of pre-eminent men—men of different classes and countries, of different religions and of diverse parties and creeds—who hold our hero to be one of the greatest and most striking Indians of his age. Prof. Radhakrishnan eloquently observed recently, "Among the makers of modern India, he is in the front rank. The historian of the Indian renaissance will accord him a place second to none among those who contributed to it"; we may safely assign Asutosh Mookerjee an honoured place on the roll of India's illustrious sons, among her 'inheritors of unfulfilled renown'; for much as he worked and achieved, he strove and aspired for—he dreamt much more—he would certainly have accomplished a great deal more, had he been born in a free country; and it can be said without fear of contradiction that he will be given considerable space in the history of his country—which he made and moulded in no little way—as a hero of work and action, as a representative man of his country and his time, as a builder and reformer in the realm of education and research, as one of the greatest, if not the greatest, friend and promoter of Indian Culture and History, of Indian,—and particularly Bengali—vernacular.



And a hero in the realm of work certainly he was throughout his life; he had all the ingredients of that true and rare heroism which found an exponent in Emerson; the heroic soul that does not 'sell its justice or nobleness' was certainly his; he was one of those heroic figures who, in their struggle to work out their mission, 'set opinion, success and life, at so cheap a rate, that they will not soothe their enemies by petitions or the show of sorrow', 'but will wear their habitual greatness'; no one, no Indian of his generation, had, in a greater measure, that characteristic quality of heroism—persistency; and it is the unparalleled persistency in his character that won him the wellknown title of Bengal Tiger, and that of British Bull-dog,—the latter from Sir Michael Sadler.

With this characteristic quality of heroism in abundance, his personality was brought into prominent relief besides his contemporaries—lesser men—who had, as they always have, wandering impulses, 'fits and starts of generosity'; but few could boast of such doggedness of resolution, of such iron persistency, in brief, such heroism. No one knew better, nor any one acted so much, up to the principle that 'it is easy within the world to live after the world's opinion; it is easy in solitude to live after our own'; and therefore he did not trim his sail to suit the passing fancy of the powers that be; nor did he care or long for the good opinion or applause of the world; but did what his conviction, his judgment aided by his intellect, dictated him; and he trode



the broad path he had long chalked out for himself, like 'the great man who, in the midst of the crowds keeps, with perfect sweetness, the independence of the solitude.' And a representative man of his country truly he was; for, he shared, championed and gave ample scope to, the longing and eagerness of his people for educational facilities; and by meeting this universal demand of his people, uplifted, his generation to a higher plane of thoughts and ideas, if not of activities, and hastened their pace of progress to their goal; for not only did he sympathise with but stimulated and encouraged actively many struggling higher tendencies of his countrymen—specially of the intellectual class, of the ablest and gifted few, in particular—in the domains of higher culture and studies and researches; above all he himself reflected in his own personality and character that confluence of ideas, that co-mingling of ideals, that synthesis of cultures, that happy and harmonious blending of diverse civilizations, hitherto flowing in different and, often, antagonistic channels, which seem to be the ultimate consummation inherent in the meeting of the East and the West!

As a builder of the manhood of the country, he stands very high indeed, the virulent criticism of his policy and principle notwithstanding; this budding manhood, in spite of all its failings and short-comings, moved Lord Ronaldshay to admiration with their 'patient



industry and quick responsiveness', no less by their 'impulsive enthusiasm, amounting at times to emotional abandon'; it is this manhood, which in the eloquent words of the late lamented Principal Trivedi, 'broadly and securely based upon the foundations of its own special culture, will assert itself in the presence of the manhood of the world'; he built this struggling manhood not only through, and under the auspices of, the University, but with the influence of the example of his own life; the new generation of scholars and students that sprang up under his fostering care, finds itself endowed with a new spirit, a new life and a new strength. As a creator of ample vision and imagination, and of courage and resourcefulness, he can point to a great institution, which has under his guidance and inspiration given Indian scholarship, Indian scientific and literary talents, their proper play and legitimate scope, and won India a recognised place in the world as a reputed centre of learning and research; he has, moreover, reinstated and reinstalled Indian Culture, Indian History and Indian Vernaculars in the University and has thrown open new vistas of glory, new fields of achievements, 'new Americas' in the words of Sir William Hunter—for the gifted and ablest of his countrymen to discover. If an institution, as Emerson says, 'is the lengthened shadow of one man', the growing, thriving, progressive, affiliating, teaching and research University in Calcutta—the University of



Colleges and of Post-Graduate classes—will go down to posterity as ‘the lengthened shadow of one man’—Asutosh Mookerjee.

