



pernicious trends and tendencies, the manifold dangers and difficulties of a democracy, 'unenlightened and uninformed', by a widespread diffusion of a liberal and higher education; he believed,—and he tried to act accordingly—that 'weaknesses of democracy are the opportunities of education.'

Asutosh held very strong views on the place and function of University in the body politic; his opinion on the relation of University to the democracy—or on the newly voiced claim of the latter in India to have effective control in the affairs of the former—was also very pronounced. His views and opinions on these questions were, no doubt, coloured and moulded by the current controversies and conflicts that raged round the question; it is true also that the fury and vehemence of these controversies—the obstinacy and obduracy of the high officials who were the masters of the situation as they were the custodians of the public fund—stiffened his attitude and lent colour to his views; but it can be safely asserted that in the main, his views represented the fruits of his own mature judgments—the results of prolonged and profound thinking; as he felt strongly on these momentous questions, he expressed himself also strongly; let us quote from his inimitable and well-known speech at Lucknow University Union, "I yield to none in this hall," declared Asutosh, "in my fervent admiration of democracy and democratic institutions; at the same



time I realize the weaknesses and dangers of democracy. When a democracy imperiously demands control over the University, I answer without hesitation, 'pause my friends; your claim will be admissible when democracy ... is transformed into an intellectual aristocracy. What is the University? It is the crown of our national edifice. No University man will seriously suggest that we should hand over the control of the University to a democracy which has not come under the influence, much less realized 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, to elevate the leaders of the democracy, not to be guided by them... 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 ... 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

*True it was that in Bengal, the Minister of Education and some legislators and some of the highest officials were firmly ranged against him when he desperately and heroically opposed official pressure and interference in the limited autonomy of the University; but the fear of outside interference from the legislature gained ground; and it was mainly with a view to eliminate the influence of political and party considerations and the chances of outside interference that the Railway Budget was separated from the general Budget and in Bengal the annual State contribution to the Dacca University was fixed by a Statutory Act.



by the inclination of the party he has the privilege to represent." We will only add here that Asutosh was on firm ground : for, enlightened opinion and advanced thought in Europe as well as the traditions of his own country were on his side. In the days of departed glory in India, in the distant past—in the long centuries that preceded her subjection—when were produced those immortal works in the various domains of human thought and activity, the preceptors and teachers reigned supreme in their own sphere and even extended their way to, though they were in many cases supported by, the Kings and the Ministers. The preceptors and teachers, the thinkers and philosophers, were left free to evolve India's systems and ideals of education and work them to the perennial welfare of their people. In the western countries also, the teachers and educationists are not disturbed in their tasks and the prevailing system of education does not suffer from undue and unseemly interference from the executive or the legislature. As Asutosh aptly said,—"We have yet to learn that the British House of Commons sits solemnly to discuss the details of University administration in Leeds, Manchester or Sheffield." But he never meant to place the University on a pedestal of its own—cut off from the life of the community; he always tried to 'bring the University into intimate touch with the nation'—he maintained that his 'alma mater' is a mere 'hand maid' to the greater and parental divinity—his motherland.



It is no doubt true that he was most stubborn and tenacious in his opposition to the organized and protracted attempt of a group of politicians and legislators—among whom were included the highest in the land—to bring the University under the control of the Government and Legislature. And during the latter period of his second Vice-Chancellorship, he devoted most of his energies and his great intellectual powers, his pretty super-human capacities and resourcefulness to the cause of the freedom of his 'alma mater' from 'democratic' interference and he greatly overworked himself to make his University independent of 'every rise and fall' in the political barometer. But in justice to him, it must be said that throughout his life, he was the greatest upholder of the most far-reaching and the magnificent democratic doctrine of Napoleon that in every society there must be scope for talent. As he was never a pettifogging politician playing to the gallery, he never made a fuss of this magnificent doctrine but worked for it, translated it into action throughout his active life—of course, within his own limited sphere—within the University. At the very beginning of his career as Vice-Chancellor, he declared.... "No University can rightly be regarded as fulfilling the purpose of its existence unless it enables intellectual powers, whenever detected, to exercise its highest functions." And he clung and held fast to this noble doctrine all his active life; as the head or the most influential member of the



greatest University in India, he followed it with unswerving loyalty and the result today is that quite a gallery of brilliant scholars and savants, scientists and literary men are provided in and by the University—men who, by the exercise of their intellect, have shed lustre upon their 'alma mater' and their motherland.

But he was firmly opposed to, and vigorously resisted, the prevailing tendencies of the popular upheaval, the whirlwind agitation that were meant to blow away the well-established educational institutions, that tended to sweep the impressionable and enthusiastic students off their natural avocations; in particular, he strongly and stoutly fought the attacks and onslaughts that were launched upon his own 'alma mater', built by his genius and life-long exertions; and he had the satisfaction of saving it from the tremendous blow directed against it by the leaders of the Non-cooperation Movement. More than once he gave forceful expression to his strong views on this question; he emphatically declared that the first and foremost duty of the students is to attend to his studies, to develop his character and intelligence and to gain, education and culture; in short, to mind his own particular business and not take an active and any large part in political agitation; he must not be tossed over hither and thither by the fluctuating tendencies in the political world, he must not be blown off his feet by every disturbance in the political atmos-



phere; he must not be blindly wedded to every prevailing political doctrine in the fashionable society; he must think for himself and try to subject all ideas and formulas to an intelligent intellectual analysis, to the search light of a calm and dispassionate judgment, and to the fire of his conscience. Let him study politics, follow political events closely, if he liked; but he should, he must, learn to form his own opinion, and not borrow it from others as copybook maxims; and so long as he was engaged in the sacred avocation of the student, he must not bury himself in political agitation; or in the perilous quicksands of politics—especially in a subject country like ours—he would be totally lost, as his character, his intelligence and his reasoning faculties were yet to be developed; and there are many sources of danger to be shunned; so the advice, the company and care of the guardians and teachers are essentially and constantly necessary. But these views of Asutosh came into direct conflict with those of the great leaders of the Non co-operation Movement—Mahatma Gandhi, Deshabandhu Chittaranjan and others. It was indeed, an irony of fate, for India, that these ardent patriots, these selfless workers, these leaders of thoughts should be in different and opposite camps, inspired as they were by the same ultimate objective, and urged by the same ultimate ideal; and this renders the task of assessing the comparative value and merit of the respective standpoints and respective courses of



action, all the more difficult and certainly the difficulty is exceedingly heightened by the fact that both Asutosh, and Mahatmaji and Deshabandhu had the supreme interests of their country at their heart; and they had a firm ground to take their respective stands upon; they had, moreover, ample and weighty reasons to support their policy and their programmes.

