

HRJ-24

Manuscript account of "The Assault on a Professor" written by Henry Rosher James. Relates to an incident at Presidency College in February 1915 which ultimately led to HRJ's resignation as Principal of the college.

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UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
DELEGACY FOR
EXTRA-MURAL STUDIES

THE ASSAULT
ON A
PROFESSOR

James
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I. The Assault on a Professor

When on a certain day in December, 1915, Lord Carmichael, first of the Governors of Bengal, came to preside at the Prize-giving of the Hindu & Mohammedan Schools, I had realized one of my dearest wishes, & returned therefore to my room at Presidency College, & the day's work, tired - but with a sense of satisfaction. For all had gone well. My reason for wishing it was that, though I was myself connected with colleges - that is with university education - & Principal of Presidency College, Calcutta, the largest & most important Government college in India, I had come to regard high school education in Bengal (Public School education is the nearest equivalent - with a difference) as even more important than university education. And these two schools were, in a certain sense, my charge also. For by an old established arrangement the two schools, each with about 600 pupils & a full staff of masters, was under the ultimate control of the Principal of the Presidency College: it was partly a matter of departmental convenience, partly the outcome of historical events. The Principal had nothing to do with the every day conduct of the ~~schools~~ schools, but the Headmasters, both men of high character & ability, could come to him in any difficulty, & were glad to do so. The relationship was one of tradition & good feeling rather than of ~~subordination~~.

x Footnote to p. 2

That there were two schools thus connected with Presidency College was an accident of educational history. Or rather it was a consequence of religious differences in Bengal. The Hindu School admitted only Hindu boys, the Hare School admitted alike Hindus & boys who were not Hindus. One might compare the difference between the schools of King's College & University College, London.

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than of actual subordination. And it had long
been the custom for the Principal to preside, year
after year, at the School prize-givings. This
~~seemed to me~~ ^{I thought} dull; & in the interests of the schools,
I had sought to alter it. In particular it had
seemed to me that it would be good for the
schools (& incidentally, good for Government for
education), if the Governor (now that Bengal had
a Governor) could be induced to preside at a prize-
giving. But there was a difficulty. There were two
schools, & two prize-givings. Scarcely could it be
expected that the Governor would come to two
prize-givings in one year. Yet neither school
might be preferred to the other. Both were uni-
versally related to Presidency College; both were
equally dear to the Principal. There was whole-
some emulation between the schools, & whichever
was selected for the honour, the other would be
hurt. The solution was to have a combined
prize-giving, & get the Governor to preside at
that. When H. E.'s consent had been obtained,
the next problem was how to provide a build-
ing large enough for the double audience. There
were 600 boys in each school & 30 masters; and in
addition more provision must be made for fathers
& old boys & fathers & other guests. This difficulty
was met by hiring a large 'pandal' or tent (there

I was only one in Calcutta big enough, but Shabatosh
Babu, the Steward of the College - chief assistant
in the College Office was, as always, on the occasion,
& put me in communication with the owner, and
having it all up in the compound, between the
Hare School & the College. The date was fixed,
the tent erected, & happily the weather favoured.
A few days before the day came, Gourley, H 2's
permanent helpful private secretary sent me word
to speed up the function as much as possible,
as H 2 had to go on to fulfil another engagement.
I little knew how fateful that admonition was to be
for me. Of course I passed the word on to the Headmas-
ters, & we accordingly "speeded up". It was not
easy as we had a double programme of recitations
& speeches, as well as two large lots of prizes for
distribution. However we "speeded up" so effectually
that the function was over & H 2 had gone
on more half hour within the scheduled time. So
I went back to the Principal's room in a contented
frame of mind & settled myself to my tea & sandwich
before going on to the day's correspondence & files. I
had not been back long when two students came
to see me with a complaint. They had been roughly
treated & "milted", they declared, as they were
passing along a corridor on their way to attend
a lecture. They had to pass a room in which

4

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Mr Oaten was lecturing as they passed he had
rushed out upon them with abusive words: there
was also an allegation of a "rush" given. It did
not seem a very serious matter, but the stud-
ents were excited, & I knew from experience
the dangers of race riots. I therefore spoke
them fair & undertook to enquire into the matter:
it was late to do anything further that day.

Next day, before any further action of any
sort was possible, a "strike" had been declared.
Nearly all the students were out. Only a few
"skeleton" classes were held. Yet the aggrieved
students, certainly, had not a very good case,
whatever actually passed, & that was difficult
to ascertain. They had, it appeared been cutting
lectures in order to attend the Hunter & Hare School
Prize-giving - a thing, may be, laudable enough
in itself. But when the ceremony was over sooner
than expected, they found it would be possible
to get back to one of their lectures late, & perhaps
with luck getting themselves marked "present", then
both eating their cake & having it. They had not
the sense to go quietly & made no small noise passing
down the corridor that Professor Oaten came out &
re was treated, perhaps somewhat testily. "Hic
illae lacrymae!" The "ambush" was thus a

12
direct consequence of the Prize-giving, & of the accident
that we hurried up, as H.E.'s Private Secretary told
us to do, & finished sooner than was expected.

When I came to college next day, it was to find
the class-rooms empty, while students wandered
about aimlessly in the street in the college com-
pound. An attempt to shepherd some back
by personal exhortation had no success, though
no hostility was shown to me: nor was the persuasion
of other members of the staff more effective. Some
time previously, on the occasion of another such
strike, arising out of a somewhat singular inci-
dent, that is to say a alleged insult ^{from} ~~on the part of an~~
English member of the staff (in this case the professor
was said to have used the phrase "chattering
like monkeys"), the Governing Body of the College
(all colleges at this date had Governing Bodies) had
passed a rule that if ever students were found
to be absenting themselves from their classes
deliberately, a notice would be posted in the col-
lege, fixing a time within which they must
rejoin their classes; failing which each one
would incur a fine of five rupees. Strikes at Indian
colleges had been frequent & it seemed to me a foolish
thing that college authorities should show them-
selves helpless in face of them. One Presidency College
rule was devised to remedy this helplessness.
Accordingly a notice was posted in terms of

the rule. It did not bring the strikers back, but two or three days later, as usually happened in these cases, students & professor got together, a reconciliation was effected, & we returned to our usual routine. But the notice was on the notice-board, & the period of grace had expired. It seemed to me to be necessary to show practically that the rule was no "brimstone pulver", but meant what it said. So another notice appeared on the Board, pointing out that the fine had been incurred by all who had deliberately absented themselves from their classes, & must be paid. But because I knew that many students were poor & had difficulty even in paying their fees, the notice went on to say that any student who could plead hardship as the cause of poverty, might ask to see the Principal & get the fine reduced. Some hundred or more students pleaded poverty & got off with a nominal fine of one anna (= 1 d); the rest of the students, with the exception of a few who had remained faithful, or who were absent for legitimate reasons, paid the full fines. There was a tremendous as well as disillusionment in the college, & more so outside. The Indian papers had something to say about it. "Extraordinary Proceedings of the Municipal of the Presidency College" was the headline in one of them, the paper even hinted that the Principal was swindling

