

# **History of St. Stephen's College, Delhi: A Study of Institutional Leadership and Transformation(1881-1945)**

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Date: 23 Aug 2022.

**DECLARATION**

I hereby declare that the thesis entitled 'History of St. Stephen's College, Delhi: A Study of Institutional Leadership and Transformation (1881-1945)' submitted by me for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. This thesis has not been submitted for any other degree of this university or any other university.

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**CERTIFICATE**

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## **A. List of Abbreviations**

1. AIWC= All- India Women's Conference
2. BA= Bachelor of Arts
3. CMS=Church Missionary Society
4. MA=Master of Arts
5. PhD=Doctor of Philosophy
6. SPG=Society for the Propagation of the Gospel(in foreign parts)

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## St. Stephen's College, Delhi



## **Chapter One**

### **Introduction**

St. Stephen's College, Delhi has been a premier institution with a strong sense of History and Tradition which has stood for excellence in higher education in India and the world. It was called the Cambridge of the East. It has had a diverse mix of leadership which has given it an eclectic blend of values, both Eastern and Western, to the institution. The institution was about a vibrant dialogue between the East and the West. It has been based on a healthy interaction between the missionaries and the local Indian population. St. Stephen's College, Delhi has been a dynamic institution which also changed its policies based on social realities. According to Ashok Jaitly, St. Stephen's College had initially started out trying to evangelize the people however later under the principalship of Allnutt, the Principal of St. Stephen's College, Delhi, 1881-1898, it began to lay more emphasis on moral values.

The College was nationalistic, and at the same time based on a policy that promoted civil servants under Principal Mukarji, who was the second Indian Principal of St. Stephen's College, Delhi. This august institution has set a high bar of promoting education, and never compromised on this even under Rudra, the first Indian Principal of this College. Additionally, it has always been a liberal Institution with a growing sense of secularism. It has been democratic in its approach trying to Indianize the College and trying to bring the staff and students closer through discussions, clubs, societies, college residence, tutorial meets and college dinners. The Alumni accounts also show interesting revelations concerning the eras of the different Principals, confirming many democratic and liberal trends. The College has boasted of a host of Alumni who have made vital contributions in all spheres of life. Be it Muhammad

Amin, Zia-ul-Haq, Khushwant Singh, Sucheta Kriplani to name a few luminaries. Even in our period of discussion Awadh Behari and Amir Chand, certain Stephanians who had tried to take radical action. The Stephanians had been people of potent ideas and action. Education in the College was about all round-development.

Parimala V.Rao has emphatically argued that new perspectives arose due to the muffling of the voice of the oppressed. Therefore, it may be argued that a story of oppression was unleashed by the elitist old perspective which quietened the voice of the poor, women, untouchables and the lower castes.<sup>1</sup> The old perspectives tended to highlight the white Man's Burden popularized by Rudyard Kipling and others.<sup>2</sup> Martin Carnoy has highlighted that cultural imperialism had been enforced by the missionaries.<sup>3</sup> But Hayden Bellenoit in Parimala V. Rao (2014) edited book has recognized missionary participation in India's freedom struggle against the British oppression.<sup>4</sup> For instance, 'Charlie Andrews actively supported the freedom movement.'<sup>5</sup> We have been trying to move away from the existing binaries that seem incompatible like 'Coloniser/Colonised, European/Non- European and Imperialist/Anti-imperialist' to more a critical History.<sup>6</sup>

The reason why we have been also looking at the institutional history of St. Stephen's College, Delhi from 1881 to 1945 was because we have been examining the new perspective presented by Parimala V. Rao (2014) on missionaries, according to which missionaries fought for the rights of the local people. She gave the instance of James Long who translated the Nil Darpan (1860) by Dinabandhu Mitra into English and

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<sup>1</sup>Parimala V. Rao, *New Perspectives in the History of Indian Education*, New Delhi: Orient BlackSwan, 2014, p.30.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. p.9.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. p.8.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid. p.10.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid. p.37.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid. p.42.

published it. As a result, the government imposed a fine and jailed him. This was because the play depicted the suffering of the Indian indigo farmers.<sup>7</sup>

Further, N. A. Dobrolyubov has revealed that the British government had been looking into the welfare of the people of India through missionaries and education,<sup>8</sup> whose motive was said to be religious conversion. Hence, there has been a little confusion regarding the role of missionaries in India. The missionaries had been handing out notes and books from the pulpit and this had showed that Indians were not ready for Christian sermons.<sup>9</sup> It has been important therefore to explore the true nature of missionary education and how has St. Stephen's College emerged within such contexts?

Another reason for conducting a study on the institutional history of St. Stephen's College has been because the College has over the years acquired a reputation for quality collegiate education in India. It has been the oldest college in Delhi University, established in 1881.<sup>10</sup> In fact, Delhi University was conceived as a result of the efforts of the St. Stephen's College staff.<sup>11</sup> The college was founded by its first Principal Samuel Scott Allnutt in 1881. According to C.H. Martin (1922), Allnutt was a democrat. Also, the college has played an interesting role in the national movement in India. It was associated with Sushil Kumar Rudra and Charles Freer Andrews, both

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid.p.9.

<sup>8</sup>P.C. Joshi's Archives,1857,IA, *The History and Present of East India* : A Review by N. A. Dobrolyubov originally published in the journal 'Souvremennik' Contemporary in 1857 Vol. IX Part 2, pp. 51-92 under the penname N. Turchinov, p.46.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Aparna Basu (ed).*University of Delhi 1922-1997, Platinum Jubilee*, University of Delhi, Delhi: Jeevan Offset Press, 1998,p.2.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid.p.11.

of whom were close to the national leaders at the time. Charles Freer Andrews, for instance, was close to Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore.<sup>12</sup>

### **I. Why Study Institutional Histories?**

We have been looking at institutional histories that examine history of institutions, the leadership patterns, the campus culture, the political activity of students. This has given us an insight into the nature of education that developed under different regimes. For instance, under the Presidency College was the history of modern Bengal. There has been a hybrid identity developing with universal principles of education with Science related ideals that has been connected to the modern Indian nation, rooted in the Presidency College according to Zachariah, Chakraborty and Ray (1998).<sup>13</sup>

Institutional Histories have given us insights into the political life of the country where the institution exists. It also has enabled us to understand the progress made by the institution in terms of excellence, women's education, freedom, the sense of fraternity and democracy. This throws light on how religion is perceived. The American University of Beirut has been based on Protestant ethics, but it has also demanded excellence wrote Anderson (2011).<sup>14</sup> The above institution was moved from a religious to a secular entity. The American University of Beirut has tried to intersect American values with Arab Nationalism. It has also opened its doors to women students in 1921,<sup>15</sup> but women students have had their own struggles. Women students have succeeded because of their own courage and perseverance in the words

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid. p.8.

<sup>13</sup>Benjamin Zachariah, Subhas Ranjan Chakraborti, Rajat Kanta Ray, ' Presidency College, Calcutta,' in *Knowledge, Power and Politics* by Mushirul Hasan, New Delhi: Roli Books 1998,p.305.

<sup>14</sup>Betty S. Anderson, *the American University of Beirut*, Texas: University Texas Press,2011, p.3.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.p.90.

of Anderson (2011).<sup>16</sup> Institutional Histories also have emphasized on the methods followed to establish transformations. In case of American University of Beirut dialogues and discussions were crucial to establish relationships.<sup>17</sup> In case of the Christian Medical College, Vellore, Maina Chawla Singh (1998) has explained how the College was based on Christian beliefs with Christ as the Great Doctor.<sup>18</sup> Thus, the methods that have been employed for evangelization, as Singh (1998) has shown had Bible stories being narrated to patients as they had been waiting to get treated at the Roadside in 1910s. Singh (1998) also argued that Bible study<sup>19</sup> and ward prayers<sup>20</sup> had been also essential to the healing process in the institution.

Institutional Histories also have unravelled the student activism. For instance, in the case of the Presidency College, there have been instances of how the teachers were roughed up by students during the national movement.<sup>21</sup> Even, in the case of the American University of Beirut, the students have questioned the American project as argued by Betty S. Anderson (2011).<sup>22</sup> Moreover, institutional histories also show the objectives behind great institutions. The Presidency College was about secular Western Education as shown by Zachariah, Chakraborty and Ray (1998).<sup>23</sup> The American University of Beirut has focussed on Christianity and they had been about

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid.p.118.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid.p.24.

<sup>18</sup>Maina Chawla Singh, 'Missionary legacies and Christ- filled Doctors:' Gender, Religion and Professionalization in the History of the Christian Medical College, Vellore, in *Knowledge, Power and Politics* by Mushirul Hasan, Roli Books, 1998, p.430.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid. p. 441.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid.p.440.

<sup>21</sup>Benjamin Zachariah, Subhas Ranjan Chakraborti, Rajat Kanta Ray, 'Presidency College, Calcutta,' in *Knowledge, Power and Politics* by Mushirul Hasan, 1998, p.346.

<sup>22</sup>Betty S. Anderson, *the American University of Beirut*, Texas: University Texas Press, 2011, p.150.

<sup>23</sup>Zachariah, Chakraborti, & Ray, 'Presidency College, Calcutta,' 1998, p.304.

American values as pointed out by Betty S. Anderson (2011).<sup>24</sup> The Karachi University got built to serve national interests according to Nasib Akhtar (1977).<sup>25</sup>

Institutions have helped us know the character of leadership that is prevalent. Institutions help us understand the history of the people, their struggles and glories. In Cambridge University even, the Kings who had been reigning used to send their children to Cambridge. This went to show how important education was. Institutional leadership had been connected to politics. In Cambridge for instance, the Mayor was excommunicated for discouraging education at Cambridge by the Chancellor of the University with the help of the king according to Benstead (1944).<sup>26</sup> The Karachi University, Nasib Akhtar (1977) has argued was primarily funded by the government.<sup>27</sup> In case of the Christian Medical College,(C.M.C.) Vellore, the institution was founded by Ira Scudder in 1918, writes Singh (1998) who was an American Missionary. The College has been locally<sup>28</sup> and internationally funded.<sup>29</sup> The role of Alumni in the case of Christian Medical College, Vellore was vital argued Singh (1998).<sup>30</sup> Singh (1998) further put forth that the founder of the College did not want anti-colonial movement during the freedom struggle. Scudder, Singh has argued did not want her students to wear Khadi.<sup>31</sup> This was in line with the traditional missionary position as missionaries had been dependent on government funds, hence they did not wish to rebel against the government.

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<sup>24</sup>Betty S. Anderson, *The American University of Beirut*, Texas: University Texas Press,2011, p.70.

<sup>25</sup>Nasib Akhtar, *A History of the University of Karachi*, (1951-76), Karachi: Fazeelsons Printers,1977, p.7.

<sup>26</sup>C.R. Benstead, *A Profound Study of a Great University*, London: Frederick Muller Ltd, 1944, p.11.

<sup>27</sup>Nasib Akhtar, *A History of the University of Karachi*,(1951-76),Karachi: Fazeelsons Printers,1977,p.34.

<sup>28</sup>Maina Chawla Singh, 'Missionary legacies and Christ- filled Doctors:' Gender, Religion and Professionalization in the History of the Christian Medical College, Vellore,in *Knowledge, Power and Politics* by Mushirul Hasan, Roli Books,1998,p.448.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid.p.455.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid.p.431.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid.p.432.

Institutional culture got constructed due to institutional histories. For instance, in Sydney University initially, there had been just three Professors as shown by Fischer (1975).<sup>32</sup> Additionally, there was adult education offered too in the Sydney University according to him.<sup>33</sup> The Campus culture of a democratic atmosphere was set up in the American Universities of Beirut. Women entering the University was seen prevalent in case of the American University of Beirut in 1921 as mentioned above. In 1881 women students had been admitted into Sydney University argued Fischer (1975).<sup>34</sup> So, education immensely has helped the marginalized sections of society. The Christian Medical College, (CMC) Vellore also had opened the College to men in mid- 1940s as Professionalization of the medical profession has been more important than the segregation of women's education as pointed out by Singh (1998).<sup>35</sup>

The local community had started providing funds of education in the case of the Karachi University.<sup>36</sup> The all-round brilliance of the Cambridge scholar along with interest in Sports had been the most important according to Benstead (1944).<sup>37</sup> Apart from all round development, character formation had also been key in some institutions like the American University of Beirut,<sup>38</sup> or in the case of Christian Medical College, Vellore.<sup>39</sup> It may be argued the missionary institutions tended to emphasize intrinsic qualities like character formation, otherwise ignored by other

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<sup>32</sup>G.L. Fischer, University Archivist, *The University of Sydney, 1850-1975*, Sydney: Edwards and Shaw Printing Limited, 1975, p.19

<sup>33</sup>Ibid.p.46.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid.p.19.

<sup>35</sup>Maina Chawla Singh, 'Missionary legacies and Christ- filled Doctors:' Gender, Religion and Professionalization in the History of the Christian Medical College, Vellore, in *Knowledge, Power and Politics* by Mushirul Hasan, Roli Books, 1998, p.452.

<sup>36</sup>Nasib Akhtar, *A History of the University of Karachi, (1951-76)*, Karachi: Fazeelsons Printers, 1977, p.34.

<sup>37</sup>C.R. Benstead, *A Profound Study of a Great University*, London: Frederick Muller Ltd, 1944, p.72.

<sup>38</sup>Betty S. Anderson, *the American University of Beirut*, Texas: University Texas Press, 2011, p.72.

<sup>39</sup>Maina Chawla Singh, 'Missionary legacies and Christ- filled Doctors:' Gender, Religion and Professionalization in the History of the Christian Medical College, Vellore, in *Knowledge, Power and Politics* by Mushirul Hasan, Roli Books, 1998, p.439.



institutions. The American University of Beirut also had stressed on democracy and fraternity, according to Anderson (2011), that was a sense of unity amongst the people as American missionary zeal intersected with Arab empowerment.<sup>40</sup>

Institutional histories study institutions over-time. They enabled us to understand the transformations and the long -term changes. For instance, Joseph A. Soares (1999) has examined the Oxford University. It may be argued that Soares (1999) questioned the myth of the Oxford University. Oxford University was believed to be an elitist organisation, but in time it consisted of people with ‘modest social backgrounds.’<sup>41</sup> Another myth associated with Oxford was that it has focussed on liberal arts, however, it had become inclined towards the natural sciences and technology.<sup>42</sup> Yet another change has been moving from private funds to public money in the case of Oxford.<sup>43</sup> Eventually merit replaced privilege.<sup>44</sup>

Institutional histories helped us know the strengths of institutions. The Oxford University prepared men for positions of authority. A lot of statesmen and civil servants had been raised by Oxford, but, parity for women came in late, only by the 1970s.<sup>45</sup> This has demonstrated that institutional histories also has exposed the deficiencies of institutions.

## **II Origins of the College: Context and Relevance**

The original idea behind the Cambridge Brotherhood was conceived by Brooke Foss Westcott. Cambridge Brotherhood was based on a wholesome vision of engaging in a

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<sup>40</sup>Ibid.p.70.

<sup>41</sup>Joseph A. Soares, *The Decline of Privilege*, California: Stanford University Press, 1999, p.1.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid.p.8.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.p.40.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid.p.37.

dialogue with the educated so that the Gospel could be useful to Indians.<sup>46</sup> Chatterjee (2011) argued that Westcott came up with this idea in 1873. For this Westcott got educated about Indian culture. Westcott then tried to graft Christian doctrine onto it.<sup>47</sup> Ashok Jaitley (2006) also pointed out that Westcott tried to interpret the Western faith to the East and revived the gospel.<sup>48</sup>

Westcott wanted to do missionary work in India because his great grandfather was an employee with the East India Company in Madras. Westcott was later to become the Bishop of Durham. He was a learned man and a brilliant scholar at Cambridge. He inspired his students as a tutor. He later left Cambridge to join the Harrow School. Here, he served as a housemaster in 1852. Eventually, Westcott got married and fathered seven children. One of his sons was Basil Westcott, about whom we will discuss later. Brooke Foss Westcott had developed ascetic tendencies. He believed in renouncing worldly comforts. In the meanwhile, he came into contact with French who was a missionary with the Church Missionary Society or CMS at Harrow.<sup>49</sup>

Thomas Valpy French was a powerful contributor to the Anglican Church. He sailed to India as a missionary under C. M. S. in 1850. He founded the St. John's College in Agra. But, unfortunately due to health reasons, he was forced to leave the college. After his recovery, French went on to establish the Divinity College in Lahore in 1869. Here the Christian leaders like pastors and teachers were trained. This was fashioned into an Indian college.<sup>50</sup>

The concept of the college was developed uniquely. But due to health reasons French settled in England. He then became the Vicar of Ebbe's Church at Oxford. So, Brooke

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<sup>46</sup> C.M.Millington, *A History of the Cambridge/Delhi Brotherhood*, Bangalore: Asian Trading Corporation, 1999 p. V.

<sup>47</sup> Nandini Chatterjee, *The Making of Indian Secularism*, New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011, p.112.

<sup>48</sup> Ashok Jaitly, *St. Stephen's College, A History*, New Delhi: Roli Books, 2006, p.3.

<sup>49</sup> C.M.Millington, *A History of the Cambridge /Delhi Brotherhood*, 1999, p.3.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.* p.5.

Foss Westcott and Thomas Valpy French met each other frequently wherein they dialogued about their common vision for India.<sup>51</sup>

Brooke Foss Westcott further wished to plan the Christian Church in the north of India. French supported the ideas of Westcott concerning higher education for boys. Also, French helped in bringing about a dialogue between the Christian and non-Christian teachers of the time. Thus, the idea of the university mission grew. This was shepherded by Edward Bickersteth. Edward Bickersteth, Brooke Foss Westcott and Thomas Valpy French were the key minds behind the university Mission to India. We need to further examine the details of this University mission. It may be remembered that Bickersteth's father was a contemporary of Brooke Foss Westcott. Henceforth, there was openness with regard to overseas missions within Bickersteth's family.<sup>52</sup>

Missionary work began in India in 1818 with the C. M. S. There was also the Baptist mission established. Besides, the S. P.G. also set up in Delhi under Jennings and the St. James' congregation in Delhi. The S.P.G. collected funds for this purpose.<sup>53</sup> In 1854, St. Stephen's School was set up, before the revolt of 1857.<sup>54</sup> But, the revolt destroyed everything for these missionaries. Jennings was killed along with his associates. Moreover, the St. James' Church was not spared. It was ruined by the rebels argued David Baker (1998). C. M. Millington (1999) also confirmed this. Millington (1999) pointed out that the European and the Indian Christians were massacred. Baker (1998) indicated that the Christian martyrs of 1857 inspired the re-establishment of the St. Stephen's School in 1858 and later the college in 1881. It was

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.p.7.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.p.8.

<sup>54</sup> David Baker, 'St. Stephen's College, Delhi, 1881-1997' in *Knowledge Power and Politics* by Mushirul Hasan, New Delhi: Roli Books, p. 67.

named after St. Stephen's the first Christian martyr of the Church who was stoned to death in 36 A. D. in Jerusalem.<sup>55</sup>

The S. P.G. was careful to carry on its missionary work. Therefore, in 1858, Skelton decided to revive the mission. C. M. Millington (1999) also argued that the mission school was set up in honour of the martyrs of the 1857 Revolt. The St. Stephen's School was connected to the Calcutta University in 1864.<sup>56</sup> The college was set up in 1881 and became associated with the Punjab University in 1882.<sup>57</sup>

It may be argued that the revolt of 1857 was a turning point in the history of Cambridge Brotherhood. As it became the motive for setting up of St. Stephen's School and later the College. But, the mission of S.P.G. was different from the vision of Brooke Foss Westcott and Thomas Valpy French. Westcott and French wanted to bring Western Cambridge tradition to the East. Westcott as mentioned earlier wanted an inter-faith dialogue to be held, not just simply evangelization. This was of course not the usual thinking in missionary circles.<sup>58</sup>

In the December of 1879, Winter of the S.P.G. handed over the charge of St. Stephen's High School and the boys' boarding house to the Cambridge Brotherhood.<sup>59</sup> C.M. Millington (1999) pointed out that Winter as the head of SPG mission had assigned congregations to the Brothers. But, the Brothers were not in agreement with Winter, like in the case of the education policy.<sup>60</sup> Furthermore, David Baker (1998) has argued that during the 1880s, Winter superficially converted the Chamars and settled them in Christian compounds instead of the Bastis. This threatened the college.

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<sup>55</sup> Ashok Jaitley, *St. Stephen's College, A History*, New Delhi: Roli Books, 2006, p.5.

<sup>56</sup> C. M. Millington, *A History of Cambridge/Delhi Brotherhood, 1999*, p. 9.

<sup>57</sup> Aparna Basu (ed). *University of Delhi 1922-1997, Platinum Jubilee, 1998*, p.6.

<sup>58</sup> C.M. Millington, *A History of Cambridge/Delhi Brotherhood, 1999*, p. 12.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.* p. 36.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.* p.41.

But, with Winter's death, the struggle was over and Lefroy became the head of the Mission in Delhi.<sup>61</sup> Also, the college was taken over by Principal Allnut.<sup>62</sup>

### **III. Institutional Leadership and Transformation of St. Stephen's College, Delhi**

Samuel Scott Allnut became the first Principal of St. Stephen's College in 1881. He was born in 1850 in Brighton. He joined the Cambridge Brotherhood in 1879. He was inspired by Westcott, French and Bickersteth.<sup>63</sup> Allnut was a true evangelist. According to David Baker (1998), Allnut wanted that all teachers should be Christians, but the social reality was different.<sup>64</sup> Ashok Jaitley (2006) has argued that the chief motive of the College under Allnut, was conversions. However, religious education gave way to moral education because there were not enough conversions.<sup>65</sup> Martin (1922), the biographer of Allnut, noted the testimonies of students. He has argued that the students were touched by the spirituality of the institution. A few students became Christians because of the teaching given in the school and the college.<sup>66</sup>

The issue of conversion has been an issue of debate. The chief motive behind conversions, according to Lefroy (1887), was the low morality of Indians. It was argued that Indians were divided and unjust as opposed to the Englishman who was virtuous. Further, the level of mistrust among Indians<sup>67</sup> was another problem. The masses and the classes in India were having low moral standards and that therefore there was a need for conversion. This was in line with the gospel truth that Christ died for the sinners not the saints, to bring the sinners to repentance. Vimala Paulus (1986)

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<sup>61</sup> David Baker, 'St. Stephen's College,'1998,p.71.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.p.72.

<sup>63</sup>C.M. Millington, *A History of Cambridge/Delhi Brotherhood* ,1999,p.31.

<sup>64</sup>David Baker, 'St.Stephen's College,'1998,p.88.

<sup>65</sup>Ashok Jaitley,*St. Stephen's College*,2006,p.7.

<sup>66</sup>Cecil H. Martin, *Allnut of Delhi*,Madras: The Macmillan Company,1922,p.76.

<sup>67</sup>G.A. Lefroy, 'Missionary Work In India, 'Cambridge Mission to Delhi, *Occasional Paper*, Cambridge:University Press,1887, p.11.

explored the motive behind conversions which is Christian education. It was said that Peter was instructed by Christ Jesus to feed the flock. This was related to the concept of nurturance and care. So, Christian education was holistic. Conversion involved freedom. The freedom to accept or say no to Christ.<sup>68</sup> Another motive for missionary activity was inculcating Christian ethics through conversion. This was argued by A. Mathew (1988). However, by 1882, the time of the Indian Education Commission, there was a stress on religious neutrality. From 1882 to 1902, Missionary Education took a backseat as it was given an inferior position.<sup>69</sup>

Furthermore, Lefroy (1890) has further gone into the details of evangelisation. The classes and masses were to be converted. For this purpose, Bible reading sessions were organised by Samuel Scott Allnut. For the mass conversions, bazaar preaching was put together. There was also an inter faith dialogue in addition, held in St. Stephen's School and College. There was a very little resistance to Christianity in India. Lefroy (1890) was in fact, optimistic about conversion.<sup>70</sup> It may be noted that G.A. Lefroy was also part of the Cambridge Brotherhood. Lefroy headed the Delhi Mission and worked closely with S.S. Allnut.

As a teacher, Allnut had clarity of thought. He was very fond of the students. Allnut was a democrat according to Martin (1922). Allnut tried to link the Christian Staff with the non- Christian Staff. He also made sure that the staff was made to feel significant by making them responsible for the governance of the college. The staff was not merely paid members under Allnut.<sup>71</sup> David Baker has also pointed out that, under Allnut, the college tried to free itself from the Delhi Mission. Also, in 1891,

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<sup>68</sup>Vimala Paulus, *Introducing Christian Education*, Madras: The Christian Literature Society, 1986, p.6.

<sup>69</sup>A. Mathew, *Christian Missions, Education and Nationalism, From Dominance to Compromise, 1870-1930*, Delhi, Anamika Prakashan, 1988, p.227.

<sup>70</sup>G.A. Lefroy, *General review of Work Since 1881*, Cambridge Mission to Delhi, Occasional Paper no.16, Cambridge: University Press, 1890, p.6.