As is well-known, among the five-fold boycott proposed by Mahatma Gandhi, the boycott of the educational institutions connected with, controlled or aided by the Government, formed an important item; Deshabandhu C. R. Das—the accredited leader and apostle of the Non-co-operation Movement in Bengal—directed his assaults upon the educational institutions controlled by the Calcutta University—which, in its turn, was established by and is in constant touch with, the 'satanic' Government. The Government, moreover, exercises a good deal of control over, and a large influence in the affairs of, the Indian Universities—specially the Calcutta University—which were, some of them at any rate, looked upon as something in the nature of Government strongholds and Government preserves, so if the Universities and the constituent and affiliated institutions were boycotted, a powerful blow would have been dealt to the Government, and its prestige would have also been considerably lowered in the popular estimation; and even the severest critics of the Movement will hardly deny that ground



was being amply prepared for—as various forces were steadily working to bring about—the tremendous popular upheaval, that blowed all over the country; the whole Indian community was profoundly stirred and almost exasperated by the series of unparalleled events that took place in the political sphere—the events the magnitude and seriousness of which have scarcely been equalled. Popular indignation rose to fever heat; popular passions ran high and the students—the most impressionable portions of the population—specially the Bengali students, the most emotional in India, rebelled against, and were lashed into furious resentment, by the deliberate and highhanded, shocking and brutal acts of the authorities—acts, legislative, executive and administrative—which were perpetrated in Punjab and elsewhere, and which form some of the very darkest chapters of British Rule in India. In an atmosphere of gloom and sorrow, an atmosphere, surcharged at the same time, with unprecedented popular excitement and indignation, the message of the Mahatma, acquired an unreal, unearthly, and irresistible force and magnificence. It was in this electrified atmosphere that the Non-co-operation Movement was launched by Mahatma Gandhi to secure Swaraj and remedy the multifarious ills that the nation was groaning under and bleeding from. The students, impulsive and emotional in their nature, were easily carried away; and the clarion call of the leaders, the moving



eloquence, and the fervent appeal of Deshabandhu and his associates, met a ready response in the students community; they gave up their studies and came out of their colleges and schools in hundreds and thousands. The leaders held that education of the boys and youths of lacerated and down-trodden nation could wait but Swaraj, the sovereign remedy of all its ills, the panacea of the thousand and one evils could not; the boycott of the Government-controlled and Government-aided educational institutions and the adoption by the student population of active national service and national cause, were in their opinion, conducive to the attainment, and necessary for the struggle, of Swaraj; so the student population, they held, should be induced to leave the Schools and Colleges tainted with Government connection, and harnessed to the country's supreme cause of winning freedom. After the first flashes of excitement had spent themselves, popular enthusiasm cooled down; various factors were active to bring about a change in the electrified atmosphere and Asutosh who, as has been referred to, resolutely stuck to his post at the helm of affairs in the Calcutta University, had the satisfaction of seeing his Alma Mater once more, and more firmly enthroned in the hearts of his people; his sober views prevailed and the students returned to their folds.

He is a bold man indeed who would take upon himself to brush aside one or other of the standpoints,

without sufficiently weighing and assessing the comparative merits of the two different and opposite points of view, of the two policies and conflicting courses of action; in fine, much can be said on both sides; or rather Asutosh and Deshabandhu were both right—so far as they went; theirs were possibly different paths leading, ultimately, to the same goal; but the path chalked out by Asutosh was the normal one, easier of the two—it was a steady, slow but a practical course; while the one advocated by Mahatma and Deshabandhu, had the sensational and dramatic in a large degree, attractive and easy at the first and initial stage, but was extremely difficult and distressing at the next ones, entailing a world of sacrifice and hardship. Asutosh was profoundly anxious—as anxious as any one else—to advance the cause of the freedom and prosperity of his motherland; it was with this end in view that he turned out hundreds and thousands of educated youths who, intoxicated with the love of freedom and burning with enlightened patriotism, would unfurl the banner of knowledge and culture and freedom throughout the length and breadth of the land; he was determined to bring the University into the intimate touch with the life of his people; he was eager to guide the University to take its proper place and its adequate share in the service of the nation to play the supreme part in national consciousness, through its various departments of applied and pure Science, as well



as of Arts and Letters; he was very keen upon turning his Alma Mater into a centre of highest intellectual activities and thinking, and particularly into a great centre where higher studies and researches could be carried on into dim and distant period of unwritten and improperly written history of ancient India with a view to present to the world and to her own people a picture of her bygone greatness and glory and to point out the true and proper directions of national progress and national activities and thus help forward the movement for her regeneration and resurrection; through his University, he was also bent upon raising the status of his country in the intellectual and cultural world, and was determined to win it an honourable place in the republic of Letters and Science by means of the University's intellectual activities and contribution to the forward march of Knowledge and Truth. And all these, it was his good fortune to see as accomplished facts, in a large measure; and all these gave a great impetus to the freedom movement, by kindling a sense of self-respect, and by rousing a self-confidence and self-consciousness, in the minds of his countrymen.

But it may perhaps be said without any the least disparagement, to the moral elevation of the leaders of the Non-co-operation Movement, that it was launched undoubtedly on slippery ground; true it was that their ideals were lofty to a degree, and their ideas, great and glorious; but this



part of their programme they could not bring to fruition; their gain was temporary, to say the least, and in the long run, the boycott of Schools and Colleges failed; for the vast majority of the class from which the students came had little of their moral equipment and spritual elevation; so they could not, did not carry out this part of their programme; the average member of the middle class (people) is a practical man, cool and calculating and is more, much more, concerned with immediate and concrete results than ultimate objective and ulterior gain, however high and noble. And when the great leaders, bade all their countrymen, young and old, rich and poor, hands off from the educational institutions—no matter whatever their value, their work, their ideals and their possibilities—simply for their distant or direct connection with the 'satanic' Government—they certainly, appealed more to the emotional than intellectual, more to the sentimental than practical, side of human nature; for they did not, or could not, make any great and adequate arrangements and provision for the education and enlightenment—on national lines—of hundreds and thousands of the students that left the existing institutions at their call; they failed, it is no reflection on their unique patriotism—as they were more destructive than constructive—in their activities; they had not established any national University that could rival or cast into



shade, the Calcutta University, and they branded the latter as the breeding ground of slave mentality; but it was the definite object and supreme aim of the University—and of the education imparted under its auspices—as Asutosh, aptly put it—‘to free the slave and then build the man’; and if there was slave mentality abroad it was not exactly quite proper that the University—which is the one institution that, stands for Progress and Truth, Knowledge and Culture, Learning and Scholarship,—should be singled out and penalized, instead of, being reformed and rejuvenated; the whole outward structure of the society, the very atmosphere of a subject country like ours, breed slave mentality, and the unnatural relations subsisting between the rulers and the ruled, one nation lording it over another, one people having everything done for them by, another—the one, constantly in expectation of favours or frown from the other—all these generate slave mentality.