7
himself with the girls. In reality, of course,
the fines were paid direct into the treasury, like
the fees. ⁸ Anteriorly now things had returned
to normal; but a certain stress remained which
it would take some time to live down. But the
week moved on; with March the university ex-
aminations were to come & two months more
would bring the middle of April & the long vaca-
tion. Then on the 16th of February again a small
deputation of students waited on me with a
complaint. They had been roughly spoken to, and
and - so are averred - roughly handled. Against the
professor against whom complaint was made was
McClaren, & the occasion of the clash was, the same
- noise made in passing along a corridor. This
time the cause was the premature dismissal of a
class from an adjoining lecture-room. The lecturer
who sent his class away before the time was cer-
tainly at fault; but that did not help. It was again
students & a temporary professor; & I made up my
mind that this time the trouble should be taken in time.
So I made an appointment with the student to come
& see me a little later, when I could arrange for Mr
Gaten also to be present. I filled in the interval
with a visit to the Physics Laboratory which was in
new buildings adjoining the older part of the
College, & this took me downstairs, along a veranda.

2 on the ground-floor & across some open ground to the right. In less than half an hour I was returning for the settlement of the dispute & as I passed the main buildings & approached the staircase, I noticed a small group at the foot of the stairs & in the centre - Laten - pale & dishevelled, & with blood trickling down his forehead. A few words explained that he had suddenly been set upon by a small body of students, one of whom pinned on him from behind & brought him to the ground. He had then been belaboured & kicked. It was a brutal enough assault. This was more serious than a strike, & utterly unexpected, though fortunately it proved that Laten was not very badly hurt. With the assistance of one or two colleagues we got him upstairs & had his hurts attended to in my room. Then at once I went off to see what was possible in the way of investigation. One of the college servants said that he knew by night two of the assailants, but did not know their names; & that one of the two lived in the College Hotel. This, at all events was a clue. Two colleagues went with me at once to the Hotel (it was known as the "Hindu Hotel," which was in a street flanking the college compound & opposite to the new Laboratory buildings. There I had a roll called of the five wards into which the hotel was divided (there were 250 resident students). Each boarder was interrogated & absences noted.

Footnote #9

* This little point ^{was a slight} gained importance later,
because I learnt that the Oates a little later
were going about making a grievance of the
Principal's lack of sympathy. He had never
been to enquire after the assault.

This gave no immediate result, but was a method of elimination. Mr. Patten meanwhile had received first aid in the Principal's room & was taken home. Sympathy naturally shifted now to him, however open to condemnation he may have been for a singular display of battle-morale. That evening after my college work was finished - & the work of the day had not lightened it - my wife & I drove round to Alexandre Marnion, where the Patten household (Patten had recently married a wife) to make enquiries. We did not see him, for Mr. & Mrs. Patten were out driving. This was a relief, for obviously the Professor could not be very badly hurt.

Next day investigation had (the vigorously prosecuted) report had (he made to Government. Presidency College had a double character. With its "properly constituted" Governing Body it was a semi-autonomous institution under the authority of Calcutta. But it was also a Government college, a college financed by Government, & its staff were all Government servants. As such the college authorities were answerable to the Education Department, & to Government. In particular, the Principal was. Now Government at this time had recently been changed from an autocratic Lieutenant-Governor to a Governor-in-Council. There was a Member of Council in charge of Education; the Member at this time was Mr. P. C. Lyon, & for certain reasons

10

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Mr Lyon was no friend of mine. While I was busy
with arrangements for investigation, a motor car
sent by Mr Lyon came to the College with a message
inviting the Principal to come over & see him. Things
were critical at the moment, time was an ~~important~~
out element, & it was difficult for me to leave the
College. I therefore asked Blake, head of the Physics
Department - went in ~~servants~~ on the staff, also
a member of the Governing Body, to go in my stead,
make due apologies for me & ask that I might
be allowed to come & see Mr Lyon later when the
dispositions which appeared to me necessary, had
been made. When I did go in the evening, Mr Lyon
was to all appearances friendly & sympathetic &
approved what was being done. In particular he
expressed upon me that the Governing Body was
to push its investigation with the utmost
vigour & keep him informed. He was emphatic
that the responsibility was entirely his. He was
pleased. We had therefore, merely to go on with
the investigation line of investigation already begun.
Our one clue, as I have said, was that two of the as-
sailants could be identified by one of the college
servants, my queer little 'chaplain', Kivick. We
continued our 'elimination', & by this means were
able to limit probabilities. Absentees from roll call
in the Hostel, & the students of one particular class.
I then fixed time at which the members of this
class should pass through the Principal's Room,

11
D one by one, & the hostel absentees in like manner.
I sat at the table in my room along with two
of the Governing Body, & at one side of the table
stood Kisen the chaprari. It was arranged that if
he recognized any one of the students who came
before us, he was to give me a sign. This scheme
worked nicely. The students as they came in
were asked the one question, had they taken any
part in the assault. All alike said, no; but in
the case of two of them Kisen gave the agreed
sign & we had their names. There was now fair
ground for making a formal charge against these
two students, though as yet the case was not
fully proved. It remained for the Governing
Body to constitute themselves a court to try them.
The Saturday following was the day fixed for the assault
had taken place on a Wednesday, & the two accused
were summoned before us. One of them was a rather
special friend of mine in the hostel, a thick-set,
jovial fellow, whom his friends called Sunny,
because his surname was "Sunny". The other was
Sukhar Chandra Bam. This is a name which has
been notorious for some time now in nationalist
circles, & in the Calcutta Corporation. I have
reason to suppose that the "chief executive officer"
of the Calcutta Municipality, as Sukhar Chandra
Bam was till recently (at the present time his

12

I in jail) was a very Luther Ch. Bane, another the same person. Before Saturday arrived a change had come over the scene through orders from Government, but from the Honourable Member, Mr Lyon, to close the College. Order first came to me as a phone message from Mr Lyon himself. I pointed out how disadvantageous this closure must be from the point of view of our enquiries. Closing the College meant dispersing the students. Our prospect of discovering the culprit depended on the students being present & at work. He believed that we had discovered two already, & were on the track of others. My remonstrances were of no avail, & orders for the closing of the College were passed. However, we had our two accused; & the trial was to be on the Saturday.