<sup>71</sup>Cecil H. Martin, *Allnut of Delhi, 1922*, p.82.

the college shifted to Kashmere Gate. The new building meant the separation of the college from the school.<sup>72</sup> It was important to explore through this study whether there were any disagreements with regard to the separation of the college from the school?

Under Allnutt, it appeared elitism was a problem in missionary education. This may be because of encouragement given to English language. Lefroy (1890) has talked about the need to establish contact with the educated elite. This was linked to the downward filtration theory. According to which a few educated elites would inspire the masses. So, the focus was the classes. Therefore, a literary society was established which was connected with inter faith dialogue to be organised in relation to the elites. J.C. Ingleby (2000) has examined the perspectives of missionaries. Some were more enlightened. In sharp contrast, was Samuel Scott Allnutt. Allnutt was a missionary, who did not consider the British rule as evil. Moreover, he looked down on the inheritance of the Indians and mocked at the Urdu literature, considering it inferior. According to Ingleby (2000) the large stock of missionaries had a negative viewpoint on Indians. They also praised their own culture at the cost of the Indian heritage. But, Ingleby hints at the intended imperialism of missionaries, even though it did not succeed.<sup>73</sup> But, not all missionaries were imperialistic. Some were even nationalistic, like Sushil Kumar Rudra and Charles Freer Andrews.

After Allnutt, came John Wright (1898-1902), Ashok Jaitly(2006) pointed out that Hibbert Ware took over as Acting Principal and was confirmed in 1903.<sup>74</sup> According to David Baker, Hibbert Ware (1904-1907) served as Principal.<sup>75</sup> It was vital to explore the reasons for the short periods of John Wright and Hibbert Ware. Although,

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<sup>72</sup>David Baker, 'St.Stephen's College,'1998, p.72.

<sup>73</sup> J.C. Ingleby, *Missionaries, Education and India*, Delhi: ISPCCK, 2000,p. 334.

<sup>74</sup> Ashok Jaitly, *St. Stephen's College*,2006, p.11.

<sup>75</sup>David Baker,' St. Stephen's College,'1998,p.75.

Martin (1922) has called the period under John Wright's Principalship, a monarchy.<sup>76</sup>

Then came Hibbert Ware and Rudra.

Sushil Kumar Rudra was the only son of P.M. Rudra, a teacher in C.M.S. He was born on January 7, 1861. His father had received education under Alexander Duff and converted to Christianity at the age of 25, having been inspired by the life of Christ.<sup>77</sup>

S.K. Rudra's consecration to education and his dedicated service to St. Stephen's College was phenomenal. He was remembered both by the elite and the lowly. He was a man of social service. He joined the college in June of 1886, as youth of 25 years<sup>78</sup> and has served the college for 36 years. There was inter-racial harmony during his Principalship.<sup>79</sup>

Andrews supported Rudra's Principalship and it often referred to as the turning point in the history of the college. For instance, David Baker (1998) has argued that Rudra's Principalship helped bridge the racial divide between Cambridge and India. Rudra also fought for equal pay for the English and Indian staff in 1909.<sup>80</sup>

Principal Rudra had established a close rapport with his students. The students during his era were from mixed backgrounds and thus heterogeneous in composition. There were more Indian, some were poor hailing from rural backgrounds, others consisted of the elite.<sup>81</sup>

Apart from the motive behind the establishment of the College, we can examine some of its humanitarian aspects. C. F. Andrews, the famous lecturer at St. Stephen's College asked his students to not stick with social position and caste ties but to join

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<sup>76</sup>Cecil.H.Martin, *Allnut of Delhi*, 1922,p.81.

<sup>77</sup>*St. Stephen's College Magazine,1923-1924*,Principal Rudra Farewell, Number 77,Delhi: Krishna Printing Works,1923,p.24.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid.p.1

<sup>79</sup>Ibid.p.2.

<sup>80</sup>David Baker, 'St. Stephen's College,'1998,p.78.

<sup>81</sup>David Baker, 'St. Stephen's College,'1998, p.83.



social service according to David Baker(1998).<sup>82</sup> Further, Baker (1998) argued that in the initial period the students were from rural backgrounds in the hostel life.<sup>83</sup> Some were clearly poverty-stricken.<sup>84</sup> So much so that from 1883, the college gave financial assistance to students from poor backgrounds.<sup>85</sup> The Social Service League ran night schools for poor boys according to Jaitly(2006).<sup>86</sup>

Ashok Jaitly (2006) corroborated this, according to him, in 1908, work in the poor bastis was undertaken by the students of different communities. Jaitly mentioned that the Social Service League took care of the ailing in the hospital and, in 1919, the organisation pioneered in fighting the influenza epidemic. In addition, relief was given to the afflicted during the Yamuna floods. Rudra encouraged the students to take part in social service to uplift the marginalized.<sup>87</sup>

Apart from this, the Annual Rudra Dinner was organised for the labourers of the college.<sup>88</sup> This was clearly a humane practice. Rudra had earmarked about Rupees 1000, for this purpose. Another instance of humanitarian aspect of Rudra's tenure is that it allowed the deserving poor also to gain entry into the College. For instance, there was an instance of son of a Mali(gardener) having cleared the intermediate exam in the college.<sup>89</sup> The meritorious students, no matter what their background, were honoured. The proposed study will explore more such instances and see how they changed the character of St. Stephen's College.

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<sup>82</sup>Ibid.p.95.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid.p.75.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid.p.76.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid.p.96.

<sup>86</sup>Ashok Jaitly, *St. Stephen's College*,2006,p.109.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid.

<sup>88</sup>F.F. Monk, *A History of St. Stephen's College, Delhi*, Calcutta: YMCA Publishing House , 1935,p.205.

<sup>89</sup>David Baker,' *St. Stephen's College*, '1998,p.96.

C.F. Andrews was lovingly called Deen Bandhu or Friend of the Poor. He led the students of the college to live among the outcastes of Delhi. He proposed leaving the comfort of one's room to sharing the sufferings of Chamars in Subzi Mandi. It is argued by Marjorie Sykes(1973) that this dream of his could not take flight owing to ill health. But, his students were inspired so much so that in the later years they resided with the villagers and shared in their poverty.<sup>90</sup> Apart from this, prayers were offered for the sick in college.<sup>91</sup> The teachers too were involved in these humanitarian tasks and issues along with the students.

C. F. Andrews was instrumental in turning the college into a socially aware institution. For instance, he wrote to Mrs. Stokes, the mother of S. E. Stokes. Stokes was a friend of Andrews, as mentioned earlier. In his letter he claimed to support many causes, namely, 'complete prohibition of indentured labour abroad,' abolition of 'forced labour,' removal of 'opium' trade, end of 'coolie traffic' and 'relief' to the poverty-stricken people.<sup>92</sup> In all these, the historical accounts and writings of the period mention that his students stood by him.

Rudra's close association with C.F. Andrews reflected in the way the College was shaped and transformed. One of the most important aspect of their association was that the college became autonomous. Principal Rudra and C F Andrews, both drafted a new Constitution for the College. The new Constitution had envisaged the loss of control by the Cambridge Brotherhood and the Mission, according to David Baker (1998). Furthermore, it created a large autonomous organisation with a strong Principal under the authority of a Supreme Council.

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<sup>90</sup>Marjorie Sykes(ed.) *Representative Writings*, New Delhi: National Book Trust, 1973,p.13.

<sup>91</sup>F.F. Monk, *A History of St. Stephen's College, 1935*, p. 217.

<sup>92</sup>Satyanand Stokes Paper190(LViii)Vol.1.Part 1, S.No.118, *Letters to Mrs. Stokes(Mother) from C.F.Andrews*,8 August 1922, Bolpur.p.164.

The Supreme Council was responsible for maintaining the religious character of the institution. The governing body was no longer the missionary or British in its membership. It included a strong staff membership too. In 1912-1913, Andrews and Rudra went to England to get this new Constitution of the College approved. After a struggle, the SPG accepted it with modifications.<sup>93</sup> As mentioned earlier, the SPG wanted Professors appointed by them to be only removed by them. Also, the property of the college was to be vested in the SPG. Rudra, on the other hand, wanted Indianization of the College. He did not specify whether the Principal and Vice Principal were to be Christians.<sup>94</sup>

Also, Rudra wrote to the Cambridge Committee not agreeing with the property being vested in the SPG and insisted on the bursar being a member of the managing committee. The managing committee was to be an executive wing. Thus, the proposed Constitution did not safeguard the religious affairs of the college and also did not guarantee the control of the Cambridge Brotherhood.<sup>95</sup> Moreover, Rudra also wanted non-Christians in this committee. Further, he wanted to increase the number of college staff on the committee.<sup>96</sup>

Finally, negotiations were completed by 1913, when the Constitution was drafted. The legal body of the college laid the objective that it meant to prepare young men for university exams and instruct in Christianity. The Vice Principal had to be a man of Church of England not the bursar. Further, the Supreme Council was to regulate the

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<sup>93</sup>David Baker, 'St. Stephen's College,'1998,p.80.

<sup>94</sup>Nandini Chatterjee, The Making Of Indian Secularism,2011,p.123.

<sup>95</sup>Ibid.

<sup>96</sup>Ibid.p.124.

religious affairs of the college and the governing body, consisting of non-Christians, was to take care of day-to-day matters.<sup>97</sup>

Furthermore, Principal Rudra in March of 1915 read out in his annual report of the college, that the authorities in the Cambridge and London had permitted the election and nomination to the governing bodies of the college of one Muslim and two Hindu members. He attributed this development to the changing nature of India where the 'enlightened Indians' were given the right to vote on executive bodies, even in a missionary college. The First World War also took three of the members of the European staff of the college to the war front. These included Messrs. Sharp, Lawrence and Jenkin. Moreover, Sudhir Kumar, the son of Principal Rudra also went to fight the war. This was regarded as the devotion of the college to the British Empire.<sup>98</sup>

But, the college remained loyal to India as well. It had participated in the National Movement under Principal Rudra, although only 11 students had participated in the Non-Cooperation Movement, according to F.F. Monk.<sup>99</sup> This is because Rudra did not want mass action (Viswanathan 2002).<sup>100</sup> Susan Viswanathan took the argument further to show that Rudra invited Gandhi to his home at St. Stephen's College, despite opposition. But Rudra argued that by opening his doors to Gandhi, he was serving the country.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>97</sup>Ibid.

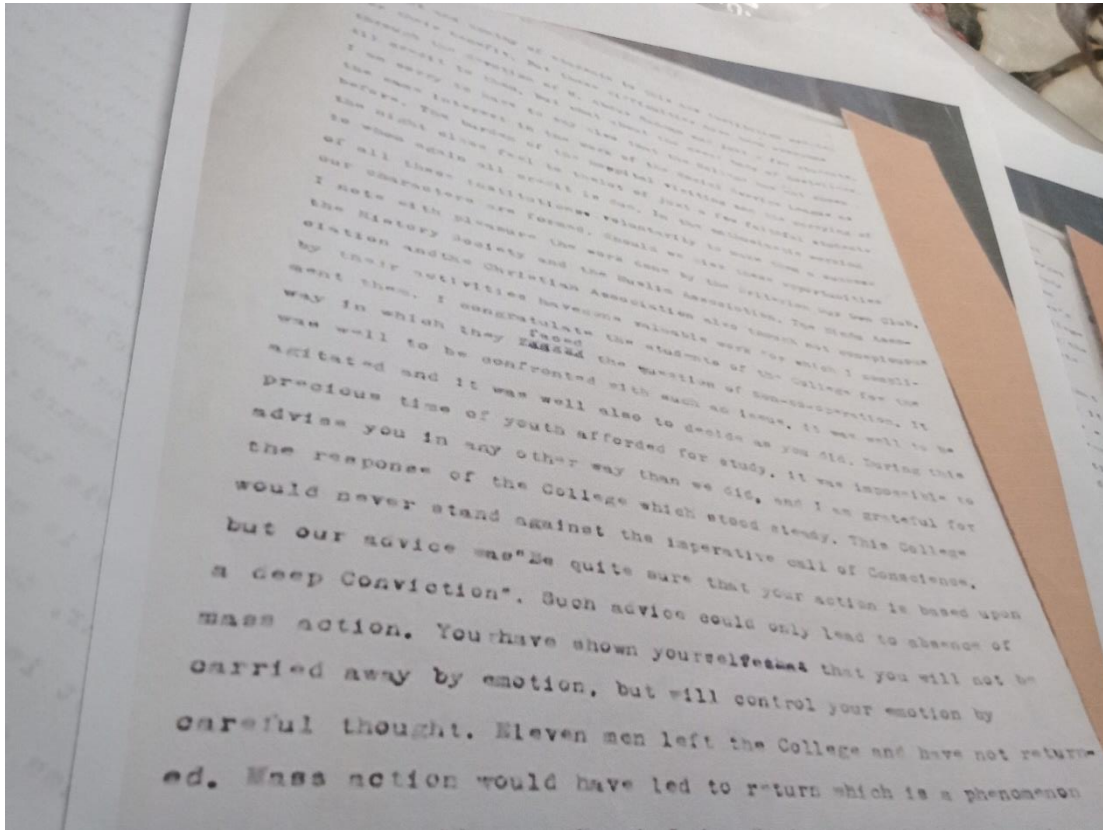
<sup>98</sup>The Times of India,(1861-current): ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Times of India, March 22,1915,p.11.

<sup>99</sup>F.F. Monk, *A History of St. Stephen's College*, 1935,p.181.

<sup>100</sup>Susan Viswanathan, 'S.K. Rudra, C. F. Andrews and M.K. Gandhi,'*Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.37, No.34 (Aug 24-30), 2002,p.3533.

<sup>101</sup>Ibid.

**Plate1.1, Principal's Note observing that only eleven students participated in the Non-Cooperation Movement from St. Stephen's College, Delhi**



David Baker (1998) has argued that Rudra and Andrews were moderate nationalists.<sup>102</sup> This is because there was a unique fusion of Western and Indian values in their era.<sup>103</sup> David Baker (1998) further branded Stephanians as moderate nationalists. This may be because only 11 out of 245 students took part in the non-cooperation movement in 1920. Finally, in the annual prize giving ceremony in 1921, Rudra congratulated the students for standing 'steady'.<sup>104</sup> But, was the college that moderate? Ashok Jaitley (2006) has argued that students like Raza participated in the Swadeshi Movement.<sup>105</sup> Further, Ashok Jaitley has pointed out that Stephanians, Amir Chand and Awadh Behari took an extremist stand by reportedly attacking

<sup>102</sup>David Baker, 'St. Stephen's College,'1998,p.79.

<sup>103</sup>Ibid.

<sup>104</sup>Ibid.p.86.

<sup>105</sup>Ashok Jaitley, *St. Stephen's College*,2006, p.14.

Viceroy Hardinge in the Delhi Conspiracy case in 1914. They were convicted and hanged until death.<sup>106</sup> Susan Visvanathan (2002) has argued that Rudra supported the revolutionary activity of Har Dayal, as observed by his son Ajit Rudra.<sup>107</sup> Furthermore, Benarsidas Chaturvedi and Marjorie Sykes (1949) bring to light that Har Dayal was a graduate of St. Stephen's College.<sup>108</sup> Therefore, there were certain radical elements too in the College.

In 1907, for instance, the Risley circular was released which forbade government or government aided colleges from discussing political questions with students. But, St. Stephen's lost favour with the government for flouting orders. As a result, the secret service methods were unleashed on C. F. Andrews. His private papers were examined secretly at Maitland House. The man doing so was caught. It was upsetting for Andrews to find out that many of the students of St. Stephen's College and other colleges were being invited to spy on one another, according to Benarsidas Chaturvedi and Marjorie Sykes (1949).<sup>109</sup>

In this background, questions that may be worthy of investigation: Did Rudra endanger the college by inviting Gandhi? And also, by carrying forward the agenda of nationalism? What was the discourse pertaining to this? How did the nationalist thrust of Principal Rudra impact the College and its Supreme Council? How did the State at that time view the actions of Principal Rudra? The proposed study has intended to explore these questions.

After Rudra, came F.F. Monk (1923-1926). Monk tried to revive the English missionary spirit. Monk also left out the mixed ethos of Rudra and Andrews and

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<sup>106</sup>Ibid.

<sup>107</sup>Susan Viswanathan, 'S.K. Rudra, C.F. Andrews and M. K. Gandhi,'2002,p.3534.

<sup>108</sup>Benarsidas Chaturvedi and Marjorie Sykes, *Charles Freer Andrews, A Narrative*, London:George Allen and Unwin Limited, 1949,p.41.

<sup>109</sup>Ibid.p.54.

trained the college into a professional elite college which was guided by the principle of responsibility and leadership.<sup>110</sup> Subsequently, F.F. Monk supported the Principalship of S N Mukarji<sup>111</sup> and Mukarji took over as Principal in 1926.

After such an eventful tenure of Rudra, it was interesting to note that the next Principal who spent a long haul as Principal was Satya Nand Mukarji. S. N. Mukarji was an outstanding Cambridge undergraduate. He was known for his character, personality and mathematical ability.<sup>112</sup> He joined the College as a missionary in 1913. He was the Vice Principal during F.F. Monk's time. The 'Indianness' of Mukarji worked in his favour given the rise of the national movement in India. Mukarji was famous in the government networks for attending the so-called important New Delhi parties.<sup>113</sup> S.N. Mukarji as the Principal of the College held the view that evangelization was not the most important objective of Christian education.<sup>114</sup> But, Mukarji was a hard taskmaster and did not like half baked measures. At the same time, Mukarji was deeply affectionate towards his colleagues and students.<sup>115</sup>

The College, under S. N. Mukarji, was a government cum missionary College. Most of the students were children of government employees. According to Baker (1998), the College acquired a bureaucratic tone.<sup>116</sup> But, did the college get government grants remains to be seen through this study. Furthermore, David Baker(1998) has pointed out that although the college became more efficient, the link between the staff

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<sup>110</sup>David Baker,' St. Stephen's College,'1998,p.82.

<sup>111</sup>F. F. Monk Papers. Principal's Correspondence, Subject (i) *F. F. Monk's resignation*, Date 1926,EB 3 (a-d), M-23 Confidential letter, 9 March 1926, St. Stephen's College, Delhi,p.1.

<sup>112</sup>*The Stephanian*, Mukarji Memorial Number , October 1945,p.1.

<sup>113</sup>David Baker,' St. Stephen's College,'1998,p83.

<sup>114</sup>*The Stephanian*, Mukarji Memorial Number, October, 1945,p.4.

<sup>115</sup>*Ibid.* p. Editorial.

<sup>116</sup>*Ibid.*

and students weakened, as mentioned earlier. But, the number of students appeared to grow.<sup>117</sup>

Ashok Jaitly has called the College elite based on the opportunities it provided. Be it the admission criteria, its sense of space, its residence, etc. The college has marked a space for itself in Delhi and in India. It is known for its virtues of fair play, brotherhood, etc.<sup>118</sup> But, this elitism as mentioned before can be questioned on the grounds that the college was in fact humanitarian. This was because the college gave financial assistance to the needy, according to F.F. Monk(1935). Apart from this, the monthly college dinners<sup>119</sup> helped one rise above narrow caste, class and religious differences. The Social Service League in 1928 had become very useful. Students had visited hospitals and taken part in Baby Week Exhibition and raised funds for relief in Orissa, apart from running two-night schools.<sup>120</sup> Moreover, in the late 1920s, women students were admitted.<sup>121</sup> Ashok Jaitly gave some information on women students of the period. The Times of India of May 29, 1928, revealed that women students were added to the growing number of students. There were six women students admitted to the college. This system of co-education worked well in a city like Delhi, despite the practice of Purdah and the unfamiliar nature of the co-education system.<sup>122</sup> But what were the arguments in favour of opening up access to women into St. Stephen's? The study seeks to explore these aspects.

Also, concerning academic results, the college had a favourable pass percentage. But, the results in English were not up to the mark, as observed in 1928. The college

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<sup>117</sup>David Baker, 'St. Stephen's College, '1998,p.84.

<sup>118</sup>Ashok Jaitly, *St. Stephen's College*, 2006,p.128.

<sup>119</sup>David Baker,' St. Stephen's College,'1998, p.96.

<sup>120</sup>The Times of India(1861-current; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Times of India, May 29, 1928,p11.

<sup>121</sup>Ashok Jaitly, *St. Stephen's College*, '2006,p.54.

<sup>122</sup>The Times of India(1861-current; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Times of India, May 29, 1928,p11.



therefore, arranged a system whereby, the students were trained in the expression of accurate idiomatic English.<sup>123</sup> The distinctions won by old students were also noteworthy. S.K. Sen had secured first class in the final Indian Civil Service examination. Also, J.C. Chatterjee was given a place in the Legislative Assembly.<sup>124</sup>

Interestingly, according to Baker (1998), Satya Nand Mukarji became closer to the government. Now, the Viceroys began to visit the College. For example, Viceroy Irwin came to College in 1929 and this showed that the College was appreciated and it also clung to the Western values. Viceroy Irwin addressing the students, insisted that the University should not oppress the college, at the same time the college should make a valuable contribution to the University. Further, he considered that character was more important than learning.<sup>125</sup> David Baker (1998) has shown that in the 1930s the students preferred a game of cricket than political strikes.<sup>126</sup> However, nationalist leaders too continued to visit the College, which made the College a site for contestation of both the pro- and anti-government. In the 1930s, Gandhi, Sarojini Naidu and Andrews (after he had left college as a lecturer) visited the college, according to Ashok Jaitley (2006).<sup>127</sup> Furthermore, Jaitley pointed out that Swadeshi and Purna Swaraj were emphasized and the Principal was given a Khaddar suit.<sup>128</sup> Ashok Jaitley wrote that though Principal S. N. Mukarji stayed away from controversial issues,<sup>129</sup> the College and the students became more volatile in 1942.

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<sup>123</sup>Ibid.

<sup>124</sup>Ibid.

<sup>125</sup>The Times of India(1861-current; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Times of India, March 21, 1929,p.14.

<sup>126</sup>David Baker, 'St. Stephen's College,'1998,p.87.

<sup>127</sup>Ashok Jaitley, *St. Stephen's College*,2006,p.30.

<sup>128</sup>Ibid.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid. p.38.

Baker argued that this was because of the political agitation in the university campus.<sup>130</sup>

There were other changes that took place under Principal Mukarji. In 1939, the college got relocated to the north of the Ridge Area. It was British Architect Walter George who built the new building as it stands today.<sup>131</sup> It was at the same site, Mukarji and Gwyer were instrumental in setting up Delhi University.<sup>132</sup> Mukarji's conception of the relationship between University and constituent colleges was individualistic rather than socialistic, argued N.K.Sen, who also was the Registrar of Delhi University. Mukarji did not want to compromise on the independence of the College.<sup>133</sup>

After S. N. Mukarji, David Raja Ram took over as the Principal in 1945. He himself was a Stephanian. This meant that the College administration began to be in the hands of the next generation that got trained in the portals of St. Stephen's College. It was important to note that our period of research lasted from 1881 to 1945. It was because this period of 56 years was marked by the College's reputation for academic excellence and the contribution of institutional leaders to the transformation of the College has been tremendous. Most importantly, the 56 years of span was mainly occupied by three Principals - Allnutt, Rudra and Mukarji. It was, therefore, relevant to examine the role and contribution of these three Principals and their tenures in the overall transformation of the St. Stephen's College.

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<sup>130</sup>David Baker, 'St. Stephen's College,'1998,p.86.

<sup>131</sup> David Baker , 'St. Stephen's College,'1998,p.85.

<sup>132</sup>Ibid.

<sup>133</sup>*The Stephanian*, Mukarji Memorial Number, October 1945,p.5.

### *Reasons for Studying the Contribution of Principals*

The reason why we are looking at the contribution of Principals in the College, was because every Principal brought in his unique education, experience, personality and policy to the College. Additionally, their ideas also shaped the institution. Allnutt was described as a democrat by C.H. Martin, Rudra continued democratic practices. But Mukarji was a strict disciplinarian. Ashok Jaitly(2006) has put forth that ‘as in the past, St. Stephen’s College has also undergone many changes in response to the transforming external reality.’<sup>134</sup> One such external reality was the change in leadership. Further, the events of these eras also moulded the College. The National Movement was one such event which shaped the College History. The leaders were both Western and Indian, as mentioned before, so there was a unique fusion of Western and Indian values.<sup>135</sup>

Though there was a Culture of Excellence in St. Stephen’s College, Delhi, the College cared for the marginalized. C.F. Andrews and Rudra did social work in this direction even at a personal level. They drafted the College Constitution to Indianize the College. Andrews work with the untouchables was well- known. He worked for indentured labourers in Fiji, apart from attempts at uplifting the poor. He was therefore called Deen Bandhu. Rudra organized the Rudra dinner and Social Service League. Rudra also never compromised on the College Standards despite the National fervour. According to him, youth was connected to study.<sup>136</sup> Therefore, participation in National Movement was about deep convictions not about mass movement. Moreover, the Lindsay Commission under Mukarji tried to Indianize the Staff in College. It focussed on research and delivering popular lectures to overcome racism,

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<sup>134</sup>Ashok Jaitly, St. Stephen’s College, A History, Delhi: Roli Books, 2006, p.139.

<sup>135</sup>David Baker, ‘St. Stephen’s College,’ 1998, p.79.