And no institution is so permanent as a University; in the midst of changes and transformations wrought by the march of civilizations and science, in the midst of rise and fall of parties and powers, the University, our University will stand as a sentinel of progress, as the guardian angel of knowledge and culture, as the ‘free fountains of living waters and undefiled altars of inviolate Truth’ proclaiming to, and reminding, the unborn generations of the glories of her ‘greatest son.’

When all on a sudden, this prince among men fell one might say with—Theoclymenus in the Odyssey—‘the sun has perished out of heaven.’

Let us conclude our imperfect study, with the words with which he brought to a close his last but ever memorable Convocation Address to the Calcutta University—words embodying his final and parting message—a message that ought to be engraved in letters of gold and imprinted in the tablet of our memory in letters of fire; declared the Bengal Tiger in his clarion voice: “Let it be remembered that there is some subtle salt or secret that keeps the Universities alive, that makes them indifferent to fortune or time. No human institution is so permanent as a University. Dynasties may come and go, political parties



may rise and fall, the influences of men may change but the Universities go on for ever as seats of trust and power, as free fountains of living waters and as undefiled altars of Truth.....

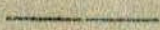
“Fellow graduates, you speak of this University as your Alma Mater. Do you always realize the nobility of this common place expression. What a singular endearment it voices – our fostering mother— what fine relation is that for a great institution of learning to bear to all those who throughout the years have learned wisdom at her feet and have gone out into the world, sustained by her strength and inspired by her lofty example..... But whatever sphere your lot may be cast, whatever your hopes and fears, turn back to your Alma Mater with filial piety and attachment,...Councils will come and go, Ministers will blossom and perish; parties will develop and disappear or change their nature and survive. But your University, my University, will live on for ever, if her children by thousands and ten thousands stand by her with steadfast loyalty and devotion, alike in her days of triumph and affliction. Unalterable is my faith as to her bright future, because I feel she must be a national organization, self-reliant though bound in service to the nation, adapting herself to the manifold and varying needs of the community, from generation to generation, I call upon you, fellow graduates, to join with me in the words of the warrior poet, in a solemn pledge of eternal



devotion to the spirit of our Motherland, the protecting divinity of our Alma Mater.

স্বদেশ আমার ! তোমার সেবায় এ ব্রত লইলু আজি
পূজিতে তোমারে আনিব খুঁজিয়া ধরণীর ধনরাজি
তুমি যদি চাও প্রাণপ্রিয়ধন—দ্বিধা না জাগিবে মনে
সুধাব না কথা, প্রফুল্লবদনে, এনে দেব ও চরণে ।
আমার প্রাণের প্রীতি হবে দেবি ! তব পূজা-উপচার
অবাধে সকলে সঁপিয়া তোমাঙ্গ, লইব সেবার ভার ।

I vow to thee my country—
all earthy things above,
Entire and whole and perfect,
the service of my love,
The love that asks no question ;
the love that stands the test,
That lays upon the altar
the dearest and the best
The love that never falters
the love that pays the price
The love that makes undaunted
the final sacrifice.”





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APPENDIX



DEMOCRATIC CONTROL IN THE UNIVERSITY *

Sir Asutosh's Lucknow Speech.

“Mr. President and Members of the Lucknow University Union :—

It is my pleasant duty to offer you my sincerest thanks for the enthusiastic welcome you have accorded me this evening. I am not here to deliver an address on the democratic control of Universities ; but I have agreed to join in the debate on this important matter as it is the burning topic of the hour. The speeches which have been delivered by

*The authorities of the Lucknow University Union utilised the presence of Sir Asutosh at Lucknow, in connection with the University Convocation, to arrange a debate on Tuesday the 8th January, 1924. There was a large assembly of University teachers and students, besides a distinguished gathering of European and Indian ladies and gentlemen, as it was anticipated that Sir Asutosh might be induced to join in the debate. The proposition for debate had been framed in the following terms :

‘That, in the opinion of this House, the Ministers and the Councils are justified in exercising control over the administration of the Universities.’