The G.B. met at an early hour. Trial - consideration of the verdict lasted late into the afternoon. My sandwiches & biscuits, shared by the four members in session, were our only refreshment. In the end we were all fully convinced of the guilt of the accused. Both denied the accusations, but neither could give satisfactory account of what he was doing at the time of the assault. Doubtless he was not where he ought to have been, - in class: the witnesses proved that. Attempts to

13

I have an abili' book done in each case. The two were found guilty by the Governing Body & expelled. As an incident in college history it was distressing, but as a drama of swift detection & justice done, it was a fairly smart piece of work. The Governing Body had upon the occasion a show itself, one thought, rather notably efficient, & public opinion in Calcutta, and especially European public opinion, which had been roused by this attack by Indian students on an Englishman, would have reason to be appeased. Both students had been a little turbulent in manner, Satish Chandra Bose more markedly so. A slightly humorous incident of the trial was that M Bose came in a short before us with both hands buried in his 'chopkan' or upper garment. This aroused M Bose's suspicion & with quiet sang-froid he walked up to Satish Bose & told him to take his hands out. He had nothing in them; but he might have had a pistol or a missile of some sort. There were already the days of extremist intrigues,

for me it had been a nipping burner, as well as a long-sweeper one. For I valued good relations with all my students & I had a special liking for one of these two. I had hated the whole business. I was tired & strained & heartily glad to have the business over - & well over. Then the

14

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blow fell. An official letter was put into my hands, informing me that Government had decided to appoint a Committee of Inquiry into the discipline of Presidency College. I was myself named for appointment on this committee; but on two others of the names I read for myself with a veritable disaster. The President was Sir Amerson Mukherji, Judge of the High Court, an Vice-Chancellor, & the most powerful personage in Calcutta University, - perhaps in all Calcutta. University with which I had taken up into opposite camps. I had openly opposed schemes which he was promoting; & he was not a good enemy. Indeed it was hardly known that not long before this latter himself had said me the compliment of representing me (in a vividly written article in the "Empire", Calcutta's evening paper) as protagonist on the other side in a conflict of which in the university senate. The article had concluded with the words: "but the end is not yet." And indeed I was to find it was not. The other name was H. H. Hornell, my replacement in the Directorship of Public Instruction, who had been brought back to Bengal as Director, after leaving the Educational Service as a junior in 1906. There had been strong feeling in the Service about the appointment & vehement controversy both in Bengal & in England. As a point either of desertion or good taste, or it may be through mere habit from a higher quarter, Hornell had never

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once set foot in Presidency College since he came to
Calcutta: his predecessor in office had been President
of our Governing Body. Perhaps the language I am
using may seem overstrained: it was annoying, it
may be, to have these two men on the committee,
but after all no such terrible matter. Why chide I
not just accept the situation & make the best of it?
Government was, of course, within its rights in or-
dering an enquiry. Yet I thought good. It is difficult
for anyone who had not lived through the years which
led up to this crisis & I had lived them, to under-
stand any feeling & judge of their reasonableness. It
was bitter enough that Hornell who had been kept
~~away from~~ the college for nearly three years, was now to
~~be~~ ^{be} ~~head of the department merely,~~ ^{be} ~~but as a sort of inquirer.~~ ^{be} ~~For worse was it that~~ ^{be} ~~neither Bhowan Mookherji, the arch-enemy of the~~ ^{be} ~~college (for we stood in the way of his scheme for~~ ^{be} ~~apprehending the university), nor Hornell who~~ ^{be} ~~knew the extent of my resentment at his reap-~~ ^{be} ~~pearance in Bengal, could be expected to come~~ ^{be} ~~to sit in judgment on Presidency College entirely~~ ^{be} ~~free from prepossessions. It was not in human~~ ^{be} ~~nature to do so. Presidency College had been in pos-~~ ^{be} ~~session of reorganization in conformity with the re-~~ ^{be} ~~quirement of a reformed university & the reorg-~~ ^{be} ~~anizing had been my work. Inevitably an enquiry~~ ^{be} ~~into discipline at Presidency College was an enquiry~~

16

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into my work in the eight years since the autumn
of 1907. Personally I could expect no quarter. And that
was not the worst. I was more anxious for the
credit of the College than for my own; but in
fact the two would not be separated. Making
every allowance for haste of purpose & even high-
mindedness, it was hardly possible for men to
be entirely unaffected by personal feeling. Really
highminded men would not, in the circumstances,
have sat on the Committee. It was true that I was, & he,
myself to be a member. But how was that going to
help me? It might even be a hindrance. Obviously
I could not be a wholly impartial judge, for I was also,
though not ostensibly, the defendant. It is after all I saw
that I was faced with an insoluble dilemma. What
ever course I took must be disastrous. I could not
sit on the committee; it would be a show martyrdom.
I should see what I knew to be a perfectly good case
for the College warped & twisted by unfriendly inter-
pretation, & be almost powerless to help. For whatever
I might say was open to misrepresentation. I may have
been wrong in this; I do not think I was. At all events
the conditions were at the time overwhelming, as I
read the (for me) fatal document, & I was near the break-
ing-point. The blow came with all the greater force,
because it came at the end of a trying day, or rather
a succession of days, & was entirely unexpected. At the
moment when it came, we at the College
seemed to have carried through necessarily the