The remedy of this and other multifarious evils which it is the inevitable lot of a subject country to suffer from, is not simply and solely what the politicians as well as the leaders of the Non-co operation Movement aimed at, and agitated for—political powers and political freedom; the remedy lies in what Asutosh and the University stood for—Progress and Emancipation in the broadest sense of the terms,—freedom not only from the political subjection but also



from religious fanaticism, morbid social orthodoxy and moral degradation—'advancement of learning' adding to the sumtotal of human knowledge, and contributing to the prosperity of the people. Let us however suppose that the Non-co-operation Movement has fulfilled its object; it has succeeded in wresting us some form of Self-Government from the not overwilling hands of our rulers; but with the University and the whole educational system under it demolished and stopt functioning, and ceasing to supply, strengthen and enrich the materials and ingredients out of which will grow and struggle and rise, a vigorous and enlightened nation, the foundations as well as the superstructure of true and enduring Swaraj could not be built; and with the chief centres of intellectual activities and thought, study and researches destroyed—centres, from which issue forth not only a stream of educated youths and enlightened manhood but also of new life and new light, Swaraj or some form of Self Government won in so dramatic a manner will hardly endure for a considerable length of time; it will be difficult to keep and save it from its enemies as well as its friends; for the supply of enlightened manhood of the nation—true strength and cement of real Swaraj—will be stopped; as Rome was not built in a day it would have taken long enough to establish on a firm foundation, the Swaraj University and its educational system; these latter in their turn, would surely have taken a long time to spread their blessings.



far and wide and to have taken deep root in the soil. in the meantime, owing to the ravages of the Non-co-operation Movement, the golden seeds sown by Asutosh and the golden harvest which was already in the process of being reaped would have all ended in smoke ; and the nation would have undoubtedly stood to lose, in the long run

This is but the practical side of the question ; this is judging the two policies and two courses of action by their calculated, actual and immediate results ; and in the practical field, in the realm of the actual, Asutosh might be said to have come with flying colours ; he braved the storm, he vindicated his ideal and practical results justified his bold action. But there is still, as always, another side, of the shield. On a higher and moral plane,* Asutosh, has, perhaps, to yield the palm to Mahatma and Deshabandhu ; apart from the actual consequences and the sad breakdown of the Movement, specially, in its boycott of the Government-connected educational institutions and centres of learning and researches, there is something extremely manly, something grand and glorious, something, spectacularly appealing and sublime in the very idea of the students, the youthful intellegentia, the promising young intellectuals of the land, being harnessed to the

* We shall have more to say on this momentous question, in the last Chapter.



greater cause of their country's political freedom; their presence in the vanguard of exacting service and sacrifice in the forward march and direct action is a sight for Gods to see—much like the youths of Italy following the lead of Mazzini and Garibaldi, and those of France rallying round the banner of Revolution. But though, the great Mahatma reckoned without his host, though his idea was more ennobling than enduring and his ideal, too heavenly, too high to be really and easily caught hold of or stuck to, though his Movement required for its practical and definite success a unique moral elevation and mental discipline, though the path that his message called his people to tread on, demanded the sacrifice of material prosperity and happiness, luxury and riches, fame and name, in short, most that makes life alluring to most men—and it was too much for them—none the less was he, on a higher moral plane. His ideals and his message, shining as they do, in their loftier grandeur and heavenly glory, made the greatest impression in the world and appealed to the thought-leaders and advanced spirit of the peoples abroad—their very impracticability invests them with a sublime and supreme significance which seems to dim the lustre of Asutosh's immediate victory and success.



CHAPTER X.

The Statesman.

A subject country is no training ground of statesman—The dearth of statesmen in India of today, due not to any inherent or constitutional defect, but to the political subjection—Among the solitary statesmen of India, Asutosh shone prominently—His achievements and labours—His statesmanlike insight and wisdom, the breadth of his vision and the clearness of his perspective—The remarkable record that he left, worthy of any statesman of the world—the most important of his acts of statesmanship.

Asutosh had nothing of the pettifogging, compromising, imposing, typical politician in or out of office; he had little of the time-serving, loud-mouthed, public man whose activities end in the Legislature, in the press or on the platform; but he had the sure instincts of a seer, the makings and the insight of a statesman, with all the cardinal qualities of a born and master administrator; few parliamentarians and politicians have, and have in such abundance, the instincts and ingredients of true statesmanship; advents of statesman are, like angels', few and far between; specially in a country, under the yoke of a foreign power,—the reins of whose policy and Government are controlled by an all-powerful autocracy—where all the high and important offices of state, not to speak of administrative posts, are monopolized by a foreign bureaucracy—



offices that are at once the training ground for, and supply suitable opportunity of displaying, statesmanship; in such a country the real and actual statesman is bound to be conspicuous by his absence. For almost all the opportunities, avenues and vantage grounds are closed to the children of the soil; so that even the born statesman must remain unnamed; and all his inborn qualities and acquired virtues that might have made a glorious page in the history of a country, independent and democratic, must be wasted for the lack of proper field and scope. Alas! this is the tragedy of a subject country, this must be the penalty of her loss of freedom and liberty. And India, which has produced quite a galaxy of illustrious men in almost all the walks of life, in almost all the departments of human activity and thought, India, today, can boast of few, very few, great statesmen—not to speak of commanders and generals (we are however not concerned with the latter)—not that, there is an inherent defect in the present day Indian character and constitution or any fundamental and deadly unsuitability in the soil; for there have come in our midst even in the prevailing state of political subjection, many prominent men whose statesmanship has received widespread recognition, but who had their, 'noble rage', the 'genial current of their soul,' suppressed by their sickening, deadening environment denying them proper field. But Asutosh was the exception that proves the rule; here