<sup>136</sup>File No E -PR 1920, Education Annual Report, Subject: Principal’s Report(S.K.Rudra), Date: 1920-21, Contents: Copy of Principal’s Annual Report, p.4.

enable cultural interaction and communal tensions.<sup>137</sup> Ashok Jaitly(2006) has pointed out 'the pursuit of excellence has been an essential component of the force driving the Stephanian engine whether in College or in the outside world.'<sup>138</sup> Excellence was equated with the entrance examination in May 1883, which helped the College select meritorious students for the College. It also meant restricting numbers to ensure a better performance. Excellence was about striving for the best in all other activities. The idea was to be good at something. Either one was the Shake Soc type, a Sportsie or the Debating Soc type in an academic environment. Excellence also meant giving back or contributing to the College, also aiming to be the best according to Jaitly.<sup>139</sup>

#### **IV. Review of Relevant Literature**

There were a few accounts of St. Stephen's College by various scholars or those who were part of the Stephen's College at some point or the other. For example, F.F. Monk (1935), himself a Principal during this period, had written about the humanitarian aspect of St. Stephen's college. He had appreciated the character of Rudra and how he took care of the poor and marginalized. He has reflected on the issue of autonomy too. Monk has looked at the national movement in relation to college and has connected patriotism with character formation. He argued that the college was colonial as well.

Another teacher, David Baker (1998) wrote on the St. Stephen's College. He called Stephanians as moderate nationalists. Baker (1998) linked colonialism with college life and argued that in the pre-1947 period the college was more British, and less Indian. David Baker (1998) has also suggested that the character of the college changed from religious education to moral education.

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<sup>137</sup>File No. E. Cev, 1931-32 regarding Lindsay Report, EG1 Education, Subject: Christian Higher Education-India: NA(1930s) 1931 -32, Contents: Report of the Sub- Committee of St. Stephen's College on the Lindsay Commission and other related material, p.2.

<sup>138</sup>Ashok Jaitly, St. Stephen's College, A History, 2006, p.134.

<sup>139</sup>Ibid.p.136.

Baker (1998) has touched upon the humanitarian elements of the college too, like giving financial assistance to the needy.<sup>140</sup> He has shown that the early hostels were occupied by the village boys, some were from poor families.<sup>141</sup> Also, there was close bond shared between the staff and students. According to him, the idea of the residence strengthened the sense of community.<sup>142</sup> David Baker (1998) did give an overview of the college under different Principals.<sup>143</sup> He however has not examined the issues in-depth, and remained mostly restricted to personalities rather than looking at how these personalities have shaped transformation of the College.

Benjamin Zachariah, Subhas Ranjan Chakraborti, Rajat Kanta Ray(1998) have looked at the institutional history of Presidency College.<sup>144</sup> These historians have analysed the College in terms of how it came to birth because of the Indian Renaissance. They point out that the Hindu College was the foremost colonial experiment in higher education, followed by the Presidency College which stood for education based on secularism.<sup>145</sup> The Presidency College also shifted to a new campus in 1874.<sup>146</sup> The national movement on Campus was more violent as it involved the students assaulting the Professors.<sup>147</sup> Teachers were also recruited on the basis of merit.<sup>148</sup> So, institutional histories generally trace the success of the institution in terms of the campus culture and democratic practices, as observed.

Susan Visvanathan (2002), a sociologist, had elaborated on the College's role in the national movement. She has explained the role of Principal Rudra in inviting Gandhi

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<sup>140</sup>David Baker, 'St. Stephen's College', 1998,p.96.

<sup>141</sup>Ibid.p.76.

<sup>142</sup>Ibid.p.91.

<sup>143</sup>Ibid.p.75.

<sup>144</sup>Benjamin Zachariah, Subhas Ranjan Chakraborti, Rajat Kanta Ray, 'Presidency College, Calcutta,' in *Knowledge, Power and Politics* by Mushirul Hasan, 1998,p.304.

<sup>145</sup>Ibid.

<sup>146</sup>Ibid.p.316.

<sup>147</sup>Ibid.p.341.

<sup>148</sup>Ibid.p.380.

to his home. Visvanathan has talked about how the College was Indianized. She has discussed about Rudra's interesting relationship with colonialism. Visvanathan (2002) has furthermore examined the humanitarian aspect of the College.

Daniel O' Connor (2005), a chaplain and a lecturer in English at St. Stephen's College, Delhi wrote the book 'Interesting Times in India.' According to Daniel O' Connor talked about the shift of the College to the new Campus in the Ridge Area. This new building was constructed by Walter George. The scenic university campus where the college stood today has been extremely beautiful. According to Narayani Gupta, the College also has had a liberal atmosphere where the faculty and teachers have lived in a disciplined manner and where secularism was the underlying theme.<sup>149</sup> The book described in detail the students and teachers of the college from various departments. He talked in addition, about Brook Foss Westcott, the founder of College.<sup>150</sup>

Daniel O' Connor (2005), compared St. Stephen's College to 'Christ Church of India.' This was Oxford's most elite institution. He compared this with academic excellence and snobbery. He found this Christ Church highly 'unattractive and absurd,' because of elitism.<sup>151</sup> Daniel O' Connor also praised Mohammad Amin, one of the lecturers in History, who joined the college in 1949. The College was a hub of 'religious pluralism.'<sup>152</sup> The aspect about national movement under Gandhi was another factor discussed in this book. Finally, the book examined the policy of S.S. Allnutt in introducing Oriental learning. Historically speaking the period from 1965 to

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<sup>149</sup>Daniel O'Connor, *Interesting Times in India: A Short Decade at St. Stephen's College*, New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2005, p.XIII.

<sup>150</sup>Ibid. p. 4.

<sup>151</sup>Ibid.p.6.

<sup>152</sup>Ibid.p.18.

1967 was a period of turmoil for the country.<sup>153</sup> Thus, Daniel O' Connor (2005) examined St. Stephen's College across History.

Nandini Chatterjee (2011), in her book, has discussed the missionary College of St. Stephen's. She talked about the Indianization of the College in the early twentieth century.<sup>154</sup> The issue of autonomy of the college has also been looked at.<sup>155</sup> The SPG and the Cambridge committee gave Andrews and Rudra, a tough fight in relation to the new Constitution. Nationalism is also examined in relation to college. Rudra was well liked by Tagore and Gandhi.<sup>156</sup> Also, the college experimented with religious education. For instance, in the scripture period Andrews wrote that in 1911, non-Christian teachers were allowed to speak on a moral topic from their religious books. Rudra argued that this was done to make non-Christian teachers work closely with the aims of the college and not be merely as paid staff.<sup>157</sup> The term Stephanian is also explored which essentially has been an elite, male and a non-religious term.<sup>158</sup>

The above sources examined the college's policy regarding humanitarian aspects and the issues of autonomy. These sources further looked at the College's role in the national movement and policy changes under different Principals. David Baker and Nandini Chatterjee, touched upon the issue of conversions with reference to the character of the college. Susan Visvanathan looked at the contribution of Principal Rudra. Daniel O'Connor has examined how the College evolved across History.

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<sup>153</sup>Ibid.p.169.

<sup>154</sup>Nandini Chatterjee, *The Making of Indian Secularism*, 2011,p.112.

<sup>155</sup>Ibid.p.123.

<sup>156</sup>Ibid.p.128.

<sup>157</sup>Ibid.p.125.

<sup>158</sup>Ibid.p.131.

## V. The Study

### a. Rationale

Thus, the reason why we have been studying the History of St. Stephen's College is because we wished to understand the process of nation making and the role the College had played in the national movement. Knowledge emerged as a resource which was later monopolized. The Government for instance, issued the Risley Circular in 1907, to the College to refrain it from giving knowledge to students concerning the political questions. This was flouted by the College.<sup>159</sup> Moreover, the college tried to Indianize itself with the appointment of Rudra. A new Constitution came into place where gradually foreign missionary control lost its tight rein on the institution. In the existing accounts and literature, it was still not explicit how leadership brought in significant institutional transformation. This was precisely what the proposed study would aim to study.

There was also a need to move away from the old perspectives on Missionary education towards a newer perspective that established a closer working relationship of the missionaries with the local people. It was found that even St. Stephen's College was established because there was a need for a college in Delhi. As the Delhi (government) college had shut down in 1877.<sup>160</sup> Furthermore, St. Stephen's College has been termed as the Mecca of learning.<sup>161</sup> For these reasons it was relevant to study the institutional history of St. Stephen's College, 1881-1945.

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<sup>159</sup> Benarsidas Chaturvedi and Marjorie Sykes, *Charles Freer Andrews, A Narrative*, p.53.

<sup>160</sup> David Baker, 'St. Stephen's College', p.69.

<sup>161</sup> Valsan Thampu, *On a Stormy Course*, p.8.



### **b. Broad Objectives**

1. To study the origins and evolution of St. Stephen's College, Delhi, from 1881 to 1945.
2. To understand the processes and discourses in the transition of the college from being a missionary to a site of nationalism to an elite centre of higher learning in India during the colonial period.
3. To study the contributions of the institutional leaders, namely, that of the Principals during this period, particularly, the contributions of Allnutt, Rudra and Mukarji, who had served the college for longer periods.
4. To examine the Alumni and teacher contributions and recollections of institutional culture.

### **c. Specific Research Questions**

1. How did the idea of St. Stephen's College emerge and take shape from 1881 to 1945?
2. What were founding principles of St. Stephen's College? What was the role of Principal Samuel Scott Allnutt in laying the foundation of the college?
3. How did St. Stephen's College transform from being a British missionary to an Indian secular institution? How did the Constitution undergo change under Principal Sushil Kumar Rudra? What were the debates, discourses and tensions that arose during the adoption of the new constitution? How did the college become a centre of nationalist discourses during Rudra's Principalship?
4. How did the college transform from a mass into an elite centre of higher learning under the Principal Satya Nand Mukarji? How did the student composition and teacher recruitment change under Mukarji?

5. How did the Alumni and teachers perceive St. Stephen's College and its culture?

#### **d. Sources of data and Research Methodology**

The above research has followed the historical method which analysed the primary as well as secondary sources. Primary sources included the P.C. Joshi's Archives on 1857 that hold the old perspective on missionaries, and it was found in JNU (Jawaharlal Nehru University) Library itself. The Secondary Sources included books by Marjorie Sykes, and the journal by Susan Visvanathan, etc. They discussed about S.K. Rudra, C. F. Andrews, and the College.

Interviews of old teachers like David Baker also helped us understand the college better. He joined the college in July of 1969 as a Lecturer in History Department.<sup>162</sup>

The questions that were asked in these interviews were - What was the role of the college in the national movement? How did the college fare under different Principals, primarily under Allnutt, Rudra and Mukarji? How did the college handle the issue of conversion?

We have selected the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library (Archives) and St. Stephen's College Archives for Primary Sources. The C.F. Andrews' letters were found in the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library (Archives). The private papers called the Stokes' papers, 1922, 1924, 1925 were also found in the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library (Archives). Stokes was an associate of C.F. Andrews. This paper looked at one of the teachers in St. Stephen's College who happened to be boxer. Stokes' papers also examined letters to Andrews and they throw light on

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<sup>162</sup>*The Stephanian*, Harish Trivedi(ed.), College Centenary Issue, Vol.XC No.1, 1 February 1981, p. 180, 'Article by David Baker.'

Gandhi and the humanitarian aspect of Andrews. These were found in the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library (Archives).

The St. Stephen's Archives primarily consisted of the records of *Christian Higher Education, Tutorial and Attendance Lists, The Stephanian, The St. Stephen's Magazine, The Constitution and History of the Brotherhood, etc. from 1881 to 1945. Monk's papers, 1926 (Monk was one of the College's Principals), letters, official correspondence, documents etc. are found in St. Stephen's archives. The Stephanian, and St. Stephen's magazine* in these archives talk about Andrews, Rudra and Mukarji. An attempt will be made to access the *private papers*, of the Principals and also the *official notings*, etc.

The Delhi Brotherhood Society housed Secondary sources on S.S. Allnutt and others. The Vidyajyoti Library was useful in referring to books pertaining to Christianity and Christian Education like books by A. Mathew, J.C. Ingleby and Vimala Paulus. These books were useful in uncovering the motives of missionaries in India.

The researcher initially found it difficult access the Delhi Brotherhood after some time as it was closed for renovation. Due to Covid 19, the Archives at St. Stephen's College was also out of bounds. The authorities at St. Stephen's College Delhi were looking for an Archivist. The researcher was fortunately taken in as an Archivist by the Principal of the College very magnanimously. This set the tone for further research.

## **VI. Chapterisation**

1. Introduction: the rise of the Cambridge Mission and the formation of St. Stephen's College, Delhi, a successor of the Delhi College. The former became a College of excellence as well. Its leadership evolved and transformed the College in policy and

principles. From a missionary institution, the college became nationalistic and later elitist.

2. St. Stephen's College as a Missionary College: Formative Years under Allnutt (1881-1898) and his successors (1898-1907). The College was into evangelization but later became a moral institution with secular ideals under Allnutt. Allnutt was also democratic, there were many non-Christian Students under him.

3. College as a site of Nationalism and Democratic Culture: Years of Andrews (1904-1914) and Rudra(1907-1923). Rudra was a pro-nationalist and he encouraged nationalism in a spirit of self-control in the College as he believed youth was a time to study. Andrews on his part was democratic in his ideas, trying to bridge the gap between the East and the West. Additionally, Andrews cared for the marginalized.

4. St. Stephen's College as a Centre of Elitism and Excellence: The tenure of Principal S.N. Mukarji(1926-1945): Mukarji's era witnessed the rise of admissions of children of civil servants in College and training of students for civil service. Yet, the students remained politically active, although Mukarji was close to the Government.

5. Students, Teachers and their Contributions and Recollections (1881-1945): The alumni and teachers give us insights into the life of the Principals, the social life of the College, the freedom movement and the College Culture. This will help us understand the different realms of College life.

6. Summary and Conclusions: The overview of all the chapters is provided along with the observations and findings of the research. This also includes the interpretation of the chapters along with the overall analysis. This chapter will help us draw a final summary of the content presented, alongside conclusions.

## Chapter Two

### **St. Stephen's College as a Missionary College: Formative Years under Allnut(1881-1898) and his successors (1898-1907)**

This chapter examines the idea behind the inception of St. Stephen's College, Delhi. It also discusses how the Cambridge Mission formed the School, in addition to the College. In particular, the chapter looks at the role of Samuel Scott Allnut who was branded as the founder of St. Stephen's College, Delhi. Also, the chapter informs us how the College changed from a religious institution to a moral institution later on to adopt a secular ideal. The College was elitist during Allnut's tenure. In time it embraced the poor as per the Christian ideal and acquired a heterogenous mix. The College was democratic because of Allnut, who was extremely humble as reported by C.H. Martin (1922).<sup>163</sup> This was because the students were from different religions during his era.

The chief argument was that the College was initially elitist and religious with Allnut as its Principal. In the later years the College became more secular because the policy of conversions was not too successful. The sources for the period primarily include F.F. Monk's History of St. Stephen's College. Besides, the memoir of C.H. Martin, the article by David Baker, the works of C.M. Millington, Aparna Basu, Gail Minault, Ashok Jaitly, Hayden Bellenoit, Valsan Thampu, Babu K. Verghese throw light on the period under study. Besides, the primary sources like newspapers such as the Times of India, Deccan Herald, Delhi Mission News, Dundee Courier, Madras Weekly Mail, etc., the journals like Stephanian, St. Stephen's Magazine, Cambridge

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<sup>163</sup>Cecil H. Martin, *Allnut of Delhi: a memoir*, 1922, Madras: The Macmillan Company, Preface IV.

Review, and other original sources like the Life and Letters of Westcott, the file on student-social background, the file pertaining to Allnutt, etc. also provide interesting insights. But, there seems to be a paucity of sources for Allnutt's period, since we are relying heavily on F.F. Monk's book.

### **I. The Establishment of St. Stephen's School**

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel or SPG established the St. Stephen's School in 1854<sup>164</sup> in Delhi under Jennings. But the revolt of 1857 harmed the School in Delhi. Jennings himself was killed along with his companions.<sup>165</sup> The School was re-started in 1858 with 300 male pupils. In 1864 the School came under the affiliation of Calcutta University.<sup>166</sup> The College was set up in the year 1881 and became connected with the Punjab University in 1882.<sup>167</sup> As the Punjab University was set up in the year 1882.

In December of 1879, Winter who was heading the SPG transferred the St. Stephen's High School to the Cambridge Brotherhood.<sup>168</sup> The Government College was shut in 1877. There was therefore, a need to provide higher education. There was a challenge to replace the Government College.<sup>169</sup> So, St. Stephen's College, Delhi came up in place of the Government College.

In a report of 1878, Bickersteth, one of the founders of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi, wrote that the School desired Christian masters who would not persecute Christianity and who would promote Christian learning.<sup>170</sup> Christianity was the heart at St. Stephen's College, Delhi. F.F. Monk(1935) has too confirmed that the

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<sup>164</sup>C.M.Millington, *A History of the Cambridge/Delhi Brotherhood*, 1999 ,p.3.

<sup>165</sup>David Baker, 'St. Stephen's College, Delhi, 1881-1997,' 1998, p.67

<sup>166</sup>C.M.Millington, *A History of the Cambridge/ Delhi Brotherhood*, 1999,p.9.

<sup>167</sup>Aparna Basu(ed.) *University of Delhi 1922-1997, Platinum Jubilee*, 1998,p.6.

<sup>168</sup>C.M.Millington, *A History of the Cambridge/ Delhi Brotherhood*, 1999,p.12.

<sup>169</sup>F.F. Monk, *A History of St. Stephen's College, Delhi*, 1935, p.3.

<sup>170</sup>*Ibid.*p.3.

Cambridge Missionaries joined by December 1879 to assist with the functioning of St. Stephen's High School.<sup>171</sup> It may be argued that the St. Stephen's College, Delhi was the successor of the Delhi College put forth by the former Principal of the College, F.F. Monk(1935).<sup>172</sup> Furthermore Monk (1935) put forth that the Delhi College had been giving accessibility to Christian inspiration.<sup>173</sup> So, the role of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi was crucial.

## II. The Cambridge Mission

In 1877, Edward Bickersteth, Fellow of Pembroke, arrived in Delhi as the Head of the Cambridge Mission. Then in 1878, four more people also joined the Cambridge Mission. Three names were particularly, important, these were George Henry Lefroy, Samuel Scott Allnut and Henry Chichele Carlyon. The story went back to 1877, when Delhi lacked a College. This College was operational since the year 1864. This College was the illustrious Government College of Delhi.<sup>174</sup>

J.B. Dunlem (1881) also explained the Cambridge Mission to Delhi in 1881. The Delhi Mission was evangelistic in nature and was also devoted to the Cambridge. The Mission started when six graduates of the University were ready to work in India. Unfortunately, two of the graduates, were compelled to return to England because of poor health. The Mission strength was brought low with only four men. However, the work of the Mission increased.<sup>175</sup>

It has been argued that one chief motive for the establishment of the University was higher education of the Indians under Christianity. There was a letter that E.

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<sup>171</sup>Ibid.p.4.

<sup>172</sup>Ibid.p.14.

<sup>173</sup>Ibid.

<sup>174</sup>*St. Stephen's College Magazine*, February 1921 to December 1922, St. Stephen's College,p.4'Principal address' (by Rudra).

<sup>175</sup>J.B.Dunlem, 'The Cambridge Mission to Delhi Reprinted from Cambridge Review, November 23, 1881' in *New Building for St. Stephen's College, Delhi 1889-91*, p.1.

Bickersteth, the head of the University Mission wrote to B.F. Westcott in September. The initial plan according to Dunlem (1881) was to establish a hostel for the Christian pupils of the 'Government Delhi College.'<sup>176</sup> But, as the Government College shut down, there was a plan underway to set up a Native College by the wealthier sections that would receive grants-in-aid from the Government. The Mission did not want to quench the spirit of the public for higher education. But, at the same time, felt the need for Christian education. With this in mind, the St. Stephen's College, Delhi was started from January, 1881, for students of St. Stephen's School and 'other Mission Schools.'<sup>177</sup>

In the meanwhile, the private initiative to establish a Native College fell flat due to the lack of funds. Therefore, the Punjab Government was not convinced. Consequently, the Government was willing to support the Missionary College, initiated by the Mission. This was the first instance that the higher education of a sizeable proportion of South Punjab was given to Christians,<sup>178</sup> according to the above document by J.B.Dunlem (1881) on The Cambridge Mission to Delhi.

Furthermore, J. B. Dunlem (1881) elaborated that the work of the Mission College involved looking after the High School, the spread of the Gospel in native language, the preaching in the markets and the acts of evangelism in association with Winter. In return, the missionaries would be paid a humble stipend. This would enable one to enjoy brotherly union along with the community prayer for the sake of God. The Mission required men, who were prepared to lose their souls in order to find them. In other words, people who were willing to sacrifice their comforts were required by the

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<sup>176</sup>Ibid.

<sup>177</sup>Ibid.

<sup>178</sup>Ibid.



Mission.<sup>179</sup> Service minded people were welcome in the above Mission. One such service minded missionary was Allnutt.

### **III. The Delhi College and St. Stephen's College, Delhi**

Gail Minault (2000) has argued that the Delhi College was an interesting amalgamation of the East and the West. The East promoted Urdu and the West promoted English. But after Macaulay's Minutes things changed in favour of Urdu because there was an effort to win the local community, despite the Western bias of Macaulay's Minutes. However, the famous journal of Delhi College *Qiran Al-Sa'adain* was all about Eastern and Western Learning.<sup>180</sup> This may have inspired the Cambridge Mission not to look down on India or the East. Even the early men of St. Stephen's College, Delhi decided to help this cause. For instance, Allnutt was actually very clear about promoting Eastern Languages at St. Stephen's College, Delhi. Despite the thrust of English as the standard of instruction in most subjects, Sanskrit became an important subject even at the M. A. Level.<sup>181</sup> Allnutt was himself well-versed in Sanskrit.<sup>182</sup> This goes to show that Allnutt took interest in Indian culture.

At the Delhi College the main pool of funds came from the Government and Muslim endowments.<sup>183</sup> The second category made of the local influential men.<sup>184</sup> The same truth existed in St. Stephen's College Delhi. In 1890, when St. Stephen's College Delhi, was shifted to Kashmere Gate, we notice that the funds came in from the

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<sup>179</sup>Ibid.

<sup>180</sup>Gail Minault, 'Qiran al-Sa'adain: The Dialogue Between Eastern and Western Learning at Delhi College, in *Perspectives on Mutual Encounters in South Asian History*, by Jamal Malik, (ed). Leiden, Brill, 2000, p.260.

<sup>181</sup>Ashok Jaitly, *St. Stephen's College, A History*, 2006, p. 7.

<sup>182</sup>Ibid.

<sup>183</sup>Gail Minault, 'Qiran al-Sa'adain: The Dialogue Between Eastern and Western Learning at Delhi College, in *Perspectives on Mutual Encounters in South Asian History*, by Jamal Malik, (ed). Leiden, Brill, 2000. p.260.

<sup>184</sup>Ibid.

Government and Alumni, apart from the fees.<sup>185</sup> Additionally, St. Stephen's College, Delhi like the Delhi College consisted of people from different backgrounds.<sup>186</sup> This meant people from vivid faiths.

The issue of conversion was another aspect to be considered. Master Ramchandra was the Maths Professor at Delhi College. He converted to Christianity. This led to a furore within the College. Moreover, a lot of students withdrew from the College in the early 1850s. This was the argument put forth by Gail Minault (2000).<sup>187</sup> Ramachandra's conversion to Christianity caused a scandal and prompted the withdrawal of great numbers of students in the early 1850s in the words of Gail Minault (2000).<sup>188</sup> According to F.F. Monk(1935) teachers like Master Ramachandra joined St. Stephen's College, Delhi from the Delhi College.<sup>189</sup>

The revolt of 1857 attacked the College premises of Delhi College and the library and Ramachandra fled as pointed out by Gail Minault (2000).<sup>190</sup> Similarly, the St. Stephen's School, Delhi was also ransacked during the 1857 Mutiny as mentioned earlier. This goes to show that imminent places of education and learning were easy targets for the so- called freedom fighters. But the difference is that St. Stephen's School was revived under Skelton.<sup>191</sup> The reason why St. Stephen's came together

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<sup>185</sup>F.F. Monk, *A History of St. Stephen's College, Delhi*,1935, p.42.

<sup>186</sup>Gail Minault, 'Qiran al-Sa'adain: The Dialogue Between Eastern and Western Learning at Delhi College, in. *Perspectives on Mutual Encounters in South Asian History*, (Ed.) by Jamal Malik,2000 pp.277.

<sup>187</sup>Ibid.p.276.

<sup>188</sup>Ibid.

<sup>189</sup>F.F. Monk, *A History of St. Stephen's College, Delhi*1935, p.36.

<sup>190</sup>Gail Minault, 'Qiran al-Sa'adain: The Dialogue Between Eastern and Western Learning at Delhi College, in . *Perspectives on Mutual Encounters in South Asian History*, (Ed.) by Jamal Malik,2000 p.276.