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difficult task which had been laid upon ~~these~~.
However we finished our work - the meeting
broke up. There were a few odds & ends of work
to finish up after, - then word was brought to me
that, as usual, the Victoria had come & the mem-
salib' was waiting to take me back to my suite
in the Grand Hotel. There was one thing I had
to do first; perhaps I should have done better to
put it off (as the mem-salib advised) till next
day. But I had undertaken, at his instance,
to let the Honorable Member know at the earliest
possible the result of the G. B. investigation; & the
next day was Sunday. As we drove along Charing-
I caught sight of an "Empire" poster - "President's
College - Appointment of a Committee of Inquiry". So the
announcement was in the evening paper. In front of the
Hotel, where we stopped to leave "files", I met a couple of
Education men from the Moseley, in Columbia St.
some meetings of examiners. They were intrigued, &
they were sympathetic; but it did not help. We drove
on to Mr. Lyon's house in ^{Street}. The mem-salib
waited in the carriage, & I went in. Mr. Lyon was
dressing for dinner, & I had some time to wait. I
was exhausted & feeling pretty desperate. Words were
running in my head. Presently Mr. Lyon came in.
I told him what we had done at the Governing
Body meeting. And then I went on to the matter
of the Committee of Inquiry, & charged him with a

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breaching faith & personal betrayal (had he not
left investigation to the Governing Body, urged
me to press on with it?). I charged him with having
deliberately placed me in an impossible position,
because he was perfectly well acquainted with the
circumstances as between me & Hornell (he him-
self had brought Hornell to Bengal & kept me out
of the Directorship). Then I got up to go. I was ex-
hausted & desperate. All I had said was in a few
lines. I was not feeling strong & wise. As I passed
him to go out, I just whispered two words, the
words that had been running in my head. A
few moments later I was out in the open air, seated
by the riverbank on our way back to the hotel.

I felt better. But troubles times still lay
ahead: I could not but have a slight uneasiness as
to the outcome of my interview with W. Lyon. But I
woke up the next day, the next, & nothing happened.
On Sunday I wrote my reply to the letter about the
Committee, begging asking the excuse for my
neglect of it, but at the same time offering my best
assistance & forwarding the Committee's proposals.
On Tuesday the Committee was to meet. I felt bound
nevertheless to put on record my protest against the
Committee's composition. So I wrote officially to the
Government giving my reasons for taking exception
to Hornell & Entsch. Kuckhorji. And because the Com-
mittee was to meet that day, the business was urgent,

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I sent a copy of that letter down officially to
the Secretary to the Committee (a young I.S. man),
with the request that it might be placed before
the Committee. Subsequently I learnt from Mr
Peake, who had been put on the committee in my
place, an account of the sensation produced. The
Committee was just opening its business when
the letter came - reached the Chairmen. He was
furious: he nearly burst with fury (being stout
of a phthoric habit). He is said to have exclaimed:
"Gad, I had him in my court." The Committee
meeting was then there adjourned.

This was now the 21st & for two more days things
went on for me uneasily, but quietly. The college re-
mained closed, so there was no ordinary college
work, but there was plenty of other work to oc-
cupy me. Among other things I attended a meet-
ing of 'heads of colleges', called at my suggest-
ion to concert measures for dealing with
strikes & to get the University to move in the matter.
One day as I was walking in College Street, I met
Mr. W. R. D. Austin & Mr. R. J. B. in a car
driving toward Bangalore, where the Governor
was now staying, having recently returned from
a tour - & wondered. On Friday morning, Febru-
ary the 25th a press communiqué appeared in

all the Calcutta morning papers. It ran as follows:

"We are desired by Government to state that as soon as Mr James, Principal of Presidency College received information of the appointment of the Committee of Inquiry into discipline at Presidency College, with a request that he would serve on the Committee, he paid a visit to the Hon. Mr Lyon, Member of Council in charge of Education & subjected him to gross personal insult. Mr James also sent to the Secretary of the Committee, with the request that it should be placed before the Committee, a copy of a letter which he wrote to Government, accusing two members of the Committee of bias against himself. The Governor-in-Council considers that Mr James has shown himself unfit to retain the post of Principal of Presidency College; he has accordingly transferred him from that post & has placed him under suspension pending further orders."

This did not come upon us altogether as a surprise that morning. For the evening before I had received a note in his own handwriting from Lord Carmichael, the Governor, expressing deep regret at some course of action he had been obliged to follow in my regard. It was a little in the thrusts no more than it hurts you're in. What the hurt was to be I did not know that night (the official letter came next morning), but naturally it brought to

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 two people in a Grand Hotel write mental despatches
 for a sense of impending calamity. It was a
 weird night for ~~two people in the Grand Hotel suite~~^{these}.
 I had work to finish (I generally had) & sat up late over
 it. A little after midnight, when the theatre-goers
 in Chowringhee had driven away in their cars & car-
 riages, & the night was hushed in silence, a knock
 came at the door of the end of the little passage
 by which our suite was entered, now closed for the
 night. I got up from my desk & opened the door.
 A queer little old man in rather shabby attire
 shuffled in. He enquired about the Presidency College
 affair: had I heard anything? I replied non-com-
 mitally; he apologized for disturbing us & glided
 stealthily away. Heavier, it appeared, from the
 Statesman, a paper markedly friendly to the Educa-
 tional Service, & I me personally. Probably the com-
 munique had reached the newspaper office, & the
 intention was either to give me warning or to get
 some statement from me. I never knew, however,
 who sent him, or what he really came for.

The long night passed miserably enough for
 both of us - without sleep. In the morning came
 the 'communique', & I knew. Strength comes
 with a crisis. The uneasiness of the days since
 Saturday, the 19th, was over, & at least I knew the

I went. I was in anything but a penitent mood,
 & for the moment there was nothing to do. But
 it is poor fun engaging in conflict with Govern-
 ment. Government holds all the trumps; the
 odds are unfairly weighted. Government is (up
 to a point) invincible & all-powerful, & the ser-
 vant of Government helpless. Government can
 put the screw on. The screw for me is defined in
 the last half-sentence of the communiqué. Being
 "under suspension" was, on the one hand, freedom;
 we had a holiday. But, on the other hand, the
 moment an "officer" is under suspension, his pay
 stops. The official letter to me intimated that
 any further consideration of the case (consequently,
 the removal of the bar of suspension) must be
 preceded by an apology. Now I do not know what
 view should be taken of the morality or even
 of this sort. To me it seemed, & seems, altogether
 immoral & wrong. It is merely putting an unwar-
 ranted pressure on an accused person & star-
 ving into admitting culpability without even
 the semblance of a trial. I was, being condemned
 unheard on the bare complaint of an official
 superior who was at once accuser & judge. By a
 piece of good luck only a few days previously I had
 received a ~~sum~~ considerable sum of money
 from Government, my share of a bonus which