had the exceptional good fortune to be able to outclass the race of obscure statesmen, actual and potential. Born as he was with the essential elements of true and lofty statesmanship, he had these supreme natural gifts developed and he displayed them to great advantage; it was given to him to fight every inch of his ground by his sheer ability, perseverance and tenacity till he won a vantage ground from which he was able to give a good account of his statesmanship in furtherance of his country's cause and in realization of his heart's ideal. The sweeping changes, the far-reaching reforms in the higher educational system, the unheard-of expansion of the functions of the University and the broadening and heightening of its ideal that he made himself responsible for or a party to, the widespread diffusion of a higher and liberal education through the length and breadth of the land, the inauguration and working of the various departments of highest studies and researches which, by dint of the brilliant works of the scholars and teachers, bid fair to extend the bounds of knowledge and have actually made a profound impression in the cultural and intellectual world affording suitable outlets to the literary faculties and scientific tendencies of the young intellectuals and giving a great impetus to the cause of education and enlightenment, freedom and progress—all these are achievements that will certainly shed a lasting lustre upon any great statesman as a Minister of Education. Surely it is



not the high and exalted offices held by the principal ministers of State who, naturally enough, have in the hollow of their hands, the threads of public policy and all the initiative in a nation-wide programme but the great and fundamental qualities of true statesmanship that mark out a real statesman from a host of imposters and adventurers and narrow-minded politicians; or all the incumbents of the high offices would have been statesman, irrespective of their worth or absence of worth.

A statesman must rise above the noise and bustle of the present day politics and the din and dust of the current controversies; he is not generally confounded or overpowered—in his mind at any rate—by the clash of the conflicting interests or by the strifes of the contending parties of today; he is not solely guided by the present factors; but by dint of his imagination and foresight, courage and sagacity, he would take into his serious consideration the interests and needs of the unborn futurity also and shape his ideals as well as his courses of action accordingly. And Asutosh when he conceived his great Ideal and outlined his forward policy and progressive programme, which have scattered the forces of ignorance and prejudice and have brought the torch of knowledge and culture to a myriad homes, rich and poor, high and low—when he planned his bold scheme of reconstruction of the superstructure of the educational system



in Bengal and thus effected a speedy transformation of a mere examining body and degree-giving University into one of the greatest centres of intellectual activities and learning and scholarship and went on expanding its functions and ennobling its ideals, he had not had his gaze confined to the narrow limits of the circumstances of the day, his attention and his energies were not absorbed by the raging controversies, immediate needs and crying interests of the hour; but true and far-sighted statesman as he was, his angelic eyes and his gifted imagination pierced the veil that separates tomorrow from today; and he probed the unborn future, visualized its possibilities and realized in his mind the glory and greatness that could be and were achieved in the years to come.

At the dictates of true statesmanship which does not count too much upon immediate practical results nor is satisfied with the prevailing moribund state of things, but would advance courageously and cautiously, Asutosh left the beaten track of his predecessors; he set to translate his great policy of national progress and launched upon his great scheme of advancement of learning in its various stages and ramifications. And no one can seriously dispute the fact, that without being himself a great Minister or a responsible Official of State in the educational field—rather labouring entirely under the constant disadvantages of a subordinate position and under the statutory and administrative control



of the powers that were,—Asutosh accomplished in his own life much more than the record of all the contemporary Ministers and Members in charge of Education all over India. For, it is admitted on all hands that no province, no part of India can boast of such rapid and enormous strides that Bengal has made in the realm of higher education, in the domain of Letters and Science, thanks to the single-minded resolution, herculian energy and above all the sagacious statesmanship of Asutosh

At an early age while he was quite on the threshold of his career as an educational reformer and as an educationist, he fought—as we have already seen—very hard in the Senate for the introduction and recognition of his mother tongue in the curriculum; specially as the latter—Bengalee literature—was recently enriched by the brilliant works of various authors and poets; no doubt he was baffled on the occasion; but it was with a rare flash of imaginative insight—the characteristic quality of statesmanship—that he realized in his mind the immense possibilities of Bengalee Language and Literature and felt an imperative necessity of giving an impetus to the development, growth and healthy rise of our vernaculars, he never lost sight of the importance of giving all possible encouragement to the cause of our own literature which afterwards acquired a world recognition and had chairs installed in Oxford, London, Berlin and at other Universities of the world. With the unerring instincts of a



statesman he fully grasped the significant coincidence—and one might say, the invariable connection—between the rise of a people and the growth and enrichment of their vernacular; between the widespread diffusion of education and culture among all sections of the population and a considerable heightening of the standard of their living and broadening of their outlook on life and things; between the encouragement of higher studies and popularization of researches and a general elevation of the people; between intellectual ascendancy and awakening of the dormant spirit—in short between the march of education—specially higher education—in its various stages and a general amelioration of the peoples' conditions.

He flooded the country with an ever increasing stream of graduates and under-graduates, with a view to fulfil his ambition to bring every home in Bengal, under the uplifting influence of education and enlightenment; but with a long vision, which a real statesman can aspire to, he anticipated the disastrous consequences and enormous proportions of the growing unemployment and under-employment among the educated youths; he was quite alive to the keenness of the bread problem and struggle for existence ahead; and like a constructive statesman as he was, he grasped the fundamental idea of Co-operative organization of the young (on the lines laid down by Educational Colonies Association in



England), the possibilities of which Captain Petavel came out to explore in India. "Asutosh saw," let us quote from a recent article of the Captain, "that the above organization might give her (India) a thoroughly good system of education... solve the problem of middle class unemployment, give India the very best system of industrial development".

Further than that, he saw that it would put India 'on the way to freedom'. He founded a special department in the University and engaged Captain Petavel to study the problem instituting a thorough enquiry into the subject and the lectures of Captain Petavel as well many pamphlets he sent through out the world to eminent men, renowned journals as well as to various Universities for their opinion. Fortified with authoritative and expert opinion, he headed the Modern Co-operative Agricultural Association Ltd, formed to carry out the main idea of Captain Petavel's scheme and lectures—the idea, namely, that of forming the young into a co-operative productive organization and enabling them to be self-supporting by cultivation of the land in proper season. The part played by Asutosh in this movement, is held by men like Sir R. N. Mookerjee to be the most important and far-reaching of all his works. Surely it is worthy of the highest flight of statesmanship.