Sir Asutosh was invited to participate in the debate. He responded, amidst enthusiastic cheers, with impromptu remarks which took up the best part of an hour.



the speakers who have preceded me, are so full of eloquence that you are likely to draw erroneous conclusions upon this difficult question. I have formed an inveterate habit, to scrutinise closely the terms of every proposition which I am called upon to adopt. I cannot avoid this course in respect of the proposition now before the House, namely, that the Ministers and the Councils are justified in exercising control over the administration of the Universities. Three gentlemen have warmly supported this proposition, while two have strenuously opposed it. Those that have supported it have, as I shall presently establish, given away their cases. But I advise them in advance that if they have not already taken to the study of law, they do so forthwith and adopt the legal profession as their career in life, because, I assure them, they will be the best defenders of rotten cases (Laughter). The proposition under consideration, I take it, refers to India alone; I further trust it is not too large an assumption to make that it refers to the present and not to the future. We are consequently called upon to examine the proposition in view of the provision of the existing constitution and in view of the present race of Ministers and Councillors; we are not concerned with the possibilities of the future. I now affirm without hesitation that the three gentlemen who have supported the proposition have placed themselves hopelessly out of Court. Each of them argued, by implication, at least, that the proposition



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was expressed in terms so comprehensive that it could not possibly be approved by any gentleman who called himself educated in a University (Cheers). Each of them, in the course of argument, introduced qualifications with a view to restrict its operation. Whether this was done deliberately or under the stress of circumstances, I do not feel called upon to enquire (Laughter). The distinguished speakers all forgot, however, that it was not open to them to amend the proposition, as no notice of amendment had been given. But if amendments had been allowed, I am sure they would have exceeded 70, which I understand is the precise number of questions asked in the Court of the Benares Hindu University with reference to the possible or impossible misdeeds of its present Vice-Chancellor. We are thus called upon to examine, if the Ministers and the Councillors, under the Government of India Act, 1919 are justified in exercising control over the administration of the Universities. There is no limitation suggested here as to the nature extent of the control. There is no indication as to the possible qualifications of the Ministers and the Councillors, such as were tacitly assumed by one of the speakers. Consequently, if the proposition is affirmed, we hand over the Universities, to Ministers and Councillors—mighty Unknowns and mysterious Unknowables—and authorise them to exercise any kind of control they consider proper over the administration of the Universities in any form they choose (Prolonged cheers).



I pass on to scrutinize the significance of the term 'control' which is in high favour in superior circles ; it has an innocent look, but it excites my suspicion. One of the speakers treated it as equivalent to 'criticism'—instinct warns me that it is not so harmless ! Another speaker regarded the term 'control' as convertible with 'general control.' I cannot fix the bounds of this charmingly vague phrase, but I feel confident that if I were to frame a definition, it would be rejected by Ministers and Councillors. In any event, this much is incontrovertible that if A seeks to control B, the first essential that has to be established by him is that he is a fit and proper person to exercise such control over the other. When your Ministers and Councillors come and say that they will exercise control over the University, we ask, what are your credentials ? What are your qualifications ? Have you experience of University administration ? What is the basis of your judgment, the principle of your action ? Is your demand really authorised by the democracy (Cheers) ? I yield to none in this hall in my fervent admiration of democracy and democratic institutions ; at the same time, I realise the weaknesses and the dangers of democracy. When a democracy imperiously demands control over the University, I answer without hesitation, 'pause my friends, your claim will become admissible only when democracy ceases to be a democracy and is transformed into an intellectual aristocracy' (Cheers and Laughter).



What is the University? It is the crown of our educational edifice. No University man will seriously suggest that we should hand over the control of the University to a democracy, which has not yet come under the influence, much less realised, the value, of the highest ideals of education in the life of the nation. Believe me, it is the function of the University to raise the nation, to guide the nation (Cheers, to elevate the leaders of the democracy, not to be guided by them (Hear, Hear). You have appealed to the lessons deducible from the history of other countries which enjoy the blessings of different types of democracy. There was no democracy more cultured than the democracy of the Greeks, the most cultured of the nations of antiquity the world has witnessed. Yet, it was this democracy which so grievously failed to recognise the sacredness of liberty of thought and speech that it made Socrates drink the juice of hemlock. Your democracy is not more cultured than the democracy of the Greeks, and yet you suggest that the Universities should be placed under democratic control. If your contention prevailed, do you imagine a Bacon would be given a place in your University or a Darwin be tolerated in the novel academic sphere (Cheers)?¹

¹ The names of Bacon, Darwin, Lavoisier, Laplace and many other immortal leaders of thought are carved on the walls of the Bennett Hall, where the debate was held.