D had been awarded to certain officers as com-
 pensation for a block in promotion. I was, there-
 fore, in no immediate danger of destitution. My
 first feeling was that as I had done nothing
 worthy of blame, nothing should induce me
 to 'apologize'. I don't know whether I need
 point out that the communiqué was a gross
 misrepresentation of what actually took place,
~~which was just what I have described, both~~
 through what it left out, & what it darkly hinted.
 It did not explain that I had gone to report to Mr
 Lyne, at his request, the result of the Government
 Board's proceedings — the arrival of the Govern-
 ment letter at the same time was an accident,
 for which I was in no wise responsible. The phrase
 "gross personal insult" ^{naturally} suggested a scene
 of stormy violence. That was in fact the natural
 inference & the wildest stories were current.
 The favorite version current at the time was, I
 afterwards learnt, that I had surprised Mr
 Lyne in his bath & attacked him with a horse
 whip. And the curious thing is that those who
 told these stories chuckled over them. The
 communiqué was, in effect, a libel. ~~The gross~~
~~insult was just what I have described — two~~
~~whispered words.~~ There were more unpleasant
 possibilities to go through. I had on that first day to go

24

I
down to the college a 'make over charge'. This was
made easier for me by the circumstances of the Col-
lege being closed. There were no students to be
fired, no members of the teaching staff even,
only a disab. foundered & silently sympathetic
"office". Wordworth, the man who was to take
over, quite recently one of our Presidency College
staff, & now Inspector of Schools, was very nice about
it & was in all points possible careful of my feelings.
The 'make over' was soon done, by the signing
of a couple of forms; but there were all my books
& papers & other effects in the Principal's Room.
Papers accumulate & there was much nothing to
be done, though there was no hurry about this. I
drove down to the college as Principal for the last
time, & back to the hotel: I was now free at large,
a man without office or responsibility. We had
letters & callers that day, many of them. My head-
masters came to see me, respectfully & shyly; also
members of the college staff & others. The com-
munique had, not unnaturally caused a good
deal of sensation in Calcutta & beyond Calcutta; I
might say in all India. For a brief while I was proba-
bly the most talked of man in India: I was very
much occupying the lime-light. When we went
out, driving or on foot, we were the mark of all eyes,

25
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morally sympathetic, even respectful. Indeed even
~~two~~ people who had taken no notice of us before,
went out of their way to show signs of sym-
pathy. I had many very kind letters. But there
were disadvantages; especially as time went
on. I was nettled by a sense of being substanti-
ally right, however powerful, high-handed Govern-
ment might be, & whatever view the outside
world might take. It was curious that most
of the Calcutta papers were against us. This was
in marked contrast with what had happened three
years before, in 1913, when the papers in Calcutta, and
practically throughout India were solidly on my
side. I did not understand at the time, but
learnt afterwards that the press had been "got
at," at least to this extent that they had been
carefully rounded before the communiqué was
issued. I then recalled, as a slight confirmation
of this, that I had the day before noticed a
Calcutta editor known to me by sight passing
along the corridor in Writers' Buildings, the
Government Office, in Calcutta, where Mr Lyon
had his room. I had not thought much of this
at the moment, but it became significant ~~then~~,
there was one exception - the "Statesman". The
Statesman had stoutly staunchly by me in 1913 &

stood by me no less staunchly now. And curious
 to the very fact the hostility of the other papers
 is partly to be attributed. For at the time, for
 nine reasons which I have forgotten, the Flats
 upon & the other Calcutta papers were at feud.
 So quaintly mixed are the strands of causation
 in human affairs, & results are brought about
 casually, through antecedents only accidentally
 connected with the consequents. Another con-
 tributory cause, I discovered later was that I
 did not happen to be a trooper of the Calcutta
 Light Horse, whereas W. Oaten did! The appoint-
 ment of the Committee of Inquiry was the out-
 come of pressure put upon Government by
 members of the European business community. Nat-
 urally the British in Calcutta were indignant
 that an assault should have been committed on
~~a person~~ ^{an English person} ~~an English person~~ by Indian students. The professor
 was a trooper of the Calcutta Light Horse. The business
 men were troopers, too; some of them were officers. What
 I shall have more than once to say later. Here my
 point merely is that had I been myself a trooper
 in the Calcutta Light Horse, as nine years earlier
 I had been a trooper in the Bihar Light Horse,
 my role of the embroglio that is the active steps
 which were being taken to track down the debi-

27

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quents, & the difficulties of the position from my
side) would have been heard, & possibly the ~~the~~ ^{or} ~~the~~ ^{referred}
~~matter of~~ Inquiry would never have been ~~appointed~~ ^{referred}

But these things I only came to understand
later. For many days after the coming of the communiqué
I remained in the unpleasant predicament in
which it had placed me. I was under suspen-
sion. For a few days this did not matter much.
But if it went on for long, it would certainly ~~be~~
become inconvenient. And how was this to end?
What would happen if the suspension were never re-
moved. Government intimated that removal would
not even be considered, unless I first tendered
an 'apology'. At first, as already said, I felt that
nothing on earth would induce me to apologize.
Why should I? I had nothing to apologize for.
But the passage of time worked its effect. Day by
day things appeared more uncomfortable. Then
one day an I.M.S. friend of mine, who had looked
in, put it to me: "Why not apologize & have
done with it?" I don't know why; perhaps it
was the force of suggestion; but after he had
said, my mind seemed to clear, & the impossible
straightway became possible. I did not like the idea
of apologizing any better. I still felt that I ought
not to apologize, because there was nothing to
apologize for: there was only this brute force of

28

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a Government order & the version of the unknown. Why,
I asked myself, should I let them break me altogether
over this? I had been doing my best for the
College & for Government. I had tried to help, ac-
cording to my lights in war-time; by carrying
on quietly, & also by going out of my way to help
things generally when I saw the chance. My
will had been good throughout. Unlucky accidents
had combined with the ill will of unfriendly per-
sons, ~~the making circumstances with the making~~
~~of enemies~~ to down me. Very well, I would be
down & out - as far as India was concerned. Since
1913 I had made as good a fight as I could. It
had not been easy, but I had carried on. Now I
was beaten; not fairly, but through the making
of circumstances - this fellow Caten, & foolish
students who must needs go on strike in some
trifling pretext. Fortunately I had leave due
to me; and, probably, once the obstruction of this
suspension was out of the way, I could get leave
previous to retirement (for I was in my fifty-fourth
year & the age limit was fifty-five). And then I
need never be "Inspector of Schools, Presidency Col-
lege," however completely they transferred me in
paper. I had no mind to be martyred on principle.
Still less was I willing that my family should

suffer more than was inevitable. So I sat down to it & put together a letter which I thought should fulfil the condition imposed without unneeding too much. It was turned down as inadequate, & I was back in my old difficulties.