<sup>191</sup>C.M. Millington, *A History of Cambridge/Delhi Brotherhood*,1999, p.9.

again was because the missionaries found strength to collect funds and revive the mission, after which the SPG mission was making consistent 'progress.'<sup>192</sup>

The other tradition in Delhi College was orality which built closer relations between the teacher and the students.<sup>193</sup> This trend continued with the establishment of a dialogue between the East and the West. This trend noticed close teacher -student relations which originated with the B. F. Westcott lectures. Westcott was one of the founders of St. Stephen's College, Delhi. Moreover, Westcott brought the divine truth to the thinking people so that they would realize the truth in the Eastern Cultures like Hinduism or Islam.<sup>194</sup> Furthermore, this truth found completion in Jesus Christ. This was the argument given by C.M. Millington (1999), in the words of the Westcott, the Cambridge Missionary. Thus, there was an interchange of religious ideas that could lead to a meaningful exchange. So, there was need to appreciate the Eastern religions and languages.<sup>195</sup>

According to Principal Rudra (1920) in the Founder's Day Address of December 7, there were plans to start a People's College or a Municipal College. However, there was a paucity of funds for setting up a College. It may be noted that Samuel Scott Allnut had started work in the Mission School. He also initiated University classes for his students to train them for the Calcutta University. At this point, Gordon Young on behalf of the Government, advocated that the Cambridge Mission should start a College up to the degree level. Therefore, much to the relief of the Delhi dwellers, the Cambridge Mission established St. Stephen's College in Delhi, simultaneously this coincided with the establishment of the Punjab University. St. Stephen's College,

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<sup>192</sup>Ibid.

<sup>193</sup>Gail Minault, 'Qiran al-Sa'adain: The Dialogue Between Eastern and Western Learning at Delhi College, in *Perspectives on Mutual Encounters in South Asian History*, (Ed).by Jamal Malik,2000 p.261.

<sup>194</sup>C.M. Millington, *A History of Cambridge/Delhi Brotherhood*, 1999. p.10.

<sup>195</sup>Ibid.p.11.

Delhi began behind the Chandni Chowk area. Eventually, the College shifted its base in 1891 to Kashmiri Gate. Even, the buildings are etched with the presence of the Founder of the College according to Rudra (1920).<sup>196</sup>

#### **IV. The Role of Allnutt**

F.H. Chase (1902) argued that B.F. Westcott believed ‘the Church welcomes the experience of the past, not as exhaustive or finally authoritative, but as educative.’<sup>197</sup>

Allnutt also carried the legacy of Westcott. He served the people by providing education to them. He also gave medical aid to the women of the city and uplifted the Christians, who were hated in society, the poverty-stricken and the oppressed sections. In addition, Allnutt was also a scholar, he tried to study Sanskrit and the Sacred literature and philosophy of the Hindus. He was so passionate about this Sanskrit study that he took help from the scholars based in Benaras and managed to organise M.A. Sanskrit classes in the St. Stephen’s College, Delhi premises and the teaching was according to ‘modern critical methods.’ according to Rudra (1920).<sup>198</sup>

Critical methods involved raising relevant questions. This was because the East in itself was a rich source of knowledge.

Allnutt also wanted Philosophy to be included as a subject of study. He believed in learning in essence. Further, his view on learning was related to character formation.<sup>199</sup> Allnutt was also very responsible, he believed in Jawab-Dehi or accountability. Allnutt was caught up with a continuous chain of activity, of continual communication, of various subjects and he cultivated a deep inner spiritual life which was invisible. The other aspect was the torch bearer of learning. He encouraged his

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<sup>196</sup>St. Stephen’s College Magazine, Feb. 1921 to December 1922, p.4. ‘Principal Address’ (by Rudra)

<sup>197</sup>F.H.Chase, ‘Bishop Brooke Foss Westcott, ’*The Biblical World*, Volume 20, 1902-07-01, p.24.

<sup>198</sup>St. Stephen’s College Magazine, Feb. 1921 to December 1922, ‘Principal Address’ (by Rudra). p.5.

<sup>199</sup>Ibid.

pupils to follow this. There was a 'moral obligation' to try and do our best and to 'pass' the light to others.<sup>200</sup>

Samuel Scott Allnut was the first Principal of St. Stephen's College, Delhi in 1881 and retired in 1898. But he has been remembered for strict discipline and for accessibility to his students. Three incidents stand out in Allnut's life. One, was an excited Allnut during a reception in the College in Chandni Chowk.<sup>201</sup> Actually, Allnut was fond of boys so he was given the charge of the School and College.<sup>202</sup> Two, was the 'flexibility' concerning the Principalship of Susil Kumar Rudra. Initially, Allnut opposed Rudra's Principalship, but later Allnut supported it. This showed he could be flexible when it came to the interests of the College. Three, Allnut boldly defended the accused Amir Chand, a Stephanian, before a court which was looking into the bomb attack on Viceroy, Hardinge in 1913.<sup>203</sup> Amir Chand was accused of attacking Viceroy Hardinge.

Allnut, was called to testify, during the 1914, Delhi Conspiracy Trial. Amir Chand was one of the accused. Samuel Scott Allnut, supported Amir Chand, a former teacher, of St. Stephen's.<sup>204</sup> According to the *Times of India*, on May 8, 1915, the alumni of St. Stephen's College, Amir Chand and Awadh Behari were put to death by hanging them. Both of them were accused of the conspiracy of attempting to kill the Viceroy Hardinge in December of 1912.<sup>205</sup> Moreover, Chand and Behari were people connected to St. Stephen's College, Delhi, in 1885 and 1904, respectively. Subsequently, they went on to become teachers. Amir Chand joined the Swadeshi and

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<sup>200</sup>Ibid.

<sup>201</sup>David Baker, 'St. Stephen's College,' 1998, p.74.

<sup>202</sup>F.F. Monk, *A History of St. Stephen's College, Delhi*, 1935, p.8.

<sup>203</sup>David Baker, 'St. Stephen's College,' 1998, p.74.

<sup>204</sup>*The Stephanian*, 'Founder's Day Address', Vol.CI April/Dec.1993 No.1 and 2, p.82.

<sup>205</sup>*The Times of India*, Former Stephanian wants martyr alumni honoured May 9, 2015.

Boycott movements.<sup>206</sup> This showed that somewhere the College under the missionary authorities like Allnutt was encouraging some small degree of revolutionary movement. Hayden Bellenoit (2014) also showed that the Anglican educational institutes interacted with those who would impact upcoming Freedom Movement.<sup>207</sup>

The *Deccan Herald* brought to light that St. Stephen's College, did not acknowledge the martyrdom of two of the above alumni, Amir Chand and Awadh Behari. Suhas Borker, a Stephanian and History patron, wanted to give them their true place. Borker wrote about these two Stephanians, who participated in the freedom movement and consequently, were hanged. The background was that the British had moved their royal capital to Delhi, all the way from Calcutta in the year 1912. There was some protest, as a consequence of this new development, in the secret organisations that were moving towards a revolution. According to Borker, of the *Deccan Herald* the main participants of the anonymous group were Awadh Bihari and Amir Chand. On 23 December, 1912, Viceroy Hardinge, while he was passing through Chandni Chowk was physically hurt and the attendant, close to Hardinge was killed. The blast that took place also killed a boy and physically harmed certain 'onlookers.' Chand and Bihari were arrested in February of 1914, and the accused were also charged with the attempt to murder Viceroy Hardinge in the 'Delhi Conspiracy Case.' Both were hung on 8 May 1915 at the 'Delhi Central Jail.'<sup>208</sup> It may be argued that the College was supportive of its teachers and students despite their revolutionary inclinations. Even a conservative like Allnutt was willing to stand up for Indian alumni of the College in

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<sup>206</sup>Ibid.

<sup>207</sup>Hayden Bellenoit 'Education, Missionaries and the Indian Nation c. 1880-1920' in *New Perspectives in the History of Indian Education* (Ed). By Parimala V. Rao, New Delhi: Orient Black Swan, 2014, p. 177.

<sup>208</sup>*Deccan Herald*, The Forgotten Martyrs of Freedom Struggle, May 13, 2015.

face of opposition from the British authorities. The missionaries in St. Stephen's College were always under the threat of the Government least it withdraws the funds allocated to the College. This why we can say that Allnutt was a democrat. Hayden Bellenoit(2014) further argued that the Missionaries in Cambridge Mission to Delhi had different attitudes than the Colonial Government. The Missionary teachers tried to understand the Indian social life 'more than any other European group in India.'<sup>209</sup>

Samuel Scott Allnutt, retired, after serving seventeen years as the Principal of St. Stephen's College, Delhi. He eventually supported the Principalship of Rudra not considering, the latter's race or nationality. Though initially, he was not in favour of Rudra's Principalship. But, later he accepted his own mistake and stood with Rudra. Additionally, Allnutt also supported C.F. Andrews' role as a nationalist and humanitarian when Andrews became 'restless' as a missionary teacher. Allnutt thereby, altered many of the 'methods and traditions' of the Cambridge Brotherhood. Therefore, when Allnutt passed away in 1917, there were many gathered to rejoice for the life that was well-lived. This is because Allnutt contributed to the life in college and to the 'city of Delhi.'<sup>210</sup>

Founder's Day which was named after Allnutt, has had its unique features. There was a 'service of worship' in the chapel for all, on that day. The hall and the audience was addressed by the Principal and the staff was found in academic dress. The other participants on the occasion, were the students, parents and friends, who took part in the celebration. The Principal would read a list of all deceased principals and teaching faculty belonging to the college, since 1February 1881. The names of people in the

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<sup>209</sup>Hayden Bellenoit 'Education, Missionaries and the Indian Nation c. 1880-1920' ,2014, p.180.

<sup>210</sup>*The Stephanian*, Volume CI, April/December 1993, No.1 and 2,p.87,'The Spirit of Founder's Day' Article by Arvind Vepa and David Baker.

list from across different faiths also depicted the 'non- partisan' nature of St. Stephen's College, Delhi.<sup>211</sup>

Allnutt found leisure in reading books on theology or philosophy, also English and fiction were his other interests, as far as reading was concerned. Allnutt was also endowed with self- control as he lived a peaceful life of prayer and served punctually, leading a well-disciplined life on earth.

Allnutt was a scholar who was greatly interested in Sanskrit. As mentioned earlier, Allnutt, was keen on establishing M.A.(Master of Arts) Classes on Sanskrit in the College. Moreover, he had witnessed the alumni of Sanskrit doing well in life, as Sanskrit Professors in different places. Moreover, Allnutt was instrumental in the functioning of the Star of Delhi Club. This unit established contact with students at St. Stephen's School and College, beyond the official working hours. This Club, additionally, consisted of facilities like a 'library,' 'indoor games,' and housed discussions and 'social customs', apart from 'lectures.' Cricket was also vital in this Club. Allnutt was therefore, seen at the Club, late at night. Also, the Club gave Allnutt a wonderful opportunity to interact intimately with the students at the College and School.

In 1890, Allnutt took a decision to retire from the College. As he wanted to pursue Sanskrit and Hinduism. Additionally, he wanted to work with Lefroy, heading the Brotherhood. Moreover, Allnutt wished a younger person would replace him as the Principal of St. Stephen's College, Delhi.<sup>212</sup> Allnutt was although unmarried, he said he was married to India<sup>213</sup> that goes to show that he was committed to India and its

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<sup>211</sup>Ibid.p.86.

<sup>212</sup>C.M. Millington, *A History of the Cambridge/ Delhi Brotherhood*, 1999,p.71.

<sup>213</sup>Cecil H. Martin, *Allnutt of Delhi, a memoir*, 1922, Preface.



people. No wonder people people from all walks of life came to his funeral to pay him homage.

### **A. Allnutt as a Democrat**

Allnutt provided flexibility to the College attempting to connect the staff members. The staff was also made responsible in the process of governance. Even in 1891, he tried to shift the College to Kashmere Gate to provide divergence from missionary control.<sup>214</sup> According to C.H.Martin (1922) in 1897, the background of students was as follows for the College. There were fifty-four Hindus, nine Muslims and seven Christians. Also, the School was consisting of five hundred and five Hindu students, seventy-five Muslim pupils, thirty-two Christian students, as pointed out Cecil H. Martin.<sup>215</sup> Thus, it may be argued that the both the College and School were democratic in its student composition. Further, most students were non-Christians.<sup>216</sup> Catering to students from different religious backgrounds may have established the democratic relations.

Furthermore, Hayden Bellenoit (2014) has also put forth that in Mission Educational Institutions run by the Cambridge Mission for instance, they had intimate relations with students in the classroom.<sup>217</sup> This is because religious aims initially did not reduce the students to a mechanical roll number. Or in other words, the students in the missionary institutions were not known superficially.<sup>218</sup> These formed the basis of interaction between the missionary teachers and students.

The aspect of dialogue also gave the College a democratic hue. B.F. Westcott was the man behind the Cambridge Mission. According to Arthur Westcott, son of B.F.

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<sup>214</sup>David Baker, 'St. Stephen's College', 1998, p.72.

<sup>215</sup>Cecil H. Martin, *Allnutt of Delhi*, 1922, p.77.

<sup>216</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>217</sup>Hayden Bellenoit 'Education, Missionaries and the Indian Nation c. 1880-1920', 2014, p. 179.

<sup>218</sup>*Ibid.*

Westcott, the latter was elected by a large majority at Cambridge. In his letter to Benson, the Chancellor of Cambridge, Westcott talked about his immense faith in Cambridge. Westcott in his time at Cambridge used to invite on Sunday afternoons, students for interactions. He often discussed the nature of humans elaborating about the unity of human beings. Additionally, he preached in the college chapel. He also was interested in the functioning of the University. He believed that the University was a space to exercise faith based on nobler virtues. Westcott also felt that a man's life reflected his character. His understanding of education was that it provided a vitality during trials, a comfort during the sadness and a sense of motivation. It also gave a purpose which was human and heavenly. It was not about earning a livelihood but was the means concerning our lives.<sup>219</sup>

According to Valsan Thampu(2017), education was not the primary goal of the mission but it was the means to an end. Thampu argued that, to the founders of the college, evangelism was the primary target. To drive in the point further he quoted from B.F. Westcott, the Chairman of the Cambridge Committee, that these Universities wished to 'interpret the faith of the West' to the Eastern countries and to revive the Gospel.<sup>220</sup> It may be argued that Allnutt inherited a tradition based on interaction and equality which was based on democracy. The Cambridge Missionaries including Allnutt were trained not to look down on the East, but, to teach the East and to learn from it.

According the *Delhi Mission News Quarterly London*, Monk reported about the first Principal of St. Stephen's College who adopted certain attributes based on 'traditions of close cooperation and mutual trust between staff and students which developed

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<sup>219</sup>Arthur Westcott, *Life and Letters of Brooke Foss Westcott By His Son*, Volume I, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1903,p.413.

<sup>220</sup>Valsan Thampu, *On a Stormy Course*, 2017,p.20.

under his successors John Wright, G. Hibbert Ware and S.K. Rudra, are the basis of that spirit of free fellowship which we (Stephanians) continue to enjoy, and which takes practical form, on the administrative side, in the representative of the Staff under the terms of the College Constitution both in the executive Managing Committee and in the more general Governing Body.<sup>221</sup> In other words, Allnutt set a democratic precedent for his successors. This was part of Monk's speech.<sup>222</sup>

The Principal's Address on Founder's Day, December 7, 1920 revealed that in the seventies, there existed Bishop in Bombay who was called Douglas.<sup>223</sup> He proposed the idea that University men who were learned, living in a community of religious people would labour with the educated layer in society and enable them to understand the Gospel. This idea was the brainchild of an Oxford man but continued under the Cambridge University. The three luminaries who were the University Divines of the Cambridge were namely, Hort, Lightfoot, and Westcott. Another important luminary was the first Bishop of Lahore, Thomas Valpy French. French was also an extraordinary missionary. Apart from this, Westcott, was the Regius Professor of Divinity at the Cambridge University. The initial members of the mission were the followers of Westcott. His zeal was infectious. His chief work was to interpret the faith of the West to the East. At the same time the Mission prepared to impart knowledge too.<sup>224</sup>

Cecil H. Martin (1922) clarified that there was a need to help the Non-Christians through Evangelism, higher education and through literary work.<sup>225</sup> In fact, Delhi was chosen as a site for Evangelism because it was a large site with 2,00,000 souls. It had

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<sup>221</sup>*Delhi Mission News, Quarterly*, London, Volume XII, No.3, July 1928, Delhi 1928-1933, Per/D 32, p.55.

<sup>222</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>223</sup>*St. Stephen's College Magazine*, Feb. 1921 to December 1922, p.3. 'Principal Address' (by Rudra)

<sup>224</sup>*Ibid.* p.12.

<sup>225</sup>Cecil H. Martin, *Allnutt of Delhi, a memoir* 1922, p.21.

been a Mughal city with a rich sense of industry and intellect. At the same time it remained steeped in Hindu Culture.<sup>226</sup>

### **B. Formerly, An Elite College**

The thought of evangelism was new. Very few people understood the concept of evangelizing ‘dark men.’<sup>227</sup> This showed that Allnutt like many others was touched by racism. Racism tended to be a problem in the Cambridge Mission as well. There was an attempt to discriminate Eastern cultures based on the colour of their skin. This was one of the reasons perhaps why Allnutt too opposed the Principalship of Rudra who was not a Cambridge man.

There was an element of Elitism therefore in the Cambridge Mission. Moreover, the primary goal of the College remained preparation of students for Government Service.<sup>228</sup> It may be argued that Government Services gave a sense of direction or purpose to the College. This augmented the air of Elitism. Additionally, the Missionaries came with their own sense of faith which may have tended to alienate a few, if not all people connected with the College who were non-Christians. For instance, there were Scripture verses written all over the new building argued F.F. Monk. This was when the College was shifted to Kashmere Gate in 1890-91.<sup>229</sup> This is in line with the phenomenon of the White Man’s Burden. Here the Englishman would feel superior to the native Indian based on colour or creed. But there were also issues like the purdah system and superstition which needed to be addressed among

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<sup>226</sup>Ibid.

<sup>227</sup>Ibid.p.23.

<sup>228</sup>F.F. Monk, *A History of St. Stephen’s College, Delhi*, 1935,p.30.

<sup>229</sup>Ibid.39.

other evils. For instance, there was the case of a woman worshipping the train. Instances like these were not uncommon in British India.<sup>230</sup>

### C. Religious Learning to Moral and Secular Education

Like Westcott, Allnut initially trusted in evangelizing India.<sup>231</sup> The College took great joy in its sense of the past traditions. It was a place for interacting and moulding of the mind. When St. Stephen's College was set up, it was based on the Cambridge Mission originating in England. It was a minority, College. However, the secular character of the College could not be diminished. The College was about 'expressing' oneself. For this purpose, several 'societies and forums' were established, where multiple perspectives were shared and listened to. This led to diverse aspects in College, but women students were especially, required to play a greater role. Not just in the institution, but also in the residence in the later years in the words of Rohit Wanchoo(2003) who has been a History faculty. The students were found actively engaged in many burning issues of the day. Namely, 'literacy,' 'communal harmony,' 'human rights' and 'anti- war protests.'<sup>232</sup> Like David Baker, Rohit Wanchoo(2003) also termed the politics at St. Stephen's College, as moderate rather than radical.<sup>233</sup>

Initially, Allnut wanted religious conversions. But he was soon disappointed as he realized the need for secular and plural values into which the College progressed.<sup>234</sup> Eastern Languages like Arabic, Sanskrit were taught at the institute.<sup>235</sup> Moreover, the university exams were a great equaliser. They were extremely gruelling. One's background offered no refuge to the student. He had to fight it out in the university

<sup>230</sup>C.H. Martin, *Allnut of Delhi, a memoir*, 1922, p.25.

<sup>231</sup>F.H.Chase, 'Bishop Brooke Foss Westcott,' *The Biblical World*, Volume 20,1902-07-01,p.14.

<sup>232</sup>*The Stephanian*, Vol.CXI, No. 1, April 2003, 'Editorial by Rohit Wanchoo,' New Delhi: Bosco Society for Printing and Graphic Training, p. 1.

<sup>233</sup>*Ibid.* p. 2.

<sup>234</sup>Ashok Jaitly, *St. Stephen's College, A History*, 2006, p.7.

<sup>235</sup>F. F. Monk, *A History of St. Stephen's College, Delhi*, 1935, p.20.

exams. But over a period of time the university exams became more flexible.<sup>236</sup> It may be further argued that the toppers of the College were from all backgrounds, as shown by Monk(1935).<sup>237</sup>

The testimonies according to C.H. Martin (1922) of students throw light on the nature of College. One student claimed that that the lessons were moral and spiritual, and these helped one in serving better. Another pupil stated that he had come closer to Christ because of the Delhi Brotherhood. Another learner pointed out that the Spiritual nature of the teaching developed one's higher self.<sup>238</sup> Furthermore, it was believed that the Cambridge Brothers inspired through their life, good treatment of others, apart from 'character.'<sup>239</sup>

The missionary educators from the Cambridge Mission to Delhi for instance, according to Hayden Bellenoit (2014) were religious. They drew from their reserve of faith. They moved around in marketplaces interacting mostly with the Hindu priests and to some extent the former frequented the mosques.<sup>240</sup> Besides, religion, cricket offered a means to unite students. Bellenoit (2014) has demonstrated that Missionary students played cricket and other sporting activities with their pupils.<sup>241</sup> So, it was not all about only religion. Clubs also ensured secularism on different issues.

David Baker has shown that in 1891 the College Motto was '*Ad DeiGloriam*' which meant '*To the Glory of God*' and the hall was full of religious illustrations and words. Allnutt wanted all the teachers to be Christians, but, the social conditions were

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<sup>236</sup>Ibid.p.28.

<sup>237</sup>Ibid.p.25.

<sup>238</sup>C. H. Martin, *Allnutt of Delhi, a memoir* 1922, p.78.

<sup>239</sup>Ibid.p79.

<sup>240</sup>Hayden Bellenoit, 'Education, Missionaries and the Indian Nation c. 1880-1920,' in *New Perspectives in the History of Indian Education*, by Parimala V. Rao, 2014, p.180.

<sup>241</sup>Ibid.p.180.

contrary to his beliefs. Also, since the College failed to convert students, it shifted to moral education.<sup>242</sup>

Babu K. Verghese (2014) stated that due to a Missionary interest in the Bible there were translations which encouraged Sanskrit scholarship.<sup>243</sup> Take the case of Sanskrit, that was prospering under Samuel Scott Allnutt. The missionaries in India also were nation builders as argued by Bellenoit (2014).<sup>244</sup> They drew from their faith which was based on non- violence. Nation building involved the feeling of a community. In such a unit everyone felt accepted and included irrespective of caste, class or faith, as a nation was founded upon the values of egalitarianism, democracy and so on. The leaders or former Principals of St. Stephen's College were Christians. They based their actions usually on the word of God. This meant for God's interests and also cared for their neighbour. This also translated as a concern for the poverty-stricken and those tormented in society. According to Cecil H. Martin(1922), Allnutt has been described as a democrat. This was because Allnutt established a good rapport between the Christian and non - Christian staff. He supported the idea of self- governance among the staff. So, that they could manage the College well. The staff of the College had more value than the salary they earned.<sup>245</sup>

#### **D. Social Background of the Pupils**

This showed that in February 1881, there were five students out of which four students were of the Hindu Background except for one student from the Muslim background. The Hindu students were from the Kayesth, Bania and Khattri

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<sup>242</sup>David Baker ' St. Stephen's College,' 1998, p.89.

<sup>243</sup>Babu K. Verghese, *Let there be India*, Chennai: WOC publishing , September 2014,p.455.

<sup>244</sup>Hayden Bellenoit, 'Education, Missionaries and the Indian Nation c. 1880-1920,'2014, p. 176.

<sup>245</sup> Cecil H. Martin, *Allnutt of Delhi, a memoir*, 1922, p.82.

backgrounds.<sup>246</sup> This showed that the College being Christian was open to all faiths. It was secular in its admission policy. Also, four students were from St. Stephen's School with the exception of one student from Ajmere.<sup>247</sup> This trend displayed how the College preferred students from their own school while remaining open to all.

Serial No.	Name	Admission	Name of Parent/Guardian	Caste	Religion	Residence	Last School Attended
1.	Sajjad (MIRZA)	Feb.1881	Abbas Mirza	Muslim	Muslim	Sanda Nala	St. Stephen's
2.	Har GOPAL	Feb.1881	Har Bilas Rai	Kayasth	Kayesth	Chel Furi	St. Stephen's
3.	Kirpa NARAYAN	Feb.1881	Ram Narayan	Kayesth	Kayesth	Chel puri	St. Stephen's
4.	Ram LAL	Feb.1881	Makhan Lal	Dhussar (Kashmiri)	Dhussar (Kashmiri)	Baidwara	St. Stephen's
5.	Sansar CHAND	Feb.1881	Ram Chandr	Khattri	Khattri	Balimaran	Ajmere

**Plate 2.1, Social Background of Students in St. Stephen's College, Delhi, 1881**

## V. The Nature of Education

The larger majority of students were non-Christians.<sup>248</sup> Monk (1935) quoted Allnutt 'since Bickersteth had returned from his wanderings he has handed over to me definitely the Principalship of the School (and thereby of the College).'<sup>249</sup> This was because the new principal in-charge Allnutt was interested in Education and in dealing with the boys coming to get educated.<sup>250</sup>

Subjects like English, Maths, Logic, Psychology and History were taught in St. Stephen's College in the initial years of the College. Lefroy and Allnutt taught English. Logic and Literature were taken by Allnutt. Lefroy took History and

<sup>246</sup>File No. AD 1, Students, Social Background, Subject: Lists Students Social Information, 1881-1906, Contents: List of Students by Class /year, Caste/ Community, Address, School.