And none but those gifted with a prophetic vision and a remarkable wisdom—which only real



statesmen can lay claim to—could see things, as Asutosh did almost invariably, in their larger relations, in fuller significance and in truer light. It is quite true that most of the members of a community or a society do not and can not receive their education in, get their inspiration from, or win their laurels directly under the auspices of, the University; still the country or the society at large is greatly benefitted by the works and lives of those who come in direct contact with it; and the benefit can be easily traced 'to the training imparted by the University' and it is enjoyed by one and all without its being recognized. It is no doubt true that only an infinitesimal part of the population of our country, a microscopic minority—to use a hackneyed phrase—could directly participate in the 'advancement of learning' in its highest stage—in extending bounds of knowledge and the horizon of Truth—either as teachers or as students of the University; it is only the eminently intellectual and gifted among the educated few who can make enduring contributions to the march of Truth and Knowledge; and however varied and brilliant may be the products in the fields of original work and thinking—in the domains of Letters and Arts—the vast masses of the people in general in a country like ours live too solely to themselves, are too busy about their own petty, little affairs to be inclined or able to follow or care for, the learned works and theses, definite advancement in, and the cultivation by the



limited few of, the various intricate and learned subjects in the higher branches of study and researches. Not to speak of the vast masses of illiterate, uneducated or ill-educated people who, as a matter of fact, remain uninterested in, or unmoved by the activities of the University in the highest stages of its activities and developments, even educated people are found, as Asutosh pointed out in his remarkable speech at the Lucknow University Union, to question and deprecate the value of definite progress and original contribution in the realm of various antiquarian and abstract subjects such as, Anthropology, Ancient Indian History, Philosophy, Sanskrit, Pali, Zoology and others.

They might say, as he sarcastically put it, 'Dr. (Radhakumud) Mukherjee may have explored the Ancient Indian shipping; he may have extolled the glories of Ancient Indian Commonwealths, but these are not present day problems; they do not help the solution of the bread problem in the remotest degree;' so down with Dr. Mukherjee and his ilk. But he was firmly convinced that nations like individuals can not live, much less, thrive upon bread alone. To be great and glorious, prosperous and prominent, a nation must not neglect education and culture, Science and Letters in their highest forms—which it is the business of a great University to foster and encourage. With the makings and instincts of a true statesman, Asutosh held fast to these views, and he was in



excellent company; many, almost all the master-minds and thinkers of his country and of the world are at one with him in thinking that no nation can have an abiding and honourable place in the comity of nations unless it has some message, to deliver, something really grand to offer, something that may be the heritage of the whole human race, unless, that is to say, the nation can contribute to the forward march of human thought and add its quota to the sum-total of human knowledge and progress in Science and Letters; and this message, this contribution, this quota which constitutes its true right to enduring national glory and the key to national greatness, may relate to any department of human knowledge and Truth, to any sphere of scholarship and learning, and this purpose is precisely served by the Post-Graduate departments of the University in its proper developments and healthy working, wherein are carried on and encouraged highest studies and researches with a view to the extension of the bounds of knowledge and Truth. With a breadth of vision and clearness of perspective—which are cornerstone of true statesmanship—he was able to see the action and interaction, of the different departments of our body politic; he realized fully that encouragement and progress in one sphere of our thoughts and activities—say in that of Science and Letters—can not but affect, can not but react upon others and make in some way or other for the betterment of the conditions of the society



as a whole. Had he been born in an independent country and drawn to politics, his achievement as a statesman would have certainly been more striking, more monumental and more brilliant. But taking things as they were, it was nothing short of lofty statesmanship to read aright many of the signs of time—invisible to all but prophetic eyes—to have interpreted some of the important outward trends and tendencies as well as the inner currents and cross-currents of the Bengalee mind of today, to have gauged its innate longings for and love of knowledge and culture, to have anticipated and met the evergrowing, wide-spread and remarkable demands for popular and higher education and culture—which, as the Sadler Commission truly says, are 'one of the most impressive features of age'; no one but a far-sighted statesman could have judged and measured as he did, the potentialities and capacities of the Bengalee, and for the matter of that Indian, intellect and its eminent possibilities in the domains of higher and highest studies and researches. And the way in which he encountered and overcame the serious and onerous difficulties, the manner in which he laboured for the promotion and diffusion of higher education and championed the cause of original thinking and intellectual activities, making his 'alma Mater' a sanctuary of world's scholarship and culture—and all these, in the face of a world of difficulties and disadvantages, statutory and financial, of



criticism and hostility—were really worthy of any great statesman of the world.

But perhaps the most important act of statesmanship was his inauguration of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture and his persistent and systematic efforts to resuscitate interest in the neglected studies and researches into the domain of Ancient Indian History. His object was not merely to popularize this particular branch of higher study, he aimed at a much higher and greater object; while the politicians and public men—most of them at any rate—were wrangling over a short-cut to self-government and all of them wrestling with the authorities on political issues, Asutosh realized, with the keen and penetrating insight of a statesman, that a healthy renaissance and a timely internal reconstruction must be the enduring foundation of, and should be preceded by, a nation-wide political advancement and a change in the form and constitution of the Government; with the sure instinct of a farseeing statesman, he realized that we are an ancient people, with the threads of our life and culture, our ideals and institutions, rooted deep in the dim and distant past; but today we are in the midcurrents of the marching modern humanity—our natural seclusion destroyed once for all and ourselves dragged into the whirlpool of a powerful modern civilization, struggling under the tutelage of a great modern world-power. In



this current and cross-current of world affairs, in this forward march of modern humanity, India cannot afford to look on ; she can not be a pathetic spectator of the advancing, surging nations—far less can she be the footstool of a foreign power ad infinitum ; Asutosh felt and saw, with a prophetic vision, that India has yet to rise from her present degradation—she has yet a mission in the modern world—yet a message to deliver ; for this purpose she has got to be strong and healthy, vigorous and bouyant once more. But the onrush of foreign culture and foreign ideas are flooding and threatening to engulf her, and she finds herself a pray to a century-old process of devitalization with the dust and dirt of centuries accumulating on her social systems and life. Before she can seize her opportunity to deliver her goods, she must rise to the occasion at this crossing of ways and purge her of the ill eating into her vitals. She must find out the secret sources of health, the hidden reservoir of strength—she must find out the true direction of national progress in her own systems and institutions, in her own hoary culture and ancient history and must not rush to ape the West in the methods and institutions, in the ideas and ideals from which the heart of the West is bleeding. And the new Renaissance and reconstruction which only can be the basis of a greater and more glorious India must be grounded upon her own history and culture in order to bring about the consummation.