At this point help came from an unexpected quarter. I have reason to know that sympathy for my plight was wide-spread, even among members of the ICS (Mr X was not greatly beloved). There was one man of this service, whom I had known since my first cold weather in India, without ever having been on particularly friendly terms. Last time before he & his wife had been stationed in Calcutta; he was now Judge at Patna, the station (Bankipore) where we had first met. Chapman, as a judge, & a judge in Bihar & Orissa, which was now separate from Bengal enjoyed a position of special independence, & he used his independence to lighten what he considered injustice to an individual. He phoned the making a stay in Calcutta at this time & only good will, kindness, he was interested himself in my difficulties. As Mr Chapman invited us to dine at their hotel, the Great Eastern, & after dinner we talked things over & he helped me to a new draft of my letter. He was a wise counsellor as well as a kindly. Nothing is more wonderful or more consoling about human affairs & human nature generally than the

(Some in misfortune) 30

I discovered which sometimes comes of the friendliness & disinterested kindness of which one has become the object. So was it with Mrs E P Chapman. There was no valid reason why he & his wife should have been such good friends to us (there was, as kind as he was & specially warmhearted). But help us they did & a little later invited us to stay with us in the new Judge's house at Bankipore.

So my letter of apology was written again & sent in. And this time, as I had reached my limit of endurance, I wrote also to Lord Carnarvon & say that I could make no further concession & to remind him that it was through his advice that I had remained in Calcutta in 1913, when I had an opportunity of leaving Bengal going to the new province of Bihar and Orissa under favourable conditions of service. This time my "apology" went through. Government graciously removed the misunderstanding & on my application, granted the leave. I had now only to settle up my affairs in India & make passage home. The last was none too easy, it being war-time. But presently I secured two berths in the B & O S S Manora sailing from Calcutta rather late in April.

The interval between the granting of my leave & the date of sailing was spent partly in Calcutta, partly at Bankipore. Our stay with the Chapmans in the new Judge's bungalow in the Chajji-bagh compound

at Bankpore is a pleasant memory. The Chap-
 man, were kindness itself & the Penicelney College
 affair was still present enough to make us objects
 of interest & sympathy to the "Station". Bankpore
 had been our old home, the first home
 we had had in India, & the last — & the last.
 In Calcutta it was not family life, but an hotel
 life. We had countless memories & associ-
 ations with the place. It was, because, when we had
 broken up home & taken our children to
 England in 1906, we had left our possessions in
 "the Gohah" — the recognized furniture depositories
 in the station — that our present visit had its
 business side. We must have come even without
 the hospitality of the Judge's house. All our cases
 were brought from the Gohah into an empty room
 in the Chapman's house & there sorted & repacked.
 We packed in three large cases those we wished to
 keep, the residue went on to a bit for sale & the rest
 was circulated in the station in the approved
 way. The repacked cases went back into the
 Gohah, & it was to be another eight years before
 they crossed the seas & went to a depository at South
 borough, where they remain — still not yet
 unpacked. Such are the vicissitudes of possession
 under post-war conditions. In Calcutta there was

32

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employment for us, too; writing a packing list & papers
being the chief for me. I had brought all my books
out with me from Oxford & accumulated many more
in India. Some I now sold, some I gave away, & some
I packed in cases to come to England later. It was
no good shipping them under war conditions with
the risk of their being torpedoed. I occupied myself
also with the preparation & printing of an appeal to
the Government of India. I thought that I had
made out a good case, but it is very difficult to
get an appeal of that sort considered with any open-
ness of mind. The argument for suppressing author-
ity is very strong & judgment can be wholly arbitrary.
After a long interval I got my answer, through
the usual official channels. The Government of
India found no reason for moving in the matter. It
also happened that before I left Calcutta for Bankipur,
the new Director, Lord Chelmsford came to
Calcutta. I asked for an interview & was allowed to
see him. Lord Chelmsford was quite pleasant,
even sympathetic; but nothing came of it. I also
saw Lord Carmichael once again before I left Cal-
cutta. H.R. was his usual humorous & drolly
ironical self. He made it quite clear that he would
have acted very differently had he been in W. Lyon's
shoes. In fact he said that no case but W. Lyon
would have acted as he did. Why he had made
himself a party to W. Lyon's "refusals" he did

I
 not explain. This remains a riddle; for I
 never saw him again. Meanwhile the Committee
 of Inquiry was sitting. I had offered to help in
 due time I was invited to attend & spent an
 afternoon with the Committee, putting docu-
 ments before them & explaining our arrange-
 ments for keeping order in the corridors & so
 on. All went off well & pleasantly, but I was
 glad to have that over. Peake was on the Committee
 was & did yeoman's service for me for the College.
 He held a sort of watching brief to see that the
 College had fair play. He undoubtedly did the
 better than I could have done, & my standing
 aside was so far justified. The result con-
 firmed this view; for the report of the Committee,
 when it appeared cleared the College authorities of
 all reproach. Our last weeks in Calcutta were
 made pleasant by an invitation to spend them
 with the Peakes at Alipore. That is another
 great kindness pleasant to recall. Peake was
 Meteorological Officer for Bengal (a post held at that
 time by the senior Professor of Physics at Presidency
 College), & occupied the attractive house & garden
 attached to that appointment, not down to the Cal-
 cutta "Zoo". The housing of the ^{1, a species of}
 monkey, & the occasional roaring of the larger

34

I
carnivora were a feature of that neighbourhood.
It was in the ^{Observatory} garden ~~there~~ that a presentation
was made to us of a silver tray & a silver tea set,
a farewell gift from the college staff. The pre-
sentation was made by Sir P C Ray, Bengal's
eminent Professor of Chemistry, with appropriate
speeches. Government permission for the acceptance
of this gift had first, as customary in such cases
been obtained. I also sat for my portrait. The larger
portion of the subscription raised was devoted to the
better purpose & the commission was given to a young
Bengali artist named Chaudhuri, whose studio
I visited for the purpose. The portrait was to be made
over to the college, & hangs now in the new library
there. I have never seen it since its completion.
Perhaps I was not looking my best when it was
painted, but the unfinished sketch which I saw
at my last 'sitting' suggested to me an elderly
stygian with a pale cadaverous face & a flaming
red nose! I hope the finished portrait, subsequently
unveiled ceremoniously at Presidency College may
have been different. We sailed one evening late
in April from the Kidderpore Docks & had a leisurely
voyage to the Mediterranean, stopping at Madras
& Colombo. We had one very hot evening in the Red
Sea when approaching Suez, due to the hot desert
wind, the Kamsin. Innumerable tern squawks