You have spoken of your Ministers and of your Councillors. They are all excellent men, and let me assure you in all seriousness that I entertain genuine admiration for the way they have acquitted themselves in the discharge of their difficult duties. But when you assume that they are competent—each and all of them—to control the administration of the Universities, the dark shadows of doubt and hesitation imperceptibly creep over my mind. I mean no disrespect to their intellectual attainments, but I am so dense that I cannot really convince myself that they are qualified for their self-imposed task. My knowledge of the contents of the Government of India Act is, I am free to admit, not very profound. But I believe I am not in error when I state that the framers of that epoch-making statute have forgotten to insert a clause which might have required that every Councillor should have attained the high intellectual standard implied by a pass at the Matriculation Examination of the Calcutta University and that every Minister should have taken his Degree in Political Science in the University of Lucknow (Laughter). The truth is that there is no guarantee that a Councillor or that even a Minister is in any manner fit to exercise control over the administration of a University, if they were allowed an effective voice in the administration of the University, bad as we are, we shall rapidly get worse, and we shall soon be past redemption and reclamation (Laughter). Let me



tell you a story—what I am about to narrate is a real incident. A distinguished member of a Legislature told me, with refreshing frankness, that his grievance against me was that I had employed a Professor of Pali. I enquired if what was imputed to me constituted a crime. He answered, 'Pali is a dead language—more dead than even Sanskrit. You are a Brahmin. Why do you spend money on a Buddhist monk from Ceylon who teaches Pali to your pupils? if they take their Degree in Pali, they will not earn even five rupees a month.' I said, 'I plead guilty to the charge, but I shall not abandon my intention to turn out as many graduates in Pali as possible, to reform all future Councillors' (Cheers). That is the ideal of a fairly educated gentleman who is a member of the Council and is not yet a Minister. I cannot overlook another aspect of the situation—the Minister is a creature of party politics. Even if he be, when left to himself, inclined to behave as an enlightened man, he is bound to guide himself by the inclination of the party he has the privilege to represent (Cheers). One of the speakers said that a Minister might be trusted not to abuse his limitless authority, not to interfere needlessly with the administration of the University. But what is or is not needless, may have to be determined on non-academic grounds—the decision may be coloured by the exigencies of party politics. I shall not be surprised if a Mahomedan Minister of Education were driven to hold that as the



present Professor of Indian History in the University of Lucknow is a pious Brahmin from Bengal, his successor should be an orthodox Moslem from the Punjab. His judgment might be unconsciously affected by the circumstance that if he took up this position, he would not only capture the support of his party but would in addition place his salary beyond danger (Cheers). A suave non-Brahmin Minister in another part of India might well adopt a similar policy with regard to all University appointments, which, in the past, have, it is asserted, been monopolised by haughty Brahmins. If you get your University under a truly democratic Minister of Education, the first man to disappear would be Dr. Mookerjee—I mean not the astute economist but the dreamy historian (Cheers). The Minister may, with perfect justice—with the typical justice which would captivate his democratic followers or masters,—say, ‘I have never been able to understand what Dr. Mokerjee has realised, except his own salary (Laughter). He has explored the history of Ancient Indian Shipping. He has extolled the glories of Ancient Indian Commonwealths. But these are not present-day questions; they do not help the solution of the bread problem in the remotest degree. The Chair held by Dr. Mookerjee should accordingly be kept in abeyance, if not permanently abolished.’ The Professor, who would next find himself in predicament, would be Dr. Karam Narain Bahl (the Chairman). He is a



distinguished zoologist, but with all respect for him, the Minister and the Councillors may well ask, 'What has Zoology done for the progress of the race, except to establish that Man is descended from the Ape and still retains some of the virtues of his primeval ancestor? Zoologists supervise museums where extinct animals are preserved, and they publish unintelligible monographs on crabs and fishes'. So disappear into oblivion the Professor of Zoology and his assistants. The Professors of Mental and Moral Philosophy and of Experimental Psychology, if they exist in this University, will follow him in due course, until, alas, we shall have none left to advance the bounds of human knowledge except Chemists and Blacksmiths (Cheers).

Before you decide to adopt the proposition now under discussion, may I press you to pause and ascertain what happens elsewhere. We have been described as adroit imitators; but whether that be or be not a malicious untruth, our rulers have given us Ministers and Councillors in imitation of what has grown up in their own land in the course of centuries. Whether this has been wise or unwise statesmanship, it is fruitless to discuss—there are, as we all know, two opposing schools of thought on this as on all other subjects under the sun. The fact remains that the step has been taken by those in authority, and you have got your Ministers and Councillors. Now, if you study closely the history of the work of the Councils during the last three