As Sir J. C. Bose strikingly said in an inspiring address recently, "The efflorescence of life is the supreme gift of the place and its association....." Professor Radhakrishnan also eloquently observed on an important occasion, "History is a mirror in which we see ourselves, not merely our outer forms as in a common glass but, if only we choose, our inner selves—we can find out strength as well as our weakness, the germs of life, growth and recovery as well as the malady which afflict us, we can discover why the products of a civilization which has lasted for nearly forty centuries are only half alive today." To accomplish this great object, to see our inner selves, to find out 'strength and germs of life, growth and recovery' Asutosh built for the first time, in modern India, the great department of Ancient Indian History and Culture. If to Gokhale belongs the glory of first striving for the spread of literacy and primary education for the teeming millions of India, Asutosh's must also be the glory of initiating and championing systematically the movement of study and researches into India's past with a view to explore the possibilities and build the superstructure of the future, and to raise her once more to a lofty pedestal of national glory and greatness.



CHAPTER XI.

The Administrator.

Administrative genius in a great jurist—Judge and scholar, a rare spectacle in life—Asutosh, the great administrator and the “miraculous man of action in the University—His unusual burden and tremendous responsibilities of his office in the abnormally critical periods in the annals of the University and of the country—the singular success of his tenure—Factors contributing to the difficulties of the office, nature of his duties and his tasks—His works enumerated—An estimate of his genius and his achievements as an administrator.

India has produced many great administrators in recent times, notwithstanding the protracted foreign domination and the consequent shutting of the doors of high offices and the closing of the avenues of administrative service—until lately, which are the best training ground for efficient administrators; many of her eminent sons have achieved remarkable success and fame in the sphere of administration of public affairs—specially in the semi-autonomous Native States, and Bengal, presenting as she does today, a sorry spectacle of emasculated, enfeebled and dying manhood, can, it seems a paradox claim not exactly the least share in this common glory and heritage. But a great jurist and Judge and a statesman of long vision and imagination on the one hand and an eminent and successful administrator—harmoniously blending in the



personality of a man of versatile scholarship and profound knowledge is a rare enough spectacle in life—the more so in the India of today; for the activities and thoughts running in these diverse and divergent departments of our life are always conflicting and often contradictory. To be a great Judge, one must be a great jurist at the first instance, and a jurist is but a master of the principles and theories of jurisprudence and law as also of the history of human institutions; to apply these principles and theories to the concrete cases and to judge the latter in the light of the former, a Judge—who is great as such—must have the requisite learning and knowledge of the history and psychology of the people he judges.

But learning, knowledge and scholarship divorced, as the Judges generally are from practical experience and exercise of executive functions in dealing with everyday affairs and practical problems of life, tend to make one speculative and theoretical. But a great administrator must be, above all, a practical man, alive to the present but not dead to the teachings of history and to the light of knowledge; unlike the judge and the jurist he has to guard against the speculative and theoretical, he must be equal to any situation that may crop up in actual life, he must master the intricacies and the details of a plan or scheme—while it is for the statesman to lay down the general lines of action, as well as the general principles and broader

policies and see that they are pursued. A great jurist, Judge and statesman as Asutosh was, it was given to him to possess, in a striking degree, all the qualities that go to make an eminent and successful administrator; indeed it is almost a truism to say that he was one of the greatest and ablest administrators that India has seen in recent times; and his unsurpassed administrative qualities are only equalled by his statesmanlike vision and sagacity, just as his intense idealism was only excelled by his keen and penetrating practical sense; and fortunately for our hero, his vast learning and his prolonged activities on the Bench were far from standing in the way of his success as an administrator; for though a profound student and a versatile scholar, his mind acquired a positive and not simply a theoretical bent by his study of exact sciences such as Mathematics, Physics and Law; and he dealt with, as he was master of, facts and figures and delighted in action as well as analysis. Nowhere more than in the administration of the affairs of his University—which was by far the principal scene of his activities—was to be seen ‘the miraculous man of action’—‘the greatest explosion of human energy’ in modern Bengal; for the University, his principal love, claimed, by far, the major share of his stupendous energies and his herculian industry.

As the most active and strenuous worker, as the central figure and the most important personality—for a generation and a half,—



as the executive head as well as the Chairman of various Committees and Boards and the permanent President of the Post-Graduate Councils in Arts and Science of the greatest, biggest and the most thriving and expanding University in India and in the East,—and these in critical periods of transition, of political agitation and popular excitement of unprecedented character, Asutosh had had an exceptionally busy and trying time of it. During his Vice-Chancellorship in two periods from 1906—14 and from 1921—23, the country was passing through a whirlwind of agitation and upheaval in the track of Anti-Partition and Non-co-operation Movements with their offshoots in the ‘national education’; every one at the head or in partial control and management of a corporate body had his energies and his patience, his tact and his courage, excessively taxed; for the movements were meant to sap the foundations of institutions established by the Government; Asutosh, too, had more than his share of troubles and tribulations, anxieties and worries—for a series of tremendous onslaughts and attacks was directed towards the University. During the dark days of the Partition and the stormy days of Non-co-operation, popular excitement ran to fever heat and the student population, always the most emotional and impressionable section of the community—and more so, in Bengal—joined the movements enthusiastically. It is not our purpose

to discuss the merits either of the steps they took, or of the movements into which they threw themselves wholeheartedly. But both the movements and the students' part therein increased thousand fold the usual and normal burden of the administrative head of the University; the fact was, the ordinary routine labour as well as the average intellectual work, the dangers and the difficulties of the position, the worries and the responsibilities of the Vice-Chancellor of the University were abnormally aggravated. The least negligence, the slightest indiscretion, hasty action or error of judgment on the part of a responsible administrator might act as a spark to let the individual and the institution he runs be caught in the conflagration raging around in these times. But Asutosh stuck to his post and steered his ship clear of the encompassing rocks and shoals, like a shrewd pilot, like a brave and seasoned navigator. No greater proof, no more positive evidence of his superb administrative genius could be given—and the courage and tact, resolution and resourcefulness that he displayed in these most momentous crises in the history of our University and of our country, are really the part of the highest statesmanship—than the fact namely, that under his administrative guidance, the University, for good or evil, withstood the sweeping onslaughts, and out of the fire, she came brighter, fuller and nobler. But the consequent tremen-



dous strain upon his patience and perseverance, upon his courage and wisdom; the excessive demand upon his physical endurance and working capacity and the ceaseless drain of his energy and vitality, caused by his administration of the University, would have surely crushed any other individual of his generation.