I could not quench the thirst it expended, we
 indeed slumber. In the Mediterranean we had an
 experience of the full submarine menace, but got
 safely through - by devious courses & without special
 alarm - to Genoa. There we landed to proceed
 overland to Havre. This was the end of my Indian
 career. In November, 1917, I reached Havre & five
 years & was retired under the age rule. What I
 may ask myself now in looking back was the net
 result of this 'savage' of a not undervaluing
 Officer who had thus been forced to leave India
 before his time. Probably had these incidents
 not occurred I should have stayed on at my post
 in Calcutta at least till the end of the war.
 It would, I think, though here I may flatter
 myself unduly, have been ^{useful to} ~~valuable to~~ Govern-
 ment & to education in India as it had been
 in my five & twenty years of service before. I
 might even have been more useful. As to my
 own loss or gain, I ^{certainly} ~~probably~~ suffered to a con-
 siderable extent financially both as to pay &
 pension. For just before these events oc-
 curred I had become entitled to a certain 'senior
 allowance' which made a very substantial
 addition to my pay - a difference of or much
 as three hundred a year: fortune had come to me
 after long delays, & I enjoyed her gifts for exactly

36

Two months. It made a difference 15 per cent, but quite a considerable difference: & what else besides it may have got me off from I cannot tell. On the other hand I probably led a quieter & easier life during those intervening years (though one can't be sure even of that, & it may have meant better health & longer life).

That of the rights & wrongs of all this? Patten whose lack of discretion set the mischief going recovered his wits, lived down the drubbing he had received & ended his service a year or two ago as D.P.G., Bengal. The two students who were expelled were, I have understood, admitted later on by the University & I presume, got round their disabilities. Subhas Chandra Bose, in particular, is already noted, he is rising to fame. The Committee of Inquiry is due to publish their report. Its findings were entirely satisfactory to us. The college's administration were vindicated. The only sufferer in the end was the Principal, who had neither provoked an assault, nor assaulted anyone, nor, as far as appeared, failed in any point of his duty. He had "apologized" it is true, which was a "faiblesse", possibly a moral lapse, but it was in self-defence, & the worse should befall. The communiqué? The communiqué, if one may use plain speech, was a disgraceful document, a document absolutely indefensible & most discredit to the Government

37

possible for it. It was a lying document; when
drawn, as I have pointed out above already, in
that particularly virulent way of falsifying truth by
overstatement & omission. It was without precedent;
no servant of Government, great or small, had
been treated in that way before - published in the
press of India & of more than India. It was, in fly-
sheet format with definite orders regarding Gov-
ernment's treatment of its servants. It was, like-
wise; I think that quite possibly an action at law
would have stood. The marvel to me now is that
such a document should ever have been published,
& allowed to stand. It was the prevailing
state of war, which hindered my taking more
vigorous action in 1916. Three years later, when
the Armistice was a year old, I made a late
attempt to get those wrongs put right, as far
as was still possible. I appealed by letter to the
Government of Bengal (W. Lyon was no longer
part of it), to have the whole case re-considered
and, in particular, to have the communiqué can-
celled as a thing scandalous & unjustifiable. This
document is also on record, & may be read as my
self-vindication by any one who cares. I got nothing
in return but one of the usual formulas of evasion.
I have it, however, on authority which cannot be denied,

I
 that at one time, probably earlier than this, the issue
 hung nicely in the balance with the Government
 of India, whether there should not be a reversal
 of fortune in my favour, but that this better pro-
 spect was wrecked by an "influence from afar".
 I have that much in writing, but where that in-
 fluence was I was not told, & probably shall never
 know. Though I am by no means indifferent to
 the personal & pecuniary loss, it grieves me more
 to know that my discomfiture, following on
 the assault & the "strike" has caused a set-back
 to the College. Some part of what I & those with
 me worked for between 1908 & 1916 remains; a
 good deal has been lost. Much of the loss is due
 to political & economic conditions in Bengal, but
 the months of February & March, 1916, contributed.

time, he would be glad to help. Lady C was 23
 not at this time in India. However I thought
 that had she been, things would have fallen
 out differently. Another pleasant recollec-
 tion of those days is of the ⁴ ~~three~~ weeks spent
 at Alipore as guests of the Peakes. That was
 another great kindness done to us. Peake was
 the Meteorological Officer for Bengal, & occupied the
 very pleasant house attached to that appoint-
 ment next door to the Zoological Garden. He
 loved the ~~the~~ occasional roaring of the large ~~army~~ ^{a species of monkey} ~~army~~
 were a feature of that neighbourhood. It was
 there that a presentation was made to my wife
 of a silver ~~crucifix~~ silver tea set, a gift from the
 College staff. The presentation was made in
 the garden by Sir PC Ray, with a appropriate
 speech. Government permission for the receipt
 of this gift had just been obtained, no diffi-
 culty was made. I also saw my portrait
 in oils! The ~~money~~ ^{larger} for the subscription raised
 was devoted to the purpose & the commission
 given to a young Bengali artist named Chan-
 dhani, whose studio I attended for the purpose.
 The portrait was presented to the College &
 hangs now in the new library. I have never
 seen it since its completion. Perhaps I was

not looking my best at the time, but the ³⁴
first sketch which I saw at the sitting
suggested to me a ~~rough~~ ^{rough} ~~unconformist~~
minister, a sort of Higgins - a castaneous
hole face with a red nose. I hope the finished
portrait, unveiled at the 100th anniversary
later on, have been different.

~~The~~ ~~was~~ ~~that~~ we were in sight from the
Kissirio docks & had a benign voyage to the
Mediterranean, stopping at Rhodes - where
the huge air was, but even in the Red Sea approach
ing Suez, due to the desert wind, the houses
innumerable black squalls, could not prevent
the ship from proceeding. In the
Mediterranean we had an experience of the
full submarine pressure, but got safely
through to Genoa. Here we landed & proceeded
overland to have instead of an on to Genoa
by sea to Marseilles.