<sup>247</sup>Ibid.

<sup>248</sup>F.F. Monk, *A History of St. Stephen's College, Delhi*, 1935, p.5.

<sup>249</sup>Ibid.p.8.

<sup>250</sup>Ibid.p.9.



Psychology. Carlyon additionally took Maths.<sup>251</sup> The classes were small to enable a more meaningful interaction. According to Monk (1935) ‘the mind and character of each student’<sup>252</sup> was a priority. Despite, the proximity, Allnutt and Lefroy found it hard to teach English at the first-year batch of the Intermediate level. Allnutt, therefore wanted Sanskrit or Arabic to be added as teaching subjects. The Intermediate level involved the inclusion of five subjects, out of which English, Maths and an Eastern language were to be added compulsorily.<sup>253</sup>

C.H. Martin (1922) argued in the words of Hibbert Ware, the later Principal of St. Stephen’s College, Delhi, about Allnutt, ‘one could not enter his room without seeing that he cared nothing about his personal comfort. It was a comfortless room. The one thing that must have charmed him or any one of like tastes was the collection of books that filled all the available space of the walls, and were generally piled liberally on the floor and elsewhere. His shelves were always full. He made room for new books by giving away the old ones. He had, at one time, a large number on English literature and some relating to Hinduism that I believe it would not be easy to get.’<sup>254</sup> There was a respect for eastern knowledge in the mind of Allnutt, besides western knowledge.

According to Monk (1935) the B A (Bachelor of Arts) Course included subjects like ‘Maths, Natural Science and Persian or Sanskrit.’<sup>255</sup> The native Professors taught these subjects. It was hoped that ‘History, Moral Philosophy and Logic’ would form the basis of interactions with the pupils in the future.<sup>256</sup> Moreover, there was a paucity of space by 1884-1885. As far as the finances were concerned, they had applied for a grant from the Municipal Committee. The Government and Municipal grant would

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<sup>251</sup>Ibid.p.8.

<sup>252</sup>Ibid.p.19.

<sup>253</sup>Ibid.p.21.

<sup>254</sup>Cecil H. Martin, *Allnutt of Delhi: a memoir*, 1922,p.147.

<sup>255</sup> F.F. Monk, *A History of St. Stephen’s College, Delhi*, 1935,p.21.

<sup>256</sup>Ibid.

amount to Rs. 600 per month. Apart from this, a grant from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Rs. 120 and fees amounting to Rs. 90. This amounted to Rs. 710 per month.<sup>257</sup> Both the School and College had a diverse mix of students.<sup>258</sup> The students were from all backgrounds. The lowest fee at School was ‘two annas’ and ‘three rupees’ was the highest fee, while at College, the fees ranged from ‘two to ten rupees.’<sup>259</sup> The College fees was higher because of higher education expenses. However, what really took a toll were the University exams.<sup>260</sup>

St. Stephen’s College brought out the best in students. C.H. Martin (1922) argued that Allnutt ‘believed in them, and, so doing led them to believe in their own best selves.’<sup>261</sup> The students were also given strict training. There were close parallels between the College and School. The description of the School holds true for the College also. The students sat on stools during the early years. Moreover, as mentioned earlier the students were raised and groomed to enter the Government service. In the School marks were not given. ‘Home lessons are learnt, and interest sometimes very keen is manifested by the boys in their work.’<sup>262</sup> Corporal punishment was not resorted to, but the irritation of the teachers was made known to the students to ensure sensibility.

Cricket was an integral part of education and so was the school club. These ensured that the students would be all-rounders. The school club was organised under the title of the ‘Star of Delhi Club.’<sup>263</sup> This club was started in 1880 and continued within the school till the school itself was scrapped off in 1929. ‘The addition of the College

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<sup>257</sup>Ibid.p.22.

<sup>258</sup>Ibid.p.23.

<sup>259</sup>Ibid.p.24.

<sup>260</sup>Ibid.p.26.

<sup>261</sup>Cecil H. Martin, *Allnutt of Delhi: a memoir*, 1922,p.82.

<sup>262</sup>F.F. Monk, *A History of St. Stephen’s College, Delhi*, 1935,.p.32.

<sup>263</sup>Ibid.

classes naturally extended its scope.’<sup>264</sup> There were seventy-five members that increased to hundred and seventy by 1888. There were Maths teachers like N. Dutt who lectured on Natural Science in the vernacular language. Moreover, all kinds of questions were taken up in the club. There was also a lot of interest generated within the club, in addition to freedom from prejudice on the part of the orators. Consequently, there was a reading room set aside, where the English and Vernacular topics and other printed material were showcased for reference. Some of the games also gained in popularity. There were inter-institutional lectures and debates observed in the context of this club. There were students from the Government institutions that participated with the students of St. Stephen’s, Delhi. These meetings were a success as different issues pertaining to current topics were brought to the forefront, issues like ‘Widow Re- marriage and Evils of Caste.’<sup>265</sup> These also connected one to the future students of the College. This process built ‘mutual trust and confidence.’<sup>266</sup>

St. Stephen’s College, Delhi despite all the debate respected other faiths like Hinduism. Westcott wrote to French, the first Principal of St. John’s College, Agra that ‘the West has much to learn from the East, and the lesson will not be taught until we hear the truth as it is apprehended by Eastern minds.’<sup>267</sup>

Also, there were visits from eminent persons like the local officers who gave their help and emotional support. They presided over the prize-giving sessions and gave lectures. There was the case of Monier Williams, a Professor who visited the College

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<sup>264</sup>Ibid.

<sup>265</sup>Ibid.p.33.

<sup>266</sup>Ibid.

<sup>267</sup>W.A.W. Jarvis, *William Marshall Teape ,Dialogue between Hinduism and Christianity*,Cambridge Committee for Christian Work in Delhi, Foreword, by Austin Robinson, April 1991.

in 1883. His visit resulted in a gift of 'an astronomical telescope' for the College by the 'Duke of Devonshire, then Chancellor of Cambridge University.'<sup>268</sup>

Cricket, on the other hand, gave the pupils a sense of belonging. Lefroy was initially made in-charge of this game and a SPG Missionary, A. Martin was also made responsible for Cricket. The latter came in 1882. Allnutt in 1885 has shown in his Occasional Paper that Drilling was part of the institution. The idea 'to have rifles and to fire blank-cartridge proves very attractive.' The Police Superintendent obliged willingly as shown by Monk.<sup>269</sup>

Christopher Robinson (1926) reiterated on Founder's Day that Allnutt willingly admitted when he made mistakes. He was humble with a strong sense of initiative, which explained how his vision of the College was converted into action.<sup>270</sup> This proved how the College policy kept evolving under Allnutt.

The salary structure of the teachers at the College varied.<sup>271</sup> This may have depended on one's educational qualification and one's experience. The Delhi Gazetteer in 1883-84 gave a list of the following staff in July of 1883. Allnutt, was the Principal, Lefroy was a Professor, Carlyon was a Professor. They had studied till the M. A. level. These three were also the Reverends. They 'were reinforced from England at the end of 1883 by the Rev. J.W.T. Wright (Pembroke). N. Mahendra Dutt lectured on Maths and replaced Master Ram Chandra in 1882. Dutt was getting an income of Two hundred and thirty Rupees every month along with home rent. Nriya Gopal Bose was the Professor of Natural Science. He drew Rupees One hundred and fifty every month. Both these professors were B A in their subject. There were 'three Oriental

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<sup>268</sup>F.F. Monk, A History of St. Stephen's College, Delhi, 1935.,p.33.

<sup>269</sup>Ibid.p.35.

<sup>270</sup>St. Stephen's College Magazine, Vol.XIX, February, 1927, No.8,' Founder's Day, 1926 by Christopher Robinson,' Delhi: P and O Printing,p.4.

<sup>271</sup>F.F. Monk, A History of St. Stephen's College, Delhi, 1935,p.36.

Language Professors' who received Rupees Ninety-five on a monthly basis. These Professors taught Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit.<sup>272</sup> And in June of 1882, Sanskrit was revived and was included as an additional subject in the School. So, the total expenses of teaching this subject was Rupees Fifteen in both School and College. In July of 1883, the Principal was sent on leave to pay the Sanskrit staff Rupees Fifty. Finally, Pandit Vihari Prasad was teaching at Rupees Forty per month. Other members of the Staff included S. K. Rudra in June 1886 replaced P.C. Mukherji. There was also B.Sri Kishen Dass who worked from 1887 as a 'clerk and librarian' at Rupees Fifteen.<sup>273</sup> The College and School worked as one unit under Allnutt. Allnutt wanted a change in 1890. He wanted the School to be headed by a new person. W.S. Kelly was made the Principal of the High School. The School was separated from the College in 1891. But the Star of Delhi Club worked collectively.<sup>274</sup>

St, Stephen's College Delhi cared for the differently abled. There was the case of a blind student Chanda Singh. *The Dundee Courier* reported 'he cannot read or write, but possess such a strong memory as to be able to repeat all his textbooks, English, Persian, or Urdu by rote, and to work out sums in arithmetic with remarkable rapidity.'<sup>275</sup> But at the University exam he obtained a certain rank, after which he was to appear for the law exam. So, the strength of the Orientals was their retaining capacity. Even then the case of Chanda Singh was few and far between.<sup>276</sup>

Apart from all of this, Allnutt tried to free himself from the controlling gaze of the Delhi Mission. He went ahead with his plan to shift St. Stephen's College from Chandni Chowk to Kashmiri Gate. He apparently met with a lot of opposition along

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<sup>272</sup>Ibid. p.36.

<sup>273</sup>Ibid. p.37.

<sup>274</sup>Ibid.p.55.

<sup>275</sup>*Dundee Courier*, A Bund STCD- its accomplishments, Angus, Scotland, 24 October 1884, 'A blind student's accomplishments,' p.4.

<sup>276</sup>Ibid.

the way. But this did not stop Allnutt. David Baker (1998) pointed out that this shift to the new location happened in 1891. This also marked the separation of school education and college education. David Baker(1998) argued St. Stephen's School got divorced from the St. Stephen's College, with the latter shifting base.<sup>277</sup>

Further, Allnutt it seemed shifted the college base to a new location because he wanted to retain the resources from the Mission towards development of quality higher education. With the increase in population in Delhi, there were more students enrolling with the College. Thus, there was a pressure for more space and infrastructure. As a result, the new college building was evidently more spacious and better equipped.

The other contribution of missionaries was the aspect of trying to work according to the Article 21. This article enabled one to live life to the fullest and to die a dignified death. The missionaries respected life, everywhere they went.<sup>278</sup> One such person was C. F. Andrews, who was favoured in the Delhi Mission. This is because he led a life that cared for the destitute. Going back to the earlier period, even Principal Allnutt was someone who favoured the backward groups in addition to the elites. Consequently, Samuel Scott Allnutt's funeral was attended by the rich and poor alike. Thus, elitism in college cannot be denied. This is because the rich and powerful made the beeline for the College.

Allnutt worked in the College upto 1898. The Brotherhood in the meanwhile was observing many deaths due to certain illnesses. But Allnutt stood as a rock, who the staff and students of the College could turn to. As the staff appeared responsible to the pupils and towards teaching at large. As David Baker (1998) observed, Allnutt was a

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<sup>277</sup>David Baker, 'St. Stephen's College,' 1998,p.72.

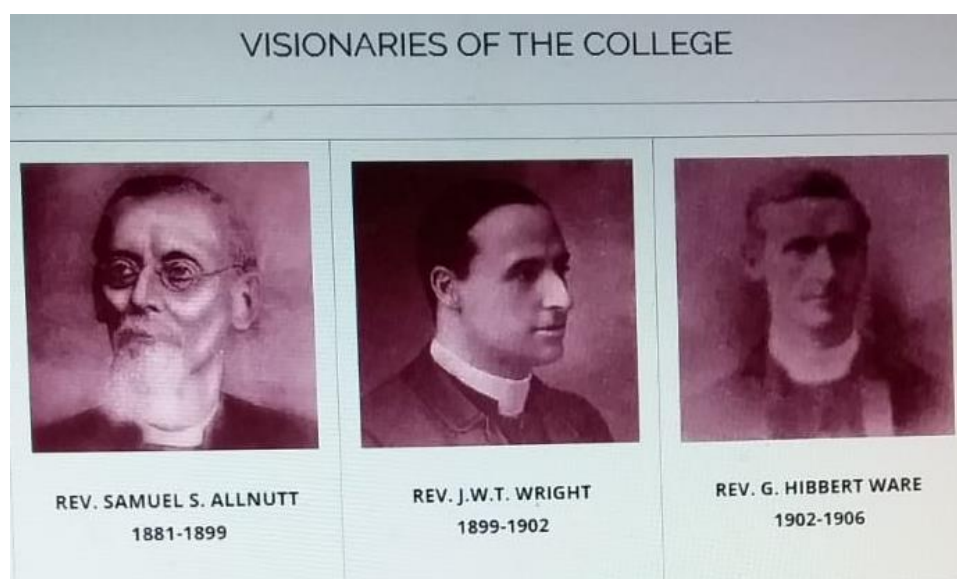
<sup>278</sup>Babu K. Verghese, *Let there be India*, Chennai: WOC publishing , September 2014,p.664.

scholar with a sharp sense of concentration, he was available to his students,<sup>279</sup> which made him stand out.

Even Principal Rudra had this to say about Principal S. S. Allnutt. S.S. Allnutt was someone who interested the youth by engaging them with intellectual interests. Hence, he started the Star of Delhi Club which became the parent of many societies in Delhi according to C. M. Millington.<sup>280</sup>

Our discussion therefore showed that Allnutt as put forth by Jaitly (2006) cared for evangelization initially. He also wanted Christian teachers, but, he realized that this was not a very viable option. Even, Ingleby (2000) has called Allnutt an imperialist as he looked down on Urdu literature. But C. H. Martin (1922) has called Allnutt a democrat. As most students were non- Christians.<sup>281</sup> Since Allnutt was the first Principal, he obviously encountered many difficulties. Eventually, the College became more secular.

### Plate 2.2, Allnutt and his successors



<sup>279</sup>David Baker, 'St. Stephen's College,' 1998,p.74.

<sup>280</sup>C.M. Millington, *A History of The Cambridge/ Delhi Brotherhood*,1999, p.74.

<sup>281</sup>Cecil H. Martin, *Allnutt of Delhi*, 1922, p.77.

## VI. Post Allnutt Years

Principal Wright had taken over from Principal Samuel Scott Allnutt in 1899. Cunningham, the contemporary of Wright also described the period under Allnutt a democratic period, although Allnutt may have appeared a little strict. But, Allnutt's main aim was to unite the College with its staff. He tried to connect the Christian staff with the non-Christian staff of the College.<sup>282</sup>

Allnutt became the 'Head of the Brotherhood and the SPG Mission' replacing Lefroy.<sup>283</sup> According to the Cambridge Committee's Annual Report (1899), the College was ably led spiritually and economically.<sup>284</sup> The College was earlier dependent on the Brotherhood. As the Brotherhood became more Indianized one had to look for sources like the contribution from the Alumni. The Alumni of St. Stephen's College has been rather generous.

The College was shifted to Kashmere Gate on 8 December 1891. An 'anonymous' author says that this building was not Gothic in style but Mughal in style. The College magazine was found in the 'Cambridge Mission' papers in the 1890s, wherein teachers and other members contributed articles.<sup>285</sup>

Allnutt was not merely satisfied helping students only intellectually. He wanted them to have all -round personalities. Basil Westcott was not too happy only equipping students with examination skills. Wright who succeeded Allnutt, the former believed that College was a sacrosanct place for imparting Christian values. This was in sharp contrast to the commercialized approach to education which was not very noble.

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<sup>282</sup>C.M. Millington, *A History of The Cambridge/ Delhi Brotherhood*, 1999, p.73.

<sup>283</sup>*Ibid.* p.72.

<sup>284</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>285</sup>Arvind Vepa and Sujit Vishvanathan(compiled), *St. Stephen's College, Delhi, India, History*, <https://aase.tufts.edu/chemistry/kumar/ssc/sschis.html>, Accessed April 10, 2020.



According to David Baker (1998) the hostel or residence was an extension of the classroom in the words of Wright.<sup>286</sup> At first because of the crowded conditions, there were two hostels. One was for Christian boarders and the second one was non-Christian resident students. The non-Christian boarding house had twenty-three pupils, whereas the Christian boarding house had about seven pupils. Both had population from poor, rural backgrounds. The Christian hostel shut down in 1898 because of inadequate numbers. Finally, what we have is a 'mixed boarding house' headed by a Christian staff member.<sup>287</sup> It was Wright who constituted the 'residential area' which was the heart and soul of the college. This was for students from rural backgrounds.

Wright's hostel was ready by 1905 mostly for rural dwellers. Soon, the city dwellers were also demanding space. With Mukarji's new building, things became more comfortable, with most of the College residing within the College Residence with four hostels. This arrangement took care of the staff and students' housing needs as well with reference to the new building.<sup>288</sup> The residence or hostel life built a sense of community. We hear such resonances in Wright, Andrews and later Mukarji. There was a sense of a one big family irrespective of one's individual background, coming together in order to drown one's differences for a united cause.<sup>289</sup> The Residential facilities have been there since 1881, providing accommodation particularly, to out-station Pupils. 'Collectively, these facilities' were called as 'Residence'.<sup>290</sup> The residence was also the thrust of Westcott<sup>291</sup> like Allnutt.

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<sup>286</sup>David Baker,' St. Stephen's College,' 1998, p.90.

<sup>287</sup>Ibid.

<sup>288</sup>Ibid.p. 91.

<sup>289</sup>Ibid.

<sup>290</sup>ststephen's.edu/residence in college,2017/Accessed 10 April 2020.

<sup>291</sup>F.H.Chase, 'Bishop Brooke Foss Westcott,' *The Biblical World*, Volume 20,1902-07-01,p.10.

### **Impact of Hindu College on St. Stephen's College, Delhi**

Monk (1935) wrote that 'the primary cause of this drop-in numbers was the tightening up of promotion rules already mentioned, but within Wright's first year of office another cause was added, namely the opening of the Hindu College. Wright remarks in his first report, the attraction of lower fees and more elastic discipline is likely, I fear, to prove too strong for weaker spirits.' This showed that Hindu College was easier on discipline and had lower college fees compared to St. Stephen's College, Delhi.

Ashok Jaitly (2006) argued that two institutes became 'rivals' in all spheres 'from their very beginnings.'<sup>292</sup> Due to the liberal influence of the missionaries, there was the Arya Samaj presence in Delhi's St. Stephen's School and College. Hindu College was founded in the 'Sanatan Dharam ambience.'<sup>293</sup> Hindu College was also housed in Kinari Bazaar, later Kashmiri Gate, finally 'across the road from the Mission College!'<sup>294</sup>

The Mission College finally, was described by Sir Charles, the LG. of Punjab as a prosperous and 'exemplary institution for the higher education of young men in this country.'<sup>295</sup> 'Since then the Government had maintained and granted Rs.21,000 for the building and Rs.3,000 for the apparatus.'<sup>296</sup> Moreover, the Mission College appealed to the English and Indians alike with 'its high aims and ideals deserving

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<sup>292</sup> Ashok Jaitly, *St. Stephen's College, A History*, 2006, p.10.

<sup>293</sup> Ibid.

<sup>294</sup> Ibid.

<sup>295</sup> *Madras Weekly Mail*-British Newspaper Archive, Thursday 28 January 1904, Tamil Nadu, 'Speech by L.G. of the Punjab', p.16

<sup>296</sup> Ibid. p.15.

support' argued Sir Charles.<sup>297</sup> He also found that the women's education was neglected in India.<sup>298</sup>

The Correspondence between F.F. Monk and Miss A.B. Allnutt, the sister of Allnutt concerning the transfer of the Portrait of S.S. Allnutt and the light of the world picture to the College was significant as it showed the value of the founder to the College.<sup>299</sup>

In summary, it may be stated that Allnutt made a befitting contribution to the field of education. His interest in the youth made him very efficient in the process of education. Another contribution of the period was found in changing nature of the College. The College was operating as a religious body and it was later that the College became a moral institution. As there were not sufficient religious conversions. The College under Allnutt was also democratic. Allnutt was inspired by the founders of the Cambridge Mission. Brooke Foss Westcott the brainchild behind the Mission was clearly interested in striking a dialogue between the East and West. As Allnutt wanted to forge good relations among the staff members. There were intimate relations between the teachers and students. This knowledge of the student by the missionary helped ushered in the National Movement in the later years. The students belonged to different backgrounds with a heterogeneous mix. They also represented different faiths. The College also was secular. The Cambridge Mission was also secular in essence. This was reflected in the ideology behind the School and College. The shift of the College to Kashmere Gate in 1891 was a remarkable event. The new building however, was not gothic but Mughal. This was criticized because

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<sup>297</sup>Ibid.

<sup>298</sup>Ibid.p.16.

<sup>299</sup>E82, Correspondence meeting to S. S. Allnutt , Subject: The Portrait of S.S. Allnutt and the light of the world picture, Date 14 April 1926, Contents : Correspondence between F. F. Monk and Miss Allnutt on the above.

the building seemed un-Christian. Allnutt replied that Christianity was after all about adaptation.

The two Principals that followed were Hibbert Ware and Wright. Wright continued the tradition of cricket. He was the Principal from 1898 to 1902. He made the role of games vital in the College by taking over the land outside Kashmere Gate for games. He was also careful with the level of excellence in the field of Academics. Principal Hibbert Ware who followed later moved along with the students in their outings. His period 1904-1907 was not so dramatic. He was known for attending political events, raising the standard of Maths, apart from helping the students fair well at the University exams.<sup>300</sup>

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<sup>300</sup>David Baker, 'St. Stephen's College, Delhi', p.75.

## Chapter Three

### **College as a site of Nationalism and Democratic Culture: Years of C.F. Andrews (1904-1914) and Rudra (1907-1923)**

This Chapter is divided into two parts, Part A presents the biographical sketches of Rudra and Andrews. It throws light on the personality of the two legends, apart from showcasing the influences that shaped their ideas. Part B attempts to look at the making of Rudra as the first Indian Principal of St. Stephen's College, Delhi. Moreover, it also examines the National Movement as it came up in the College and the drafting of the College Constitution in 1913. One would also see how the liberal campus culture came up during this period, in addition to the democratic tradition as well as respect for equality in the College. Furthermore, the setting up of the Social Service League by Rudra was an important event that eventually made the College less elitist and more humanitarian in its ideal. The College finally transformed itself into a less missionary and a more Nationalistic institution during the Principalship of Rudra who had Andrews by his side. This period saw the transformation of the College due to the combined efforts of the Principal Rudra and the dynamic Andrews and it was inseparable for any meaningful understanding of the evolution and shaping of the College.

#### **Part A: Biographies: Personalities and Interpersonal Relationships**

##### **I. Biographical Account of Rudra**

Susil Kumar Rudra was born in 1861 to Pyari Mohun Rudra in Bengal. Pyari Mohun Rudra was a member of a land-owning family and had been baptized by Alexander Duff.<sup>301</sup> His mother was also absorbed into the church, when Susil Kumar was born.

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<sup>301</sup>Daniel O' Connor, *A Clear Star: C. F. Andrews and India 1904-1914*, New Delhi, Chronicle Books, 2005, p.37.

Susil Kumar Rudra was inspired by the Oxford Brotherhood of the Epiphany at Calcutta. He joined the St. Stephen's College in 1886 as a staff member. He was a powerful personality, and he became the Vice-Principal under John Wright. (1899-1902). He got retired in 1923 and died in 1925.<sup>302</sup> He was a teacher of Economics<sup>303</sup> at St. Stephen's College, Delhi.

Rudra was the fourth Principal of St. Stephen's College (1907-1923). His close alliance with C.F. Andrews, who was ten years his junior in age, was much talked about. After Rudra lost his wife, a student at the College noted that Andrews stepped in to take care of Rudra's children. Even one of Rudra's sons recollected memories of both Rudra and Andrews sticking together like brothers. It was Rudra who enabled Andrews to be comfortable in an unfamiliar country like India.<sup>304</sup> Rudra helped Andrews in shaping his ideas on the Indian nation.<sup>305</sup> He debated with Andrews, demonstrating as a teacher of Economics, that India had been impoverished as a result of British rule. As a result, Andrews changed his perspective concerning the British rule. Moreover, Principal Rudra had been a passionate nationalist. So much so that Gandhi observed that Rudra was sympathetic to the extremists. He did not make a spectacle of this nor did he keep this under cover.<sup>306</sup>

Andrews' special friendship with Susil Kumar Rudra changed the course of St. Stephen's College, Delhi. Andrews (1932) mentioned in his Autobiography, *What I Owe to Christ*, that Andrews supported the Principalship of Susil Kumar Rudra because he was a deserving candidate for the post. As Rudra had served more than twenty years as the Vice - Principal of St. Stephen's College. This trial tested the

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<sup>302</sup>Ibid.