Dealing as he did, on the one hand with the student population greatly inflamed, with the community greatly agitated, and on the other, with a reactionary Government bent upon repression and retrogression, Asutosh had to play with fire; he had to decide quickly and act promptly and he joined the vision and sagacity of a great statesman to his unique industry and ability, his integrity and his practical wisdom, and all these were the real factors contributing to his eminence and his success as an administrator; these principal factors added to the cardinal fact that the University passed, in his regime and under his guidance, through the theories of a new birth and emerged out of a revolution of the governing ideas and principles, of accepted ideals and aims, and that the whole system of higher education was sought to be reconstructed on a new basis, made the position of the administrative head of the University more thorny, his responsibility more onerous, his duties more difficult and his tenure of office more eventful and more momentous. Let us quote his own inimitable words; referring to the first period of his stewardship from 1906-14



Asutosh said, "I also recall the magnitude and intensity of the political excitement which had, at that period, penetrated into the remotest corners of the land and added considerably to the intrinsic difficulties of educational reform under the most embarrassing circumstances." When he was called again to the helm of affairs at the University in 1921, "to crown all, political excitement of a formidable character saturated youthful minds at the most impressionable periods of their lives, seriously affected their discipline, shook to the foundations their faith in established law and order and like a whirlwind, swept them away from the peaceful avocations of the scholar. To shoulder the responsibility of management, at so critical a period in the life of a great University, steadily developing and expanding, was manifestly a hazardous adventure..." And the duties and responsibilities of, "the Vice-Chancellor—are not exactly light or unimportant under any circumstances; even the routine work of an uneventful period consumes much time and demands a good deal of patience, if nothing more—but in my case" said Asutosh, "the period of office has not only been unusually long, but it has imposed upon the business head of the University, an absolutely unprecedented burden of toil and responsibility."

His very first act, after assumption of office, was to help, as the President of a special Committee, in framing a complete set of new Regulations



dealing with all matters relating to the University, under the newly enacted Indian Universities Act. The magnitude of the task may be judged by the fact that the old Senate had failed to accomplish it even after an extension of the prescribed time. And no greater appreciation, no higher testimony could be given of the thoroughness, expedition and ability which the President and the members of the Committee brought to bear upon this difficult and delicate task than the fact the whole body of Regulation—comprehensive in their scope and diverse in their character as these were—was sanctioned by the Government of India in exactly the same form in which it emerged from the Committee. The next task that confronted him and that he applied himself to was even more exacting, more trying and tedious, and more protracted, just as its performance, remarkable and noteworthy. It was nothing but “to reshape the life and working of the University, on the basis of what has been settled in theory. The task was one to make even the most courageous and ambitious aspirant to the dignity of Vice-Chancellorship pause and consider...It would be difficult, hardly possible in fact, to characterise in one brief sentence, all the demands made by the Indian Universities Act, upon the Universities—through reorganization, reform, revolution, each of these words, would, in a way, be justified but would express one aspect only,... Reforms

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE—A STUDY.

of the most incisive kind had to be carried through every department of the University life ; demands formerly unheard of had to be made on all who claimed privileges in connection with the University ... The last eight years, in truth " proceeded Sir Asutosh in the course of his memorable Convocation speech in 1914, "have been years of unremittent struggle : difficulties and obstacles kept springing up like the heads of Hydra, each had been armed with sharp and often venomous fangs." Let us see what the greater and more distached, the superior body—the Government of India—have said on the difficulties and troubles of the period of transition. In the course of their lengthy Resolution on the subject in the Gazette of India, they expressed their considered judgment as follows : "The promulgation of those Regulations marks a notable advance in the movement for the extension and progressive development of the higher form of education—yet the stage thus reached is merely the starting point of the gradual process of reconstruction which will make large demands upon the energy and wisdom of the University authorities. The Regulations now sanctioned fill in the framework supplied by the Indian Universities Act. They provide the machinery for reform ; but they leave the Senate to put the machinery in motion." We have already had occasion to deal briefly with the character and process of those thorough 'reorganization,' reform, revolution,' which



might be 'designated as a new creation' and which 'had previously been hardly imagined and certainly not been attempted.' It is only necessary here to emphasise the exceptional nature of the difficulties, dangers and disadvantages, the extraordinary weight of the burden, and the immensity of the task that fell to the lot of the administrative head of the University, who had to work and guide and transform it in the light of newer ideals and higher conceptions in times of storm and stress.

The task was of so stupendous a character that it proved too much of a burden to Sir Lancelot Sanderson, even after the University was reconstructed and reorganised by Asutosh; another of his successors Sir Ewart Greaves feelingly referred to*, more than once and thoroughly recognised what a gigantic burden it was that Asutosh shouldered easily, cheerfully and selflessly year in and year out; and as Sir Ewart pointed out, Dr. Sadler and his colleagues on the Commission also bore eloquent testimony to his masterly administration of the University's affairs. Vast masses of details, the order of work, the constitution of new agencies, creations of new posts and new bodies, and modes of

* The University in all its branches and in every department bears the stamp of his work and of his individuality and it is only when one comes in close contact with the work of the University that one realises the stupendous burden which he bore for so many years....." Sir Ewart Greaves' Convocation Address 1925.



procedure had to be attended to; the very large and voluminous routine work, dry and dreary, as well as not unfrequent calls to grapple with new situations and developments that never failed to crop up now and then, unheard of expansions of the functions, heightening of the Ideal and broadening of the outlook of the University, taking the initiative and carrying into effect the great policies and programmes, the inauguration of the various new departments of studies and researches, the selection of the requisite staff, the smooth and harmonious working of the internal machinery and piloting the ship through uncharted waters and introubled times and save it from external attacks and internal disorder—these constitute a formidable enough catalogue, sufficient to crush all but exceptionally eminent administrators. And when one takes into his serious consideration that Asutosh was one of the most hardworked and erudite Judges of the Calcutta High Court, where his official work was of the most exacting nature, one simply marvels at the marvellous, working capacities and administrative genius of Bengal's miraculous man of action.