This was the end of my career in
India. In Nov-1917 I reached the age of 55 & retired under
the age rule. Two years later, when the armistice
was a year old, I made a last appeal to the Govern-
ment of Bengal to get the whole case reconsidered
particularly to have the communists exempted
as something unprecedented & scandalous. The
letter reads to me convincingly, but the only answer
I got was the bare formula that the Government of
Bengal saw no reason for reversing the matter.
But I learnt at high authority later on that at
one time the proposal of an entire complete re-

8/4/50 1920 35

habilitation for me hung with in the balance &
that this prospect was only wrecked by an influence
from afar. What this influence was I shall
probably never know, though I am able to an-
necture. My abrupt, & in a sense premature reti-
rement incidentally involved for me considerable
loss financially. For a ^{short} month or two before the
trouble began I had become entitled to an addition
of something like £300 to my salary. This did
me little good as I enjoyed truly for a couple of
months & it made no difference to my pension. My
pension also would have been considerably greater
if I had put in a year or two more of active
service, what grieved me more - though I am by
no means indifferent to the pension loss - was
that my despatch was proved also a serious set-
back to my residence in Bengal. Something of what I worked
for from 1907 to 1916 remains; a good deal has been
lost. Much of this loss is due to political - econo-
mical conditions in Bengal but the trouble
of March, March 1916 contributed, looking
back in calmness now I do not find that I could
have done otherwise than I did about the con-
tinuation of my inquiry - a very short interview with Mr
Ripon was a private & personal matter which had
no official significance could properly be taken.
I understand that even in military practice
when there is any misunderstanding between an
officer & his superior no notes or letters of any

36
alleged ^{verbal} ~~in~~ ^{stated to} ~~under~~ the words used before
witnesses. No one was present during
little interview with Mr. [unclear] and [unclear]
could possibly know what was said passed.
As for the sending of a DO letter otherwise than
through the 'proper channel' that seems a trivial
point on which to base the ~~inference~~ ^{inference} for are
more from a college a Principal who had admi-
nistered it for eight years with credit. To make
an offence of a plea that certain persons could
not take part in an ^{inquiry} ~~inquiry~~ without
this seems almost ludicrous.
The Committee of Inquiry was

his seems almost incredible.
Meanwhile the Committee of Inquiry was
holding its sittings. I had offered to help in any
way I could & in due time I spent an interesting
~~rather~~ trying afternoon with the Committee but
was disappointed before them, explaining our
rules about attendance at lectures & order in
the corridors. All went off well & pleasantly.
Peake was on the committee & was a very good
service to me in the college. He undoubtedly
did the better than I would have done if I
were on the committee. And the result confirms this
view; for the report of the Committee when it ap-
peared absorbed the college authorities from
reproach, was a practical sanction of our
system. The concluding & most pleasant re-
fection of my last weeks in India as the port

36
 That of the justice of all. Paton,
 whose ~~belonging~~ ^{belonging} ~~to the~~ ^{to the} ~~cause~~ ^{cause} of all the trouble self-would set
 the mischief going recovered his hurts,
 lived down the dumbings & ended his
 service a year or two ago as SPG,
 Bengal. The two students men-
 tioned were, I have understood,
 later admitted ^{to the} University & ^{as} ~~examined~~ ^{examinable} students & got
~~on~~ ⁱⁿ ~~university~~ ^{university} ~~and~~ ^{and} got
~~under~~ ^{under} ~~their~~ ^{their} ~~describable~~ ^{describable} that was, I
 know, in particular, has become quite
 famous, at any rate notorious. The
 Committee of Enquiry in due time
 published their report. Its findings
 were ~~a~~ ^{entirely} ~~practical~~ ^{practical} ~~revelation~~ ^{revelation} of the
 College & its system. The allegations
~~made~~ ^{made} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~report~~ ^{report} were vindicated. The only
~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~end~~ ^{end} was the Principal,
 who had neither provoked assault
 nor assaulted anyone, nor been
~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~blame~~ ^{blame}. He
 had "abandoned" his time, which was
 a failure, possibly a moral lapse,

361

but it was in self-defence, but
worse should befall. The communiqué?

The communiqué, if one may speak
plainly, was a ^{disgraceful} ^{act} ^{of} ^{disgrace}, absolutely
unjustifiable & most discreditable
to the Member or Members of Council
responsible for it. It was a lying docu-
ment: mendacious in that particular
by ~~virtuous~~ ^{virtuous} way of partial truth &
~~omission~~ ^{omission} as I have already pointed
out of partial truth & omission. It was
unprecedented: no Government servant
of Government, great or small, had
been treated in that way before - pub-
lished in the Press of India & more
than India - & especially in conflict
in flagrant conflict with certain
rules regarding Government
dealing with its servants. It was
libellous. I think that ^{the} ^{war} ^{had} ^{been} ^{under} ^{the}
on action at law would have
stood. Three years later - after
the war - I made a last attempt

36 c
I felt these words ^{might be} ~~might be~~ I appealed
to the Government of Bengal to have the
whole case reconsidered ^{in the} ~~in the~~ I have the
announcements cancelled as now a
thing scandalous & without prece-
dent. This document is also on
record & may be read as my opinion
about by any one who cares. I got
nothing in return but one of the usual
promises of evasion. I have how-
ever, learnt in good authority that
there was at one time a strong
movement, probability of what I
described being done by the Government
of India, but that this prospect was
wrecked by an "influence from afar".
What this influence was I was
not told & probably shall never know.
Though I am by no means indis-
ferent to the personal pecuniary
loss, what grieves me most is
the knowledge that ~~this~~ ^{the} ~~desires~~
future, following on the assault &

The "Strokes" proved a real back to
the college. Something of what I &
those with me worked for between 1900
& 1916 remain; a good deal has been
lost. Much of this loss is due to political
and economic conditions in Bengal;
but the troubles of the March, 1916,
contributed.

During my tenure of the
Principalship of Pres. Coll., I think I
may claim to have done much
to raise the college in public esteem
& to raise the position of the Principal.
I recalled the origin of the college
instituted a Founder's Day. I in-
duced the Government to become Visitor
of the College!

The loss is not my loss only, but
the loss of Calcutta, of Bengal, and
of India in British India. That is most
gall the loss of it.