<sup>303</sup>Ibid.p.39.

<sup>304</sup>Ibid.p.38.

<sup>305</sup>Ibid.

<sup>306</sup>Ibid. p. 39.

friendship of both these men. Finally, Susil Kumar Rudra was made the first Indian Principal of St. Stephen's College. This event was a landmark event in the history of St. Stephen's College. In fact, Susil Kumar Rudra wanted Andrews to become the Principal. But, Andrews found it highly unfair to ignore Rudra's experience at managing St. Stephen's College.<sup>307</sup>

Rudra and Andrews both were deeply spiritual and loved India. Both worked for the freedom of India in their own capacities. Their close ties with the national leaders further catapulted St. Stephen's College into the national movement. Tagore and Gandhi had visited College during Rudra's Principalship. Rudra was Basil Westcott's close friend, the son of B.F. Westcott. Hence, Rudra gave Andrews a warm welcome when the latter came to India in 1904. Andrews also befriended Rudra, as he made India seem comfortable to him. C.F. Andrews (1932) discussed his long -standing friendship with Rudra in his writings. Rudra was a widower, whose wife had passed away, leaving him with three young children. Furthermore, Andrews made his abode with Rudra and was accepted by Rudra's children. In addition, Rudra sensitised Andrews to the issues of Young India and encouraged Andrews to be devoted to India. C.F. Andrews(1932) described Rudra as an extraordinary 'patriot.' Rudra was at the same time surrendered to Christ. This was common between Rudra and Andrews. His faith in Christ did not deter him from having an 'independent and original' thinking.<sup>308</sup>This was exemplified by Rudra's stand on nationalism.

According to Andrews (1932), Rudra was the one of most humble of men he ever knew. He was a perfect gentleman.<sup>309</sup> Andrews(1932)further clarified that a gentleman was someone who did not want to injure others, as defined by Newman in

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<sup>307</sup>C.F. Andrews, *What I Owe to Christ*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1932,p. 163.

<sup>308</sup>*Ibid.*p.158.

<sup>309</sup>*Ibid.*p.160.

the words of Andrews(1932). Rudra's actions carried a silent level of greatness. People took Rudra seriously and yet were comfortable in his presence.<sup>310</sup> Andrews was the first member of the College Staff to attend an annual session of the Indian National Congress held in Kolkata in 1906.<sup>311</sup> He was a moderate Nationalist.<sup>312</sup> Rudra's love for Andrews remained not changed in the words of Andrews. Both men went for long walks and shared memories of Basil Westcott. They also met friends from other faiths, whose sons they taught in St. Stephen's College.<sup>313</sup> This illustration showed that both Andrews and Rudra tried to connect with their students at a deeper level. No wonder, St. Stephen's College was known for the great rapport shared between teachers and students. This has also been pointed out by the historian David Baker (1998). Such a close bond may have raised St. Stephen's to greater heights, so much that they could create a College Constitution to structure policies governing the college. They understood that the College could not be merely foreign and missionary, but also needed to be Indian in touch with the ground realities.

Andrews also described Rudra as an 'Indian historian'<sup>314</sup> for the love he had for rural areas as Rudra inculcated within Andrews, a support for 'village India' of which Andrews was previously ignorant.<sup>315</sup> Andrews, it may be recalled, in the initial years knew very little about India. He knew more about the towns than the villages. In other words, he was not acquainted with the struggles of Indians. Andrews had a good view of the British Raj in the initial years. But, this view started to collapse when he interacted with patriots like Susil Kumar Rudra. He found that Rudra was Christ-like

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<sup>310</sup>Ibid.

<sup>311</sup>*The Stephanian*, Editor, Bikram Phookun, Volume CXX, and Volume CXXI, October 2012-13, p.17, 'The Role of St. Stephen's College in the Indian Independence Movement' By David Baker.

<sup>312</sup>Ibid.

<sup>313</sup>C.F. Andrews, *What I Owe to Christ*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1932, p. 160.

<sup>314</sup>Ibid. p.161.

<sup>315</sup>Ibid.



both inwardly and outwardly. Andrews, was of course, touched more by his inner qualities which was reflected in his daily life.

## II. Biography of C. F. Andrews

The story of Charles Freer Andrews has been narrated by himself in his autobiography 'What I Owe to Christ.'<sup>316</sup> C. F. Andrews was born at Newcastle upon Tyne on 12 February 1871. He was the favourite of his mother, Mary Andrews. But, he shared a distant relationship with his father, John Andrews. Andrews was also greatly inspired by his Tutor at Pembroke College called Charles Herman Prior. Prior was the son-in-law of Brooke Foss Westcott. Westcott's youngest son, Basil Westcott was a contemporary of Andrews, at Cambridge. Though Basil Westcott studied at Trinity College and inter-college interactions were rare during this time, the two young men became close friends.<sup>317</sup>

Andrews was a History teacher at St. Stephen's College<sup>318</sup> (1904-1914). He also showed passion for Cricket.<sup>319</sup> Andrews was furthermore, a prolific writer. His three main concerns were race, nationalism and poverty in the words of T.G.P. Spear(1940).<sup>320</sup> Andrews was an ardent supporter of equality of men and he fought against the racism. He loved India and the Indian people and advocated for their nationalism. Also, he appreciated the company of the poor and admired the renunciation of the world. The latter was part and parcel of the Indian life. He wrote on various burning issues. S.R. Bakshi(1990) argued that these included the future of

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<sup>316</sup>*The Stephanian*, St. Stephen's College, Delhi, Vol.XXXIII, June 1940, No.1.p.3,'C.F. Andrews' By T.G.P. Spear.

<sup>317</sup>Hugh Tinker, *The Ordeal of Love*,1979, p.7.

<sup>318</sup>*The Stephanian*, St. Stephen's College, Delhi, Vol.XXXIII, June 1940, No.1.p.4.,'C.F. Andrews' By T.G.P. Spear.

<sup>319</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>320</sup>*Ibid.*p.5.

Indian education, social service, non-violence, swaraj, etc.<sup>321</sup> Andrews was a sensitive educationist, who wrote nearly thirty five books on different realms of humanity addressing the Students, the Renaissance, North India, and religious themes like What I Owe to Christ, etc. Andrews also encouraged the workers in India, to form voluntary associations and unions to defend their basic rights.<sup>322</sup> Andrews felt that in the west, idealism had disappeared, and imperialism had been given shape. In the east, there was a need for 'social reform and integration,' not Independence coupled with violence.<sup>323</sup> He was disillusioned by the global war, extremist violence and the communal tensions between the Hindus and Muslims. He passed away on 5 April 1940 in Calcutta.<sup>324</sup> Andrews left a rich legacy in India. A legacy of love, wherein the Indians could be won if one became an Indian.<sup>325</sup> He was even arrested by the British Government in Punjab and sent back to Delhi.<sup>326</sup> He viewed Indians as idealists at heart. He also drew strength from his faith in God and believed that the Church could help one rise above racism. He also wanted the Church to be a nursing mother to the Indian nation. Moreover, the Church would play a key role in uniting India. So that people of the two nations, British and Indian and people of all faiths would combine and the new Indian nation would arise, 'transformed' by the Spirit of the living God.<sup>327</sup>

T.G.P. Spear (1940) talked of Andrews friendships. C.F. Andrews was also close to Samuel Stokes who was a young American person of Quaker origins. Samuel Stokes belonged to Philadelphia and he was instrumental in introducing Andrews to Sadhu

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<sup>321</sup>S.R. Bakshi, 'C.F. Andrews: A true Gandhian: A Study of His Work for Indian Nationalism,' *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Vol.51(1990),p. 455.

<sup>322</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>323</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>324</sup>*Ibid.*

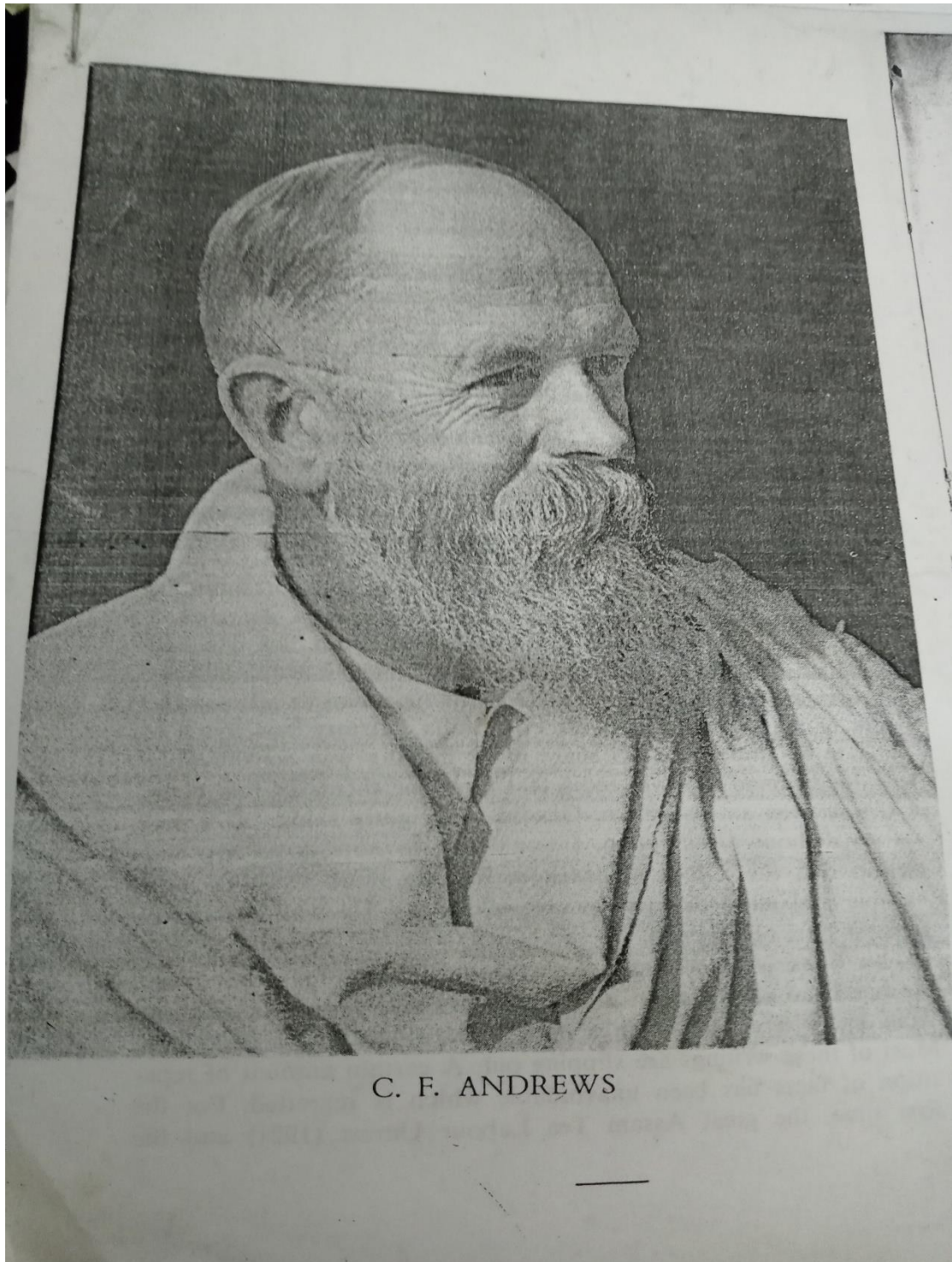
<sup>325</sup>C.F. Andrews, *North India*, 1908,p.225.

<sup>326</sup>M.K. Gandhi(ed). *Young India*, Microfilm1, R-2090,Ahmedabad, May 7,1919 to January 26,1921.

<sup>327</sup>C.F. Andrews, *North India*, 1908,p.228.

Sundar Singh, who was relatively unknown 'outside' Punjab. These two men had

**Plate 3.1, C.F. Andrews**



inspired Andrews because they had accepted the poverty associated with the gospel.

Andrews met these two men in the Simla hills. But they were also welcome guests at

Susil Kumar Rudra's home in Delhi. Once, Stokes had been attacked by hillmen

because he had baptised a boy who wanted to become a Christian. However, Stokes ultimately, survived because of the efforts of Andrews, Rudra and Rudra' s family. For instance, Andrews(1932)recalled ‘we were all too late, however to save Stokes from a terrible blow on head, which seemed to be fatal, for he lay there with a great gash on his forehead, deadly white. The hillmen had fled away, leaving him half dead.<sup>328</sup> Despite the ill-treatment done to him, Stokes did not want to complain against the hillmen who had injured him. Stokes forgave them and ensured the release of the hillmen.<sup>329</sup> Also, Andrews along with these servants of Christ served the 'sick and dying' in the hills, when Cholera had broken out. In addition, Andrews was impressed with Stokes because Stokes' family consisted of 'young children' who were suffering from some infirmity. Andrews looked back fondly on those days.<sup>330</sup> Another important fact of Stokes life was that he was vocal against racism. Stokes detested the racist attitude of Europeans who discriminated against Indians, despite being followers of Christ. Stokes was in fact, married to an Indian Christian.<sup>331</sup>

Another person who deeply inspired Andrews was Sadhu Sundar Singh. Sadhu Sundar Singh was a quiet soul who often retired to solitude. Sadhu Sundar Singh struggled to make Christ (God) known to others. Later in his life, Sadhu Sunder Singh remained humble even though he had to preach to people abroad. Sadhu Sundar Singh never allowed the admiration of people to get to his grounded personality. Sadhu Sundar Singh's missionary ground continued to be Tibet.<sup>332</sup> Overall, Andrews was touched by the resilience in Sadhu Sundar Singh's life. Andrews stayed connected to people from all walks of life. Be it national leaders like Gandhi and Tagore,

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<sup>328</sup>C.F. Andrews, *What I Owe to Christ*, 1932,p.182.

<sup>329</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>330</sup>C.F. Andrews, *What I Owe to Christ*, 1932,p.182.

<sup>331</sup>*Ibid.* p.192.

<sup>332</sup>*Ibid.*p.186.

College Principals like Rudra or missionaries like the Westcotts, Stokes and Sadhu Sundar Singh. Andrews remained and an open-minded influence in St. Stephen's College. Andrews assisted Rudra in whatever capacity he could, as a friend and teacher. The spirituality of Andrews shaped the College into being centred on God. Also, his relationships with people of different religious faiths helped the College become secular.

Basil Westcott and his father drew Andrews towards 'Social Service and India.' B.F. Westcott was 'an apostle of the social aspect' of the Gospel. He was also the founding father of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi.<sup>333</sup> His son Basil Westcott had also come to Delhi. He had befriended Indians with his love. For instance, he was friends with Sushil Kumar Rudra, who was the Vice-Principal of the College. Basil Westcott remained an inspiration to the students at St. Stephen's College, even though he had been in India less than four years.<sup>334</sup>

It seemed Basil Westcott cared for quality rather than quantity. His time in India was spent meaningfully. His obituary in the Delhi Mission in 1901, described his attempt at establishing a personal relationship with students based on genuine love for Indians.<sup>335</sup> Sadly, in 1900, Basil Westcott fell prey to the clutches of the dreaded disease Cholera in Delhi. This was a major blow to the missionary activity of the Delhi Brotherhood. It affected Charles Freer Andrews to a large extent.<sup>336</sup>

Westcotts and Andrews had interesting discussions on matters concerning the faith. B.F. Westcott told Andrews that everything under the sun was part of the Christian faith. Westcott had a compassionate view of the eastern religions. He did not look

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<sup>333</sup>*The Stephanian*, St. Stephen's College, Delhi, Vol. XXXIII, June 1940, No.1.p.4, 'C.F. Andrews' by T.G.P. Spear.

<sup>334</sup>C. M. Millington, *A History of Cambridge/ Delhi Brotherhood*, 1999, p. 83.

<sup>335</sup>*Ibid.* p. 84.

<sup>336</sup>*Ibid.* p. 83.

down upon the East. F. H. Chase(1902) argued that B.F. Westcott claimed that ‘it was through India that the East can be approached. It is to England that the evangelising of India has been intrusted by the providence of God.’<sup>337</sup> But, Andrews was in touch also with the dominant view of the missionaries at home. The latter view tended to discriminate against Indians. So, Andrews in his initial days of engagement with reference to India and Indians, did not hear good things about the people of India.<sup>338</sup>

Finally, after his ordination in 1896, Basil Westcott went to India to join the Cambridge Mission.<sup>339</sup> The Cambridge Mission was the vision of his father, Brooke Foss Westcott. Basil Westcott then joined St. Stephen's College as a lecturer. A time when Basil Westcott established a close rapport with his students. This was rare for an Englishman to show affection for an alien people. He seemed to have inspired Andrews and Rudra, as Rudra’s Principalship, was all about close teacher-student relations. The Principal of the college then was Samuel Scott Allnutt. Basil Westcott, meanwhile, became friends with Sushil Kumar Rudra who became the Vice- Principal of the St. Stephen's College in 1899.<sup>340</sup>

By this time, Andrews became an enthusiastic supporter of the Cambridge Mission. So, when Basil Westcott, passed away in 1900 due to cholera, Andrews wanted to fill his vacuum in St. Stephen's College according to C.M. Millington (1999). Andrews wanted the same teaching post of his friend Basil Westcott. Andrews initially, was reluctant as his mother did not permit him to leave for India. Despite, his mother's objections, Andrews managed to reach India in 1904, at the age of thirty-three years,

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<sup>337</sup>F.H. Chase, 'Bishop Brooke Foss Westcott,' *The Biblical World*, Volume 20, 1902-07-01,p.14.

<sup>338</sup>C. M. Millington, *A History of Cambridge/ Delhi Brotherhood* , 1999,p.81.

<sup>339</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>340</sup>*Ibid.*p.83.

to St. Stephen's College to teach where his dear friend Basil Westcott had previously taught.<sup>341</sup>

During Andrews' stay in India, he remained connected to the problem of the Indian people. He was also hurt by the racial prejudice in India and he tried to fight it with the help of the Indian leaders like Gokhale and Gandhi. Rabindranath Tagore in addition, invited Andrews to Santiniketan. Andrews on his part, built academic advancement for the institution at Santiniketan.<sup>342</sup> They worked on the educational programme for Santiniketan. Further, Tagore called Andrews his best friend.<sup>343</sup> This showed that even our National leaders were inspired by teachers of St. Stephen's College, Delhi.

Tagore commenting on the dichotomy between the East and the West, actually clarified his stand on the Missions. Tagore (1921) reported 'the present age has powerfully been possessed by the West; it has only become possible because to her is given some great mission for man.<sup>344</sup> We from the East have to come here to learn whatever she has to teach us; for by doing so we hasten the fulfilment of this age.<sup>345</sup> We know that the East also has her lessons to give, and she has her own responsibility of not allowing her light to be extinguished, and the time will come when the West will find leisure to realise that she has a home of hers in the East where her food is and her rest.'<sup>346</sup>

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<sup>341</sup>Ibid.p.84.

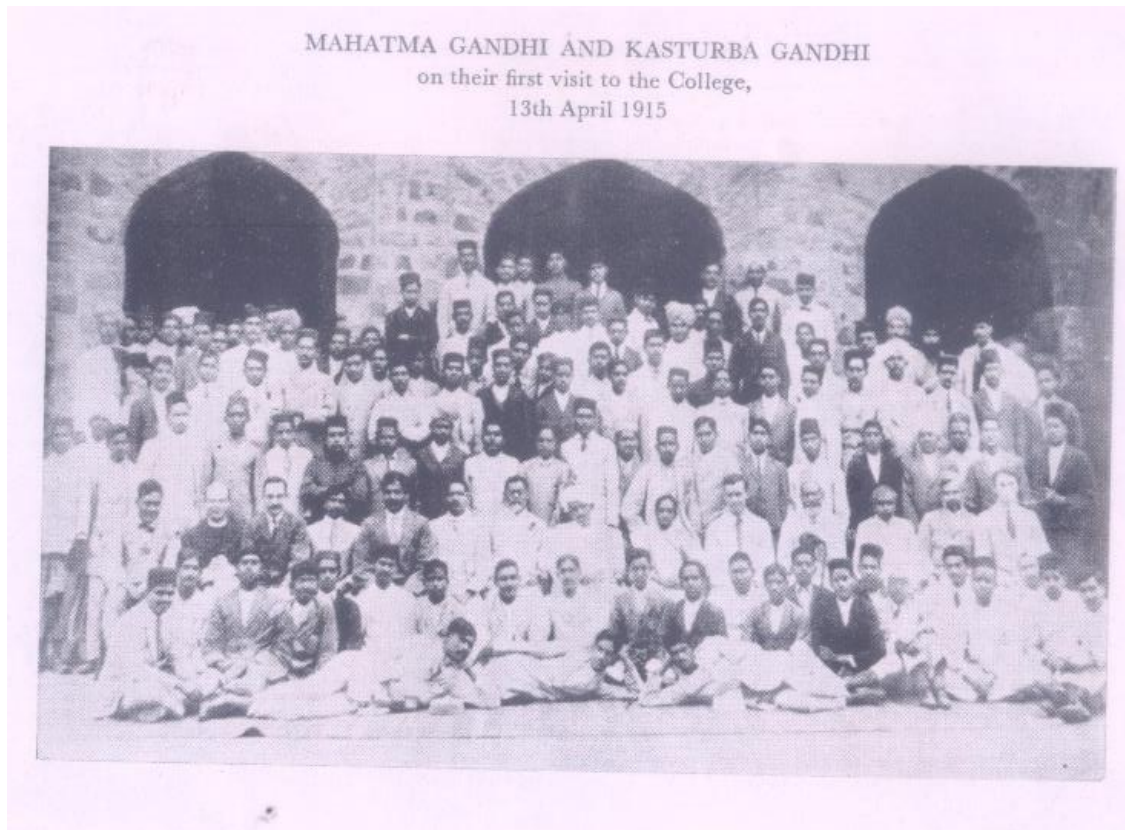
<sup>342</sup>S.R. Bakshi,' C.F. Andrews: A true Gandhian: A Study of His Work for Indian Nationalism,' *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* Vol.51(1990),p.453.

<sup>343</sup>Ibid.

<sup>344</sup>*The St. Stephen's College Magazine*, 1921-1922, S.No. 69, St. Stephen's College, Delhi: Star Press, July 1921, p.6.'Dr. Rabindranath Tagore on Non- Cooperation.'

<sup>345</sup>Ibid.

<sup>346</sup>Ibid. p.7.



**Plate 3.2, Gandhi's first visit to St. Stephen's College, Delhi, with Principal Rudra**

Andrews, had relations with every member of society, irrespective of class, religion and colour. Gandhi was the first to give him the title of Dinbandhu which meant, Brother of the Humble. Also, Andrews' initials C.F.A. was termed 'Christ's Faithful Apostle' by the Christian Indians and non-Christians. Professor T.G.P. Spear, one of his British colleagues at St. Stephen's College wrote in *The Stephanian* (June 1940, p.4) that Andrews' life was a series of friendships. His first Indian friend was Sushil Kumar Rudra.<sup>347</sup> There were several factors at play. First, was the Principalship of Rudra in which Andrews played a role. Then came the College Constitution of 1913.<sup>348</sup> Also, his fellowship with Gandhi and Tagore was noteworthy. Each of these men were unique in their temperament and gifts.<sup>349</sup> After Andrews' death, Gandhi

<sup>347</sup>Nicol Macnicol, *C.F. Andrews: Friend of India*, London: The Camelot Press Limited, 1944, p.34.

<sup>348</sup>*The Stephanian*, St. Stephen's College, Delhi, Vol. XXXIII, June 1940, No.1.p.4, 'C.F. Andrews' by T.G.P. Spear.

<sup>349</sup>Nicol Macnicol, *C.F. Andrews: Friend of India*, London: The Camelot Press Limited, 1944, p.35.



noted in *Harijan* what a close bond he shared with Andrews.<sup>350</sup> Ahimsa and Satyagraha, the two principles of Gandhi were accepted enthusiastically by Andrews. This has also been confirmed by K.L. Seshagiri Rao(1969). Ahimsa meant non-violence, and Satyagraha meant 'truth force'. Satyagraha was a struggle or a fight for truth comprising 'self purification' and 'self reliance.' Both Tagore and Gandhi found Divinity amongst the poor and lowly.<sup>351</sup> This brought Andrews closer to Tagore and Gandhi. Andrews was so connected to the national movement in India, that he apparently told Gandhi on his deathbed that 'Mohan, Swaraj is coming.'<sup>352</sup> Gandhi also recalled in *Harijan*, April 19, 1940, that Andrews was among the best and noblest of Englishmen. According to Gandhi, Andrews performed many 'deeds of love' so that India could take her rightful place among the Independent nations of the world.<sup>353</sup> Andrews' relationships showed his secular temperament. As Andrews remained associated with College he influenced it to a large extent. Even after his retirement, he laid the foundation stone of the new building in 1939. This showed that College had become nationalistic and secular as time went on because of Andrews' association.