As we have seen Asutosh's administrative labours were not merely confined to the four walls of the University itself; from his place at the helm of affairs of the University, he had to take more than his share in the movement of reformation of the structure, and in improvement of the working of the whole system of education obtaining in the country; he



had to inaugurate and complete a survey of about 800 schools and 50 colleges scattered all over Bengal, Assam, Behar & Orrissa, Central Provinces and Burma, and what was a more difficult and more delicate task, he had to modify and restrict the extent of affiliation enjoyed by various institutions and to curb down their activities in order to bring them up to the standard contemplated by the Indian Universities Act; no doubt he set various agencies work to accomplish these; but in the overwhelming masses of correspondence to the numerous bodies ranging from the Government of India to the remotest village school and in the world of intellectual and physical labours entailed, his Roman hand could be easily traced; he was his own secretary and his own subordinate; he was not simply an administrative figure head; the nature, the temperament and the personality of the master-administrator would not let him depend solely upon others but would urge him to rise equal to the task and be master of the situation, however complex and difficult it might be; the fact was, he held in the hollow of his hand, all the threads of management and control; he had all the initiative and directive powers; he would himself work out, as he was always master of, the minutest details of a plan or scheme and nothing was too high or too low for him; on the one hand, he had a firm hold of the actualities of the today; on the otherhand, he was perfectly alive to the growing needs of the morrow as well



as to the more subtle, paramount factors and governing principles.

He knew his own mind as well as his own business and could express himself forcibly and act accordingly ; quickness of decision, firmness of determination, promptness of action, an abundance of courage and faith which are the essential elements of a great administrator were at his absolute command ; in the history of higher education and researches in modern India, his administration of the Calcutta University will surely stand out in prominent relief ; and the extraordinary ability, the really Herculean energy and patience, his unique capacity and aptitude for work, his unrivalled courage and practical wisdom, more than all these, his outstanding record and brilliant achievements—which his worst critics could not, would not minimise—will mark him out as one of the greatest and most successful administrators of India. What a great administrative genius he was will be all the more evident when one comes to his record and indicates his achievements in the domain of educational reform and in the direction of promotion of higher studies and researches ; it is clear to the meanest intelligence that an administrator of no ordinary type he was ; for, to his executive efficiency and administrative excellence, he joined his superb organizing capacity and constructive powers ; and in the preparation of the very exhaustive rules and new Regulations, in the creations of new and com-



plicated machineries and agencies, in the formation of the new Senate and the Syndicate, more strikingly in the establishment of the Post-Graduate Councils in Arts and Science, in shaping the numerous courses of studies and directions of researches, in moulding various great and small schemes of endowment—specially, the Palit, Ghosh and Khaira, which was fittingly admired by Lord Ronaldshay in his last Convocation Speech—in the inauguration and equipment of Colleges of Science and Law—in the great impetus to the movement of enlightenment and culture as well as in the extraordinary momentum of progress that the cause of higher and highest studies and researches received at his hand, in the extension of the bounds of knowledge, in the broadening of the horizon of Truth resulting therefrom, the marvellous powers of organization and construction and of persuasion as well as the miraculous capacity for work of the administrator can be traced to the best advantage. “To me it has always been a matter of astonishment”, said Dr. C. V. Raman on an important occasion “that it has at all been possible to bring together such a body of workers, to reconcile so many conflicting aims, ideals and interests and to create a homogeneous organization out of a mass of heterogeneous material. I am certain no one but Sir Asutosh Mookerjee could have essayed or successfully accomplished this great task.”



CHAPTER XII.

The Speaker.

Asutosh, one of the foremost speakers of his generation, but not a born orator—His great debating qualities and dialectical skill—Two of his typical speeches—His last Convocation Address at the Calcutta University, was memorable and historic—His speeches reveal the intellectual supremacy and inner calibre of the man—the nature of his eloquence—Asutosh, compared with some of the master orators of modern Bengal.

We have dwelt on many aspects of Asutosh's versatile personality and on his diverse activities and manysided interests; there still remain some aspects of his brilliant public life which made a profound impression upon, and swayed, his contemporaries, irrespective of caste, creed or colour, and contributed not a little to his success and his popularity—we mean his greatness as a speaker, as a friend of learning and scholarship and as a leader and ruler of men. It is almost a truism to say that Asutosh was one of the foremost speakers of his generation—if not the most effective and impressive; and the excellence of the speaker was characteristic of the man; but he was not a born orator like many of his eminent contemporary public men; moreover, not being a prominent political figure or a Member of Legislative Council for the best part of his life, he was not called upon to speak on the important questions of the day, off and on; and



almost all his striking speeches and addresses that attracted considerable attention, admiration or abuse, were delivered within the precincts of the Universities and dealt with educational questions.

But within his own sphere he was unrivalled and unsurpassed, the lack of variety notwithstanding; on educational problems and educational topics, no public man, no public speaker or politician, Indian or European, could excel him in the weight of authority, in the wealth of facts and figures, in the grasp of fundamental principles and governing ideals, in the clarity of vision and in the width of out-look, no less in the comprehensive survey. Great as he was, certainly, as a speaker, he was perhaps, greater as a keen debator and dialectician; and it was a really treat to hear or read him advocating his viewpoint or smashing that of his opponent; next to his commanding personality and massive intellectual powers, his superb debating powers and dialectical skill, his brilliant advocacy and his compelling eloquence were the principal factors in the consolidation of his strength and his popularity in life and in acquirement of his ascendancy over all sorts and conditions of his fellowmen. A consummate lawyer and advocate of the first water, a master of his language and of his own vigourous, inimitable style and powerful diction, he would support his case with his great eloquence and persuasive skill, or overwhelm his opponents with his strength of arguments, force of expression, and with a never-ending stream



of facts and figures, much like a giant flowering a pigmy. It is not possible to do justice, or even to casually refer to all or most of his important speeches and addresses; we believe we might deal with two of his speeches as being fairly typical—one that he delivered at a meeting of the Senate of Calcutta University, brought to verge of starvation and stoppage of its functions owing to the refusal of the Government of Lord Lytton to lend the state aid which it was its due. It is impossible not to be moved by the indomitable spirit of patriotism and resistance, and the unbending attitude and iron determination to stand by the University and save its limited autonomy from the misdirected and mischievous zeal of a reactionary Government, that found forceful expression in it; and the note struck by Asutosh in the conclusion touched the tenderest chord of every Bengali, nay of every Indian, heart; the clarion call of appeal, the call to freedom and manliness sounded by him is unique and almost without parallel in the tragic history of India's subjection to Britain. "You give me slavery with one hand and money with the other," said he, "I despise the offer. I will not take the money. We shall retrench and live within our means. We shall starve, we will go from door to door, throughout Bengal. I will ask my Post-Graduate teachers to starve their families but to keep their independence; I tell you, as members of this University, stand up for the right of the