Andrews also interpreted Gandhi to the Western countries and maintained an open dialogue with the Indian leaders and the British officials. As early as 1920, Andrews pleaded for complete freedom for India. This was at a time, when most Indian nationalists were not willing to leave the British Empire. Andrews helped Gandhi and raised the slogan of Swaraj during the first non-cooperation movement.<sup>354</sup>

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<sup>350</sup>Ibid.p.37.

<sup>351</sup>Ibid.p.43.

<sup>352</sup>Ibid.p.46.

<sup>353</sup>Ibid.p.47.

<sup>354</sup>S.R. Bakshi,' C.F. Andrews: A true Gandhian: A Study of His Work for Indian Nationalism,' *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Vol.51(1990), p. 454.

K.L. Seshagiri Rao (1969) put forth that Gandhi and Andrews stand testimony to the fact that they served humanity with kindness and suffered in the process.<sup>355</sup> They attempted to unite people of different faiths in the spirit of understanding. They saw the best in every religion as it constituted the circle of humanity. Both these great men believed in the 'future of religions' through a greater understanding and they did not support a 'wordly competition', but were all for a 'constructive approach' based on mutuality of religions, according to Seshagiri Rao (1969).<sup>356</sup> In September of 1924, Gandhi had undertaken a 'great fast' due to the Hindu-Muslim riots. C. F. Andrews decided to stand by his friend, Gandhi and condemned these riots. Andrews in fact, supported the cooperation between different religions and had faith in their co-existence for a common cause, wrote Seshagiri Rao (1969).<sup>357</sup> Andrews met Gandhi in South Africa in 1913. Their friendship was an example of how two different religions interacted with one another. It was a relationship not based on blind agreement. But Andrews resisted Gandhi's 'fasts unto death' in the years in 1932 and 1939. Seshagiri Rao(1969) argued that Gandhi on the other hand, was overwhelmed with Andrews' incessant letters when Andrews was upset. For it was expression of love without argumentation.<sup>358</sup>

In sum, Andrews and Gandhi were connected on various fronts. Both men loved India and the poor and destitute. Both men felt that spirituality lay in action not just in words. A rose, for instance, did not need to declare to the world that it was a rose. Its very fragrance would actually minister life to those around. This silent inspiration of

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<sup>355</sup>K.L. Seshagiri Rao, *Mahatma Gandhi and C.F. Andrews, A Study in Hindu Christian Dialogue*, 1969,p.5.

<sup>356</sup>Ibid.p.6.

<sup>357</sup>Ibid.p.8.

<sup>358</sup>Ibid. p. 10.

spirituality was also in line with Susil Kumar Rudra's thoughts.<sup>359</sup> The College thus became nationalistic and spiritual with the passage of time. Also, Andrews sought permission from Rudra for retiring to Bolepur. Rudra too had plans to settle in Shantiniketan. But, he came and visited only.<sup>360</sup> Once, Andrews reached Bolepur, he did not wish to return to St. Stephen's College for good because when Andrews had attended the Students' Conference in Bihar in 1919, he found the students there participating in huge numbers.<sup>361</sup> Moreover, the staff at St. Stephen's College, Delhi like Colin Sharp, the English Lecturer and Monk were not very down-to-earth and the students there were 'tamed.'<sup>362</sup> This goes to show that Andrews wanted to plunge himself in the national movement and did not want the Government censure.

## **Part B**

### **I. Making Rudra the Principal**

The Principalship of Rudra was shrouded in controversy. This was because at the time Charles Freer Andrews was being considered for Principalship, but Andrews himself supported Rudra's appointment as Principal. Andrews tried to convince the Cambridge Committee and SPG (Society for the Propagation of the Gospel) about what he wanted. This may have created a risky situation for Andrews because Andrews might have easily been debarred from India and his sponsors did not favour his stay in India for long.<sup>363</sup> But the pulse of the Indians in 1905 showed that the British could no longer be the overlords in India and Andrews was aware of this.<sup>364</sup>

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<sup>359</sup>C.F. Andrews, *What I Owe To Christ*, 1932,p.165.

<sup>360</sup>C.F. Andrews, *The inner Life*, London: Hodder and Stoughton:1939, p.34.

<sup>361</sup>Uma Das Gupta (ed). *Friendships of Largeness and Freedom: Andrews, Tagore and Gandhi; An Epistolary Account, 1912-1940*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2018, p.226.

<sup>362</sup>*Ibid.*p.228.

<sup>363</sup>Hugh Tinker, *The Ordeal of Love*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1979,p.29.

<sup>364</sup>*Ibid.*p.30.

Millington (1999) argued that the position of Principalship was earlier offered to Andrews, but Andrews declined the offer as he found Rudra more suitable for the post. It may be argued that during his vice-principalship, Rudra had absorbed the Cambridge tradition, despite his Calcutta degree. Lefroy and Allnutt were initially opposed to the idea of an ‘anti- English spirit.’<sup>365</sup> This may have been due to racism, but, this was discarded in favour of Rudra’s Principalship.<sup>366</sup>

F.F. Monk has argued that Wright had told the unwilling Rudra that Rudra would become the Principal someday.<sup>367</sup> These words were almost prophetic. Allnutt had later written his note of joy for Rudra was his friend and that the process of Principalship would strengthen the Indian Church as this would help the Indians.<sup>368</sup> As this was the first time that an Indian Principal had been appointed from the College staff. What was significant was that his promotion involved subordination of the Missionaries to an Indian authority.<sup>369</sup>

‘The allotment of work was greatly altered owing to the withdrawal of the English lay members of the Staff to help in the War, one of whom Mr. Lawrence was killed in action in 1915. Though the missionary staff was reduced from 8 to 4, yet the addition of the Reverend C. B. Young of the Baptist Mission to the College Staff at a point which enabled the College to do its work without serious disorganisation and the lack of the principle of continuity. This was a matter for deep thankfulness.’<sup>370</sup>

## II. National Movement

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<sup>365</sup>C.M.Millington, *A History of the Cambridge/ Delhi Brotherhood*, 1999, p.99

<sup>366</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>367</sup>F.F. Monk, *A History of St. Stephen’s College, Delhi*, 1935, p.113.

<sup>368</sup>*Ibid.* p.114.

<sup>369</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>370</sup>File No. CAI SC3, College Government, Subject: Supreme Council, 14 July 1917, Contents: Minutes of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Meeting of the Supreme Council, Principal’s Report on the religious work of the College.

It may be recalled that Susan Visvanathan(2002) has put forth that Rudra supported the revolutionary movement of Har Dayal, the revolutionary of the Indian National Movement and a Stephanian according to Ajit Rudra, the younger son of Rudra.<sup>371</sup> Even Gandhi came visiting the College during Rudra's tenure and stressed on political activity for the students to observe non-violence and to keep the stray elements in check.<sup>372</sup>

Aparna Basu (1998) explained that the students and teachers of St. Stephen's College actively took part in the Swadeshi Movement (1905-1911) which followed the partition of Bengal.<sup>373</sup> Basu (1998) further wrote moreover, on 23 December 1912, the Viceroy was hurt, when a bomb was thrown on Hardinge and his wife. Both had a narrow escape. But, Amir Chand and Awadh Behari were accused.<sup>374</sup> They were the former students of St. Stephen's College. They worked for Har Dayal, a Sanskrit graduate of St. Stephen's College, who founded the Ghadr party in America. Both Amir Chand and Awadh Behari were hanged until death in May 1915, in Delhi, despite Allnutt's attempt at defending Amir Chand.<sup>375</sup> These show traits of radicalism in nationalist politics within the College.

Even in 1907, at the time of the Risley Circular, the government and government-aided colleges were forbidden from discussing political issues. But, St. Stephen's College flouted these rules, as Andrews continued to hold thought-provoking talks with his learners. This irked the government authorities and some staff members.

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<sup>371</sup>Susan Visvanathan, 'SK Rudra, C.F. Andrews and M.K.Gandhi,'2002,p.3534.

<sup>372</sup>*The Stephanian*, Gandhi Centenary Number, St. Stephen's College, October2, 1969, Cambridge Printing Works,Delhi,p.24,'Gandhi on Education.'

<sup>373</sup>Aparna Basu(ed.), University of Delhi, 1922-1997, Platinum Jubilee, 1998,p.42.

<sup>374</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>375</sup>*Ibid.*1998,p.43.

Andrews, as a result reported that he was spied on was the argument given by Millington (1999).<sup>376</sup>

The year 1919 brought in the martial law in the Punjab region leading to an 'estrangement between the English and Indians.'<sup>377</sup> Students at this time found hope in the religious instruction of the College. Of course, the entire Punjab nonetheless was suffering. But, Andrews provided comfort in such a crisis by signalling services for the welfare of the people.<sup>378</sup>

During the Home Rule Movement in 1917, the students of St. Stephen's College organised marches and strikes according to Basu(1998).<sup>379</sup> She(1998) further argued that also, during the Non- Cooperation movement in November of 1920, when Gandhi visited St. Stephen's College, he encouraged students to leave government aided colleges and to follow his lead.<sup>380</sup> But, Principal Rudra exercised restraint and advised moderation to the students. In general, the students of St. Stephen's College wrote on many topics that concerned the country in *The Stephanian* like Non- Cooperation, national education, etc.<sup>381</sup> Susan Viswanathan (2002) has shown that the Non- Cooperation Movement was hatched in Rudra's home.<sup>382</sup> In fact Rudra invited Gandhi to College, despite opposition as pointed out by Viswanathan(2002).<sup>383</sup> Our discussion is incomplete without talking about the contribution of C. F. Andrews and Rudra in the context of the Constitution in the light of Indianization.

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<sup>376</sup>C.M. Millington, *A History of the Cambridge / Delhi Brotherhood*, 1999, 102.

<sup>377</sup>F.F.Monk, *A History of St. Stephen's College, Delhi*, 1935, p.177.

<sup>378</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>379</sup>Aparna Basu(ed.), *University of Delhi, 1922-1997, Platinum Jubilee*, 1998, p.43

<sup>380</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>381</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>382</sup>Susan Viswanathan, 'S.K. Rudra, C.F. Andrews and M.K.Gandhi, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Volume 37, Number 34, August 24-30, 2002, p.3532.

<sup>383</sup>*Ibid.* p.3533.

The Hindu reported that David Baker(2013) argues that ‘S.K. Rudra and C. F. Andrews, did encourage nationalist ideas in students, but it remained almost peaceful.’<sup>384</sup> Furthermore, Rudra was walking a tight rope because ‘he played a subtle role in encouraging students towards the nationalist movement without letting the situation boil over.’<sup>385</sup> When Gandhi visited College in April 1915, he stated, ‘Fear God and therefore do not fear men and remember that ahimsa is our religion, the great gift of our rishis. What we have got to do is to bring all our lives and even into politics, nothing else than this would help us. I would exhort, therefore, to obey your teachers and to be true to your college motto, to be rooted in the truth of it, so that you may worthily enter citizenship of your motherland.’<sup>386</sup> According to the Hindustan Times (2008) the students and teachers from Hindu College came visiting St. Stephen’s College to meet Gandhi.<sup>387</sup> Therefore, the College was the meeting point for students and the Community at large to interact with national leaders, Brij Krishna Chandiwala was the son of silver merchant and he met Gandhi in the College in 1918. Gandhi used to stay with Chandiwala and the latter became a freedom fighter according to the Hindu (2013).<sup>388</sup>

### **III. Drafting of the College Constitution-1910- 1913**

Elaborating on this autonomy battle, Nandini Chatterjee (2011) pointed out that the Cambridge Committee and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel or SPG’s India sub- committee were not happy with the appointment of C.B.C. Young, as a

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<sup>384</sup>*The Hindu*, ‘The league of quiet extraordinary gentleman,’ by Muhammad Mutahhar Amin, January 11, 2013.

<sup>385</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>386</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>387</sup>*The Hindustan Times*, ‘When Bapu stayed at St.Stephen’s College,’ by Vivek Shukla, Jan29, 2008.

<sup>388</sup>*The Hindu*, ‘The league of quiet extraordinary gentleman,’ by Muhammad Mutahhar Amin, January 11, 2013.

Baptist, as he was made Pastor of the men's boarding house. The Cambridge Committee chaired by V.H. Stanton and SPG Secretary H.H. Montgomery complained to the Bishop Lefroy and Allnutt that undenominational acts had been committed.<sup>389</sup> What were these undenominational acts and how they impacted the institution?

In May 1911, the Cambridge Committee had received a draft of the Constitution from Principal Rudra. Rudra and Andrews presented the new Constitution in the name of 'Indian Christianity' and 'our Christian independence.' The Constitution it may be argued, was needed to Indianize the college. But, religion had not been safeguarded by the new Constitution. The Constitution gave power to a managing committee which would include non-Christians and the control of the Cambridge Mission was not certain. In addition, the Principal and Vice-Principal were to be not necessarily Christian. The Cambridge Committee complained about this matter to the SPG and Allnutt in private.<sup>390</sup> V.H. Stanton the chair of the Cambridge Committee displayed racism when he suggested to Allnutt that the discussions be kept a secret from Rudra and Andrews until the final approved Constitution prepared by the Cambridge Committee was ready with the conciliatory letter. The SPG modified the Cambridge Committee's draft, according to which the Professors appointed by the SPG, could be removed by them. Also, all the property would be vested in the SPG. But, Rudra tried to Indianize the institution by allowing non-Christians to hold posts in the managing committee.<sup>391</sup> Moreover, he wanted to increase the proportion of the Indian staff members of the College.

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<sup>389</sup>Nandini Chatterjee, *The Making of Indian Secularism*, 2011, p.123.

<sup>390</sup>Ibid.

<sup>391</sup>Ibid.



In October of 1912, the SPG complained to Bishop Lefroy that Rudra and Andrews had been causing trouble. Finally, in 1913, the first Constitution had been finalized. The object of the legal body of the college was to prepare the youth for university examinations and to instruct in Christianity according to the Church of England. The Vice-Principal should belong to the Church of England and the same pre-requisite was not required of the bursar. The religious character of the college would be regulated by the Supreme Council consisting of the Bishop, Mission Head, members of the Cambridge Committee, SPG, Diocese and the Principal. The Supreme Council could remove the Principal. The day-to-day function was to be administered by the governing body consisting of non-Christians. Therefore, Rudra and Andrews had partially won.<sup>392</sup> David Baker (1998) also showed in his work that the new Constitution by Rudra and Andrews threw the SPG into a 'frenzy'. Finally, the SPG approved the Constitution with some changes.<sup>393</sup> The Constitution was finally approved permitting other Christians and non-Christians to hold important positions in St. Stephen's College and to make key policy decisions.<sup>394</sup> C.M. Millington (1999) also accepted the fact the SPG committee was racist in its treatment of Rudra and sectarian in church issues, with reference to the new Constitution, according to Andrews.<sup>395</sup>

F.F. Monk has shown that in 1910 a new Constitution was in progress. By March of 1911 the draft of the Constitution was to be submitted at the Cambridge. After a year, it returned with the changes. Monk (1935) has explained that the whole perspective

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<sup>392</sup>Ibid,p.124.

<sup>393</sup>David Baker, ' St. Stephen's College,' 1998, p.80.

<sup>394</sup>Hugh Tinker, *The Ordeal of Love*, 1979,p.63.

<sup>395</sup>C. M. Millington, *A History of Cambridge/Delhi Brotherhood*, Bangalore: Asian Trading Corporation, 1999,p.109.

had been changed by then.<sup>396</sup> Firstly, freedom from the authority of the Mission Council was granted. 'To which hitherto all major matters had to be submitted, minor questions both of administration and finance having been left to the authority of the Principal, subject to such consultation with his staff as he chose to avail himself of.'<sup>397</sup> It may be noted that the Mission Council had become 'an unwieldy and ineffective body.'<sup>398</sup> In March of 1911, some positive changes had been taken up by the institution. Now there were sub-committees assigned for different departments. The College was treated separately and a sub-committee of three people, elected on an annual basis required the Mission's approval. But, Monk (1935) argued that this system was not satisfactory for a College of over two hundred students and a staff of about sixteen.

The most important component in the new Constitution was the Governing body. This body's composition was hotly debated upon. There was an interest to Indianize the College because the governing body was to have staff representation of Indians. Some of the key issues were to have a 'strong staff representation,' a 'non-Anglican' representation, a 'non-Christian membership.'<sup>399</sup> 'The head was the Chairman, with two members of the Brotherhood, two members from the Mission Council, a representative of the SPG.'<sup>400</sup> The staff element of course included, ex-officio, the Principal, and Vice-Principal.' Both of the Principal and Vice-Principal were to be members of the Church of England or an associated Church, henceforth. The Bursar would be appointed on an annual basis by the Principal, he was to be selected not only

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<sup>396</sup>F.F. Monk, *A History of St. Stephen's College, Delhi*, 1935, p.148.

<sup>397</sup>*Ibid.* p. 149.

<sup>398</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>399</sup>*Ibid.* p.150.

<sup>400</sup>*Ibid.*

from the Christian members of the College. Three other members were to be elected by the entire staff, one a missionary and two Indians.<sup>401</sup>

It may be said that the Mission membership was Anglican, also the Principal and Vice-Principal. The non-Anglican or non-Christian was restricted to the 'Bursar, two elected staff representatives and the Principal's nominee.'<sup>402</sup> There were measures to ensure that such members did not exercise 'any voting powers' on Anglican or Christian issues.<sup>403</sup> 'At last revision not only was the original requirement waived, that such persons should withdraw from even the discussion.'<sup>404</sup> However, additionally, a non-Christian aspect was added concerning two Indians from neither the staff of the College nor the Missionary cadre. The purpose was to extend a goodwill gesture to the old members of the College or to the city dwellers, opportunities that been given to the non- Christians of the College staff. One weakness of such a 'liberal representation' was when aspects concerning their 'own pay or prospects happened to come up for decision.'<sup>405</sup> But, as such there was no abuse of power.<sup>406</sup>

The Governing Body in other cases operated as 'any ordinary Board of Direction, its financial duties being limited to capital expenditure, sanction of the annual budget, and passing of the annual accounts.'<sup>407</sup> Two other bodies that are integral are the Supreme Council and the Managing Committee. F.F. Monk pointed out that the Supreme Council took care of the religious and moral teaching of the students within the College. 'Its membership is limited to the Bishop of the Diocese, the Head of the Cambridge Brotherhood, the Chairman of the Governing Body if he happen not to be

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<sup>401</sup>Ibid.p.151.

<sup>402</sup>Ibid.

<sup>403</sup>Ibid.

<sup>404</sup>Ibid.

<sup>405</sup>Ibid.

<sup>406</sup>Ibid.

<sup>407</sup>Ibid.p.152.

that Head, the Principal of the College and representatives of the two Home Societies, the SPG and the Cambridge Committee and of the Chapter of the Diocese.’<sup>408</sup> The two functions of the Council were to look after religious issues pertaining to the College and to appoint and to remove the Principal.<sup>409</sup> The Managing Committee looked at the technical operations that was, ‘the day-to day financial administration of the College.’<sup>410</sup> It was to advise the Principal in other matters. ‘The committee consists of five members -the Principal, Vice-Principal, and Bursar ex-officio, and two members elected by the staff voting as a whole, of whom one must be a missionary member and one must be an Indian.’<sup>411</sup> In the advisory aspects, the Managing Committee has led the way to leadership by the Principals of the College not ignoring their personal stand, but at the same time taking into cognizance the views of his colleagues within the Committee.<sup>412</sup>

It may be argued that the Governing Body was Indianized as far as possible, the Supreme Council continued to uphold the religious character of the College. Moreover, the Managing Committee was all about taking decisions after a discussion with the other members, giving the College Constitution a democratic hue. This spilled out beyond the administrative machinery all the way to the educational element. In Rudra’s tenure, the emphasis was not on the Subject but the Student.<sup>413</sup>

The Constitution in 1913, was revised in 1919 and 1929, respectively. As far as the management was concerned, ‘the religious and moral instruction of the students of the College and all matters affecting its religious character as a Missionary College of the Church of England shall be under the control of the Supreme Council of the

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<sup>408</sup>Ibid.

<sup>409</sup>Ibid. p. 153.

<sup>410</sup>Ibid.

<sup>411</sup>Ibid.

<sup>412</sup>Ibid.p.154.

<sup>413</sup>Ibid.p.155.

College.<sup>414</sup> Some of the other aspects included the Governing Body of the College which would include ‘all members of the Association other than the Bishop of the Diocese and those persons(unless they are otherwise qualified) who are appointed members by the Chapter of the Diocese, the standing committee of the S.P.G. and the Cambridge Committee respectively.’<sup>415</sup> Moreover, ‘the immovable property of the College shall be vested in the S.P.G., all other property of the College shall be vested in the Association.’<sup>416</sup> Further, ‘subject to the control of the Supreme Council of the College in the matters here in before set out, and to the special powers hereby conferred upon such Council, the Governing Body shall exercise control over the College and its finances and its other affairs.’<sup>417</sup> The Governing Body shall meet annually.<sup>418</sup>

‘A Vice-Principal shall be appointed annually by the Principal,’<sup>419</sup> according to the Constitution. ‘Appointments to lectureships maintained by the Cambridge Committee and the S.P.G. shall be made either by the Head of the Cambridge Brotherhood from the members of the Brotherhood with the consent of the Principal, or by the Cambridge Committee and the S.P.G. at the request of the Principal.’<sup>420</sup> It was further mentioned that ‘the Principal, and in his absence the Vice-Principal, shall sign and execute all documents at the order of the Governing Body, and shall represent the Association in and for all kinds of legal business.’<sup>421</sup> Lecturers appointed by the Head of the Cambridge Brotherhood as above can only be dismissed or withdrawn from

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<sup>414</sup>File No.E Admn, Constitution of SSMCD, 1913 revise 1919,1929, EA1 Administration of St. Stephen’s College, Subject, College Constitution is adopted by S.P.G., Date 6 November 1913, Rev. 1919, 1929, Contents: Clauses of the Constitution of St. Stephen’s Mission College Delhi..p.3

<sup>415</sup>Ibid.

<sup>416</sup>Ibid.p.4.

<sup>417</sup>Ibid.p.5.

<sup>418</sup>Ibid.p.6.

<sup>419</sup>Ibid.

<sup>420</sup>Ibid.p.7.

<sup>421</sup>Ibid.8

their Lectureship by the joint consent of the Head of the Cambridge Brotherhood and the Principal.<sup>422</sup> So, there was security of job for the college teachers. Moreover, ‘the accounts and balance sheets of the College shall be prepared by the Bursar at least once in every year, and, after approval by the Principal and the Chairman of the Governing Body, shall be audited by a professional auditor to be appointed annually by the Governing Body, and presented to the Governing Body, on or before the 1<sup>st</sup> of June in each year.’<sup>423</sup> Also, ‘the Bishop of the Diocese shall be Visitor of the College.’<sup>424</sup> Furthermore, ‘in case of the absence on furlough or from illness of any of the ex-officio members of the Governing Body or of the Managing Committee, his place shall be taken for all purposes by his deputy in office.’<sup>425</sup>

### **The Constitution-Post Rudra Years**

The Constitution revised in 1944 spelt out additionally, that ‘after confirmation, the services of the Principal or of any other member of the teaching staff shall be terminable by the Governing Body only on the following grounds-:’

- a) ‘Wilful neglect of duty’
- b) ‘Misconduct or in subordination’
- c) ‘Physical or mental unfitness’
- d) ‘Incompetence’
- e) ‘Any other good cause, which will include adequate cause for abolition of the post and adequate cause for the improvement of the teaching staff.’<sup>426</sup>

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<sup>422</sup>Ibid.

<sup>423</sup>Ibid.p.8.

<sup>424</sup>Ibid.

<sup>425</sup>Ibid.

<sup>426</sup>File No.E Admin Constit/ SSCMCD, 1944, EA4, ADMN: Constitution of SSC Delhi, Subject-College Constitution, Date 1944, Contents- College Constitution of 1913, 1919, 1929, 1933, 1942 as Revised in 1944.p.9.

The Constitution which was revised further stated that ‘ the Principal and his absence, the Vice Principal shall sign and execute all documents at the order of all the Governing Body and shall represent the Society in and for all kinds of legal business.’<sup>427</sup> Further, ‘the accounts of the College shall be kept in such form as the Government of India may prescribe and shall be audited by a chosen Auditor.’<sup>428</sup> Moreover, in case of the absence of a ex- officio member, due to illness or furlough within the Governing Body, his place would be filled by a deputy in office.<sup>429</sup> ‘The Supreme Council and Governing Body of the College shall have authority to cancel, vary or amend the rules affecting their respective functions in keeping with the requirements of the Government of India. The Governing Body also may make by-laws for the conduct of its business and affairs.’<sup>430</sup>

#### **IV. Creating a liberal Campus Culture**

St. Stephen’s College, Delhi was about Secular Values. The Supreme Council as mentioned earlier regulated the religious character of the College. It further talked about the ‘Punjab Student Christian Association’s 11<sup>th</sup> Annual Camp at Beas on November 22- 26<sup>th</sup>, 1923,’ which was based on ‘teachableness, truth, helpfulness, intercession, magnanimity, hopefulness and humility.’<sup>431</sup>

It may be argued that the secular nature of the College was ensured through lectures by teachers from other faiths like N. K. Sen. ‘Self – surrender was the essential condition of citizenship.’<sup>432</sup> Moreover, religious clubs from other faiths were started

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<sup>427</sup>Ibid.p.10.

<sup>428</sup>Ibid.

<sup>429</sup>Ibid.p.11.

<sup>430</sup>Ibid.

<sup>431</sup>Punjab Christian Students’ Camp, Beas 23 to 26 November 1923, File No. CAI, SC1, College Government, Subject: Supreme Council, Date: 1913-1924, Contents: Supreme Council Reports on Teaching, Religious Instruction etc.

<sup>432</sup>Ibid.p.8.

in the College like The Hindu Religious Club founded in 1911 and the Muslim Club of 1912.<sup>433</sup>

Andrews also wrote on Christian Ideals in India and he drew from Principal Rudra's paper called *Christ and Modern India* where Rudra wrote that the Indian Church would help form the Indian Nation.<sup>434</sup> Furthermore, Hinduism and Islam were examined by Andrews. It was noted that the destruction of caste system in India would mean destruction of Hinduism. As the caste system was inextricably linked to Hinduism in India. Islam, on the other hand, cloaked women in the purdah. This stood in the way of national development. Andrews believed that faith in Christ was progressive. This was because Christ was the symbol of unity. The Indian nation would be built by an Indian Church. The Indian Church should accept every race in India and the 'higher religious instincts' of its people. It should also preserve the Indian tradition. By looking at India's strengths. For the Kingdom of God lay within. Hence, growth in India would also be directed from within. This was understood by William Carey and others. William Carey was a missionary who supported the Indian languages in order to reach the people. Andrews also advocated for Christian colleges for their high moral life which moved away from idolatry and superstitions. Andrews also observed that some people had converted to Christianity because of the personal salvation that was offered by Christ. Moreover, Andrews was appreciative of the Indian people. He believed that India was a country with very little-known levels of drunkenness. It was a country that renounced the world. Also, a country where motherhood was revered. So, the Church had a lot to learn from India and India too, had to learn from the Church.<sup>435</sup> Therefore, it may be argued that Andrews had a

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<sup>433</sup>File No. CAI, SC1, College Government, Subject: Supreme Council, Date: 1913-1924, Contents: Supreme Council Reports on Teaching, Religious Instruction etc.

<sup>434</sup>C.F. Andrews, *The Renaissance in India*, London: Church Missionary Society, 1912, p.247.

<sup>435</sup>Ibid.p.266.



well-balanced view on India. He wanted India to change, but, at the same time, he wished that India would embrace her strengths. This was the reason he partnered with the national leaders like Tagore and Gandhi. These men further connected him to India for a life of devoted service. Andrews also laboured for Indian indentured labourers abroad. He worked with the Harijan Sevak Sangh which laboured for the so-called untouchables. He celebrated the 'success' of the 'Harijan temple-entry movement.' Moreover, Andrews rejoiced when seats allotted to the Harijans 'doubled' in the 'provincial councils'.<sup>436</sup> Andrews' advocacy for the marginalized had implications for the College.

Andrews was also interested in Indian education. He commented on Macaulay's Policy of 1835 of favouring English education. He evaluated that such a policy gave rise to an Indian Renaissance. A Renaissance based on ideas wherein the students were morally inspired not just intellectually awakened. Andrews was however, critical of Macaulay as he was trying to uproot Indian civilization and supplant it with western civilization. He observed the same trend, in Alexander Duff. He argued that the need of the hour was assimilation not substitution.<sup>437</sup> This was reflected in eastern and western subjects at St. Stephen's College. Also, the balance between the Indian and European ethos was well balanced under Rudra.<sup>438</sup>

Andrews finally appreciated the efforts of people like Alexander Duff in building the Christian education movement in North India.<sup>439</sup> He looked up to Duff because Duff helped in the cause of Women's education. Duff encouraged sending out women to

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<sup>436</sup>K.L. Seshagiri Rao, *Mahatma Gandhi and C.F. Andrews, A Study in Hindu - Christian dialogue*, Patiala: Phulkian Press, 1969 p.45.

<sup>437</sup>*Ibid.* p.34.

<sup>438</sup>David Baker, 'St. Stephen's College,' 1998, p.79.

<sup>439</sup>C.F. Andrews, *The Renaissance in India*, London: Church Missionary Society, 1912.p.33.

India so that women in India could be educated.<sup>440</sup> The government was also trying to raise English educated Indians who would serve the country and be trusted.<sup>441</sup> The policy of Macaulay was a step in this direction.

According to Andrews, Curzon's University Act of 1904, raised the standard of educational institutions. Andrews also talked of education that was closely knit with personal influence. He drew this model from the life of Christ. Jesus and the twelve disciples, according to him, depicted an idealistic situation in education. He preferred an education of small numbers rather than a 'wide extension of numbers.'<sup>442</sup> Andrews had studied the Indian problems well, therefore, he suggested a university that was casteless in India. This was despite, the fact that Hinduism supported caste system, according to him.<sup>443</sup> He did not want discrimination on the basis of caste as he believed in the Christian ethic of equality. 'In 1922, the government of the day in consultation with the representatives of St. Stephen's, Hindu and Ramjas decided to establish a unitary, teaching, residential University by Act of the then Central Legislative Assembly.'<sup>444</sup>

Within the Santiniketan, there were some rules followed. One, there was no clear object of worship. Two, no animal or person would be harmed within it. Three, religion was not to be a matter of controversy. The place could be noted for its spirituality. As the children there, would meditate on God during 'dawn' and dusk. In

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<sup>440</sup>Ibid.p.35.

<sup>441</sup>Ibid.p.36

<sup>442</sup>Ibid.p.52

<sup>443</sup>Ibid.p.55.

<sup>444</sup>University of Delhi, an introduction to one of the premier Universities of India, Delhi University, New Delhi, 2005,p.11.

the middle of such quiet the news of war in Europe shocked Andrews. Andrews father passed away before the end of the war.<sup>445</sup>

Like Andrews, Tagore also felt the weight of the war. Tagore felt the war crisis because of his sensitivity. In 1914, Tagore gifted a translation of his poem to Andrews named 'Judgement.' In fact, Tagore questioned Andrews about Christians with reference to the war. Tagore had studied the Sermon on the Mount and felt that Christians despite, having a clear sense of morality were not following it. Even Gandhi put the Christians to 'shame.' Gandhi's Satyagraha or 'Truth Force' was clearly Christian.<sup>446</sup> But the World War was contrary to this peaceful spirit. Therefore, Andrews decided not to fight in the War because he believed that Christ (God) was against wars.<sup>447</sup> This may be because Christ did not support violence. He has been called the Prince of Peace. Andrews drew from this knowledge and also took a clear stand against the War. Andrews said 'no' to military service.<sup>448</sup> But, Rudra's son Shudhir was serving in the War. Shudhir was serving ill soldiers in the hospital, and he felt that by doing this he was serving God.<sup>449</sup> This showed that Stephanians like Shudhir were clearly anti- fascist, though the College was also pro- British. In fact, the College was an eclectic blend of Indian and Western values. Further, everyone interpreted the scriptures differently. Amidst all this Andrews was fighting a war against racism in favour of the Indian indentured labourers. He shared his thoughts with Tagore. Tagore too condemned racism and economic exploitation by the West.

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<sup>445</sup>C.F. Andrews, *The Renaissance in India*, London: Church Missionary Society, 1912.p.274.

<sup>446</sup>*Ibid.*p.277.

<sup>447</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>448</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>449</sup>*Ibid.*p.278.

Although he admired the growth of Science in the West.<sup>450</sup> The College also tried to rise above racism thanks to Andrews.

### **V. Value for Democratic tradition and Equality in College**

Rudra won the battle for economic parity of pay for the English and Indian staff of the College in 1909, in the words of Baker (1998).<sup>451</sup> In fact, Rudra had been struggling to help the Indian teachers. Rudra claimed that the low salary was responsible in limiting the role of these Indian teachers. They could not do much more for the students, or buy books to develop their intellect. According to Monk (1935), Rudra wanted to change the character of the college through its teachers. He wanted the teachers not to be mere exam coaches but to be students themselves apart from being enthusiastic about the whole process. He wanted to upgrade the status of teachers from employees to colleagues.<sup>452</sup>

In Rudra's tenure as Principal, there was a deliberate effort to establish close relations between the teachers and students. For instance, in 1909, Rudra had refused nearly thirty applications for admissions because he wanted intimate relations between the teachers and students.<sup>453</sup> Also, by 1907, the tutorial system was in place.<sup>454</sup> Monk (1935) described it as an arrangement where 'all students other than the residents in a hostel (for whom the Superintendent is loco parentis) are allotted to one of their subject teachers, not as an academic supervisor but as referee for any personal or domestic affairs of the lad.'<sup>455</sup>

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<sup>450</sup>Ibid.p.280.

<sup>451</sup>David Baker, 'St.Stephen's College,' 1998,p.78

<sup>452</sup>F.F. Monk, *A History of St. Stephen's College, Delhi*,1935,p.122.

<sup>453</sup>Ibid.p.134.

<sup>454</sup>*The St. Stephen's College Magazine*, No.1, Allahabad, Indian Press, May 1907.p.5.

<sup>455</sup>F.F. Monk, *A History of St. Stephen's College, Delhi*, 1935,p. 158

Moreover, there were efforts to establish clubs and societies which helped in fostering better ties with the youth. Prominent among them were ‘the College Magazine, the Games Committee and the Criterion Club.’<sup>456</sup>The College Magazine was initiated by Andrews in June of 1907.<sup>457</sup> Additionally, the Criterion Club was based on student initiative, according to Monk (1935). It built Character by inculcating’ loyalty and punctuality.<sup>458</sup> The students were raised to be public servants.<sup>459</sup> Moreover, the Games Committee was constituted in 1912. It had consultative powers and combined corporate participation of all participants and in-charges under a member of the staff who was acting as the President.<sup>460</sup> In the case of games the initiative of the teachers mattered. Rudra wrote in 1911 that Andrews was in-charge of athletics and cricket, Monk took charge of football and Sharp took care of sports and tennis.<sup>461</sup>

## **VI. College- Government Relations**

Andrews critiqued the system of government and government aided educational institutions. This was because they were dependent on the foreign ruling power which promoted foreign culture. Although this sort of an education unified the country and freed the people from the evil of superstition,<sup>462</sup> Andrews advocated a national education wherein the teachers were free to interact with their students on political matters. He wrote how he condemned the deportation of Lajpat Rai in 1907, before the students of St. Stephen's College. But, the Punjab Government did not take this very kindly. Moreover, St. Stephen's College was illuminated at the instance of Andrews, when Lajpat Rai was released. Therefore, the government was annoyed and

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<sup>456</sup>Ibid.p. 141.

<sup>457</sup>Ibid.p.143.

<sup>458</sup>Ibid.p.146.

<sup>459</sup>Ibid.

<sup>460</sup>Ibid.p.145.

<sup>461</sup>Ibid.p.144.

<sup>462</sup>C.F. Andrews, *To The Students*, Madras: S. Ganesan Publisher, 1921,p.31.

threatened to withdraw its grants from St. Stephen's College. This act only proved the fact that the educational institutions funded by the government during the colonial period lacked the basic freedom to grow. These institutions lived in constant fear of government censure. Andrews further gave the example of educational institutions in Bolepur and Shantiniketan to demonstrate the aspect of freedom enjoyed by them because they were not dependent on government funds.<sup>463</sup> Andrews, however, was hounded by the government spies. Nonetheless, he appreciated the traditional education given to the pupils in the forests. This depicted poverty, outwardly. But, inwardly, it was about scaling new heights in thoughts. Therefore, Andrews admired the Brahmachari Ashram<sup>464</sup> which was about purity and education. He linked it to the poverty shared by Christ, who was supposedly the poorest of the poor. Andrews moved away from the commercial view of education to a national education based on this kind of a simplicity, wherein the Brahmachari Ashram ideal would be restored. This would be based on poverty and renunciation.<sup>465</sup> He believed that education would thrive only in the presence of freedom.<sup>466</sup> There was an attempt to appreciate India, to put the nation on equal footing with the West.

Andrews observed that in the North of India the national movement had affected the educated classes and the uneducated.<sup>467</sup> The national movement included racial and religious aspects. As mentioned earlier, the Renaissance, was coming into prominence and it was about awakening of the East with its impact on 'politics', 'art', 'literature' and 'thought'.<sup>468</sup> This was associated with freedom, enlightenment and love for the country. Andrews argued that 'nationality', 'liberty' and 'enlightenment' were not new

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<sup>463</sup>Ibid.p.36.

<sup>464</sup>Ibid.p.38.

<sup>465</sup>Ibid.p.41.

<sup>466</sup>Ibid.p.36.

<sup>467</sup>C.F. Andrews, *North India*, London: A.R. Mowbray and Company,1908,p.188.

<sup>468</sup>Ibid. p.189.

to Christianity.<sup>469</sup> But, unfortunately, certain Christian nations had the tendency to behave in un-Christian ways and become regressive.<sup>470</sup>

Andrews, then, described the youth in India as alert, who were drawn towards the national leaders. The students were too poor but highly spirited and intelligent. He gave the instance of a boy, who had studied in a missionary school, and in course of time, had converted. Then, came the call to save the country, even at the cost of one's life. Originally, a Hindu, the boy, mingled with Muslim brothers of the country and turned a deaf ear, to his father, who wanted him, to marry and settle down with a government job. Finally, the boy was banished from his home, and in the later years, he worked for the relief of the lowest of castes.<sup>471</sup> Andrews also analysed the student composition in his college. He found that the students from the Punjab villages were enthusiastic as compared to the students from towns. He pointed out that the Church could no longer be indifferent to the national movement in India.<sup>472</sup> He tried to link the Indian national movement with Christianity.

Andrews also wrote on Indian Womanhood. He was greatly impressed with the women in India for their gentle and devoted behaviour. He believed that Indian women would play a key role in the regeneration of Indian society. He noted that Indian women found victory in the spheres of 'Literature and Philanthropy.' Their writings were about 'purity, temperance and social service.' He appreciated the works of the Seva Sadan Sisterhood in Bombay and Poona as it stood for unity and the wisdom of using the public press carefully. Sarla Debi and Sarojini Naidu were other great names associated with literature and social service. There was also the name of

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<sup>469</sup>Ibid.p.190.

<sup>470</sup>Ibid.p.191.

<sup>471</sup>Ibid.p.194.

<sup>472</sup>Ibid.p.195.

Pandita Ramabai who worked for the welfare of Indian women. Another striking example was that of the Calcutta National Congress of 1906, which witnessed the participation of women, particularly of 'Bengali ladies.' But the Indian Women's Movement was not confined to a particular 'community or religion.' He analysed the state of women's education and observed the obstacles such as the customs and social practices of the land that discouraged fathers from educating their daughters. There was opposition from within the family as well. Further, there was the problem of transportation to and fro from the schools. Girls from a decent family were not expected to walk to schools and back. In addition, the number of girls' schools was limited in number. Even the boarding schools belonged to the Christians, Aryas and Brahmos. However, these hurdles to women's education were gradually dwindling away. He also critiqued the purdah system as it made Indian life stagnant. In addition, illiteracy further pushed the woman into unhealthy, unnatural conditions and darkness.<sup>473</sup> St. Stephen's College became a co-educational centre in 1928.<sup>474</sup> Andrews thoughts may have had inspired this process.

Andrews sympathized with the educated sections in India. These people despite being enlightened were met with backwardness at home. So, they could never really grow. He discussed that the young mothers at home, were really children themselves and they imparted foolish teachings to their young ones. So, students found it very difficult to unlearn things when they reached educational institutions. The young Indian student was therefore, utterly confused. As knowledge of the modern school contradicted with what he had learnt at home. However, there was a desire among the elite women to educate themselves. This may have been due to the National

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<sup>473</sup>C.F. Andrews , *The Renaissance in India*, 1912,p.227.

<sup>474</sup>Ashok Jaitly, *St. Stephen's College, A History*,2006,p.31.



Movement. Furthermore, he spelt out the role of the Church in providing for quality education. He wanted the sacrificial love of Christ to be a model for educators.<sup>475</sup>

Andrews wrote on New Reformation, wherein he discussed the work of social reformers. Raja Ram Mohan Roy was one such name. Here he talked about the fact that the East India Company had exploited India. The situation was made worse by famine, especially in Bengal. Further, he talked of the Sati Abolition due to the efforts of reformers like Ram Mohan Roy. There were two main sources to Roy's reforming work. One was the teaching from Upanishads where he discovered the unity of God. It was only during the days of destruction that idolatry and superstition had crept in. Two, his next source was Christianity. Roy found Christianity as rational and moral. Roy wanted the Christian Reformation to inspire India as well. Roy wrote the book *The Precepts of Jesus*. But it was criticised for being too short sighted by Missionaries in Calcutta. Roy in fact was not deterred by the criticism. Roy sent his name on a petition for the despatch of Presbyterian missionaries to be sent to India. As a result, Alexander Duff came to India. Duff was assisted by Roy in the work of Christian education. Andrews admired Roy for having educated himself in modern ways and for spreading the message of enlightenment to his countrymen. Keshab Chandra Sen was another person discussed by Andrews. Sen combined eastern religious passion with Western Rationalism. Unfortunately, the Brahmo Samaj declined in influence, despite Sen's spiritual fervour. One reason could be that Sen's own daughter was married off to the royalty of Cooch Behar in 1876, at the tender age of thirteen years. Fourteen years was the age prescribed by the Brahmo Samaj for the marriage of girls.

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<sup>475</sup>C.F. Andrews , *The Renaissance in India*, 1912,p.237.

This split the Brahmo Samaj.<sup>476</sup> Thus, Andrews had deep respect for India which got reflected during his time at St. Stephen's College, Delhi.

Andrews also talked about Dayanand's mission in Punjab who was the man behind Arya Samaj. Here, the influence of Christianity had been indirect. According to Dayanand the Vedas were the source of the 'highest form of monotheism.' Dayanand's teachings attacked caste system and idolatry.<sup>477</sup> Then, there was the Aligarh movement by Syed Ahmad Khan. According to Syed Ahmad Khan, Christianity was similar to Islam. As both supported the unity of God and was built on the 'patriarchal foundation' of saints like Abraham, Moses and the prophets. Khan was the founder of the Aligarh movement. He placed complete trust in 'Christian gentlemen.' He put 'complete confidence' in English Professors.<sup>478</sup> This would have empowered Rudra and Andrews to spread education since Khan put trust in Christian persons. Moreover, St. Stephen's College was an eclectic blend of British and Indian values as shown by David Baker.<sup>479</sup> The Indianization of the College Constitution was another off- shoot of the process.

Andrews therefore, considered it moral virtue to look at the 'nobler elements' of other religions. Yet, he recognised the evils that crept in. K.L. Seshagiri Rao(1969) has pointed out that Andrews wanted to end the Devadasi evil.<sup>480</sup> He also wanted the 'removal of untouchability' according to K.L.Seshagiri Rao. It may be argued that Andrews saw the suffering of Christ amongst the untouchables.<sup>481</sup> Andrews' faith in Christ made him trust people no matter how vile or marginalized. He was a man of

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<sup>476</sup>C. F. Andrews, *The Renaissance in India*, 1912, p.116.

<sup>477</sup>Ibid.p.121.

<sup>478</sup>Ibid.p.127.

<sup>479</sup>David Baker, 'St. Stephen's College, Delhi,' 1998, p.79.

<sup>480</sup>K.L. Seshagiri Rao, *Mahatma Gandhi and C. F. Andrews : A Study in Hindu- Christian Dialogue*, Patiala: Phulkian Press, 1969, p. 45.

<sup>481</sup>Ibid.p.45.

service.<sup>482</sup> Additionally, Andrews secularism had an impact on the character of the College.

Both Gandhi and Andrews realized that communal disharmony was due to unfamiliarity of each other's religion. But understanding led to empathy and admiration. True inter-faith dialogue could take place where the focus was the 'inner life.' This was linked to love for the Maker and love for humanity through service. K.L. Seshagiri Rao (1969) has argued that the lives of Andrews and Gandhi were exemplified by humility and long suffering. The study of the dialogue between Andrews and Gandhi was based on the Unity of God and Mankind.<sup>483</sup>

Andrews and Gandhi had the common concern for the poor. Hence, they were attracted to each other. K.L. Seshagiri Rao (1969) has discussed about Andrews concern for marginalized and 'lost' since his college days. He worked for the 'slums of industrial workers' in London. Moreover, his education in the social Gospel had prepared him in a certain way for work amongst the depressed. In fact, when he saw misery he remembered Christ. This led him to the Indian indentured labourers who were being exploited in South Africa.

Rudra had served as the Principal in St. Stephen's College, till 1923. There was a letter written to Rudra on the occasion of his 'farewell' on 28 February, 1923 by his students. It stated that for nearly forty years, Principal Rudra had laboured to progress the state of 'higher education' in the 'ancient city' of Delhi. Principal Rudra was known for his selfless love, exemplary service, with faith in the creator, power of goodness

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<sup>482</sup>Ibid.p.50.

<sup>483</sup>Ibid.p.75.

and positivity. His children were also engaged in serving the 'King and the country' during the 'great war.'<sup>484</sup>

Further, Principal Rudra believed in his pupils. He provided ample 'freedom' to his pupils under his able direction. In addition, his students also acknowledged the fact that Principal Rudra had 'presided over' St. Stephen's College and maintained a sort of stability and calm during the days of political upheaval. For instance, during the non-cooperation movement in India, Principal Rudra gave his whole-hearted sympathy and 'uncoercive policy' that made St. Stephen's College, tide over the 'storm', unharmed.<sup>485</sup>

Furthermore, the letter to Principal Rudra by the students of St. Stephen's College, Delhi on 28 February 1923, further examined that St. Stephen's College was unfortunately, being labelled a 'foreign institution.' But, it was the efforts of Principal Rudra that transformed things, in favour of the college. It may be argued that Principal Rudra, after having served as Vice-Principal of the College, went ahead to assume the office of the Principal of St. Stephen's College. This raised the college to the level of a 'national institution' in the 'minds' of the Indian people. Principal Rudra laboured in the area of patriotism, to bring St. Stephen's College to a 'position' of excellence, where it stands boldly today.<sup>486</sup>

## **VII. Rudra's Legacy and the formation of Delhi University**

The letter to Principal Rudra by his students during his farewell discussed the 'tradition' of 'cooperation' and 'friendship' amongst the staff members. Principal Rudra acted as a bridge between race and religion and helped in unifying the 'diverse

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<sup>484</sup>St. Stephen's Magazine, Principal Rudra Farewell Number, (No. 71-83 , 1922-1924,) No.77, Easter , 1923,p.11,'The College Farewell Address,' By the Students of St. Stephen's College, Delhi.

<sup>485</sup>Ibid.

<sup>486</sup>Ibid. p. 12.

elements' in St. Stephen's College. Finally, Rudra was called the Father of the 'infant university of Delhi' and praised for having developed the city with his educational contribution.<sup>487</sup> The concept of Delhi University was visualized by the staff of St. Stephen's College.<sup>488</sup> It had begun to be perceived that it would be disastrous if the University were to have the effect of breaking up the corporate life of the College so carefully cherished for years.<sup>489</sup> St. Stephen's College wanted to work as a 'constituent unit' of the University to maintain its History.<sup>490</sup> Rudra helped to set up the Delhi University in February of 1922.<sup>491</sup> 'Rudra with the broad vision that he had, welcomed the formation of Delhi University. If the Delhi experiment is successful he declared, it will be an object-lesson to the country for the betterment of higher education. Today with the progress that the University is making we should admire Rudra's foresight.'<sup>492</sup>

Concerning the College, 'more than thirty students were refused because we had no hostel accommodation to offer.' There was an increase in the number of Muslim pupils, rising from 27 to 35. But, there was a fall in the number of Native Christians from 23 to 18. Further, it may be mentioned that the Principal Rudra was grateful for 'the maintenance grant sanctioned by the Punjab Government from April 1 of Rs. 8,000 p.a.'<sup>493</sup> 'On the strength of this grant and promised income it was possible to move the Cambridge authorities in England, responsible for the College, to add to the staff of the College two more workers, graduates of Oxford and Cambridge, thus

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<sup>487</sup>Ibid. p.13.

<sup>488</sup>F.F. Monk, *A History of St. Stephen's College, Delhi*, 1935, p.188.

<sup>489</sup>Ibid.p.191.

<sup>490</sup>Ibid.p.192.

<sup>491</sup>Ashok Jaitly, *St. Stephen's College, A History*, 2006, p.26.

<sup>492</sup>The Stephanian, Mukarji Memorial Number, October 1945, p.11, 'Article of Ram Kishore.'

<sup>493</sup>C.F. Andrews, *Non-Cooperation*, Madras: Ganesh and Company Publishers, 192-, p.2.

raising the number from 4 to 6.<sup>494</sup> This showed that Principal Rudra increased the staff of the College to help the College discharge its duties towards the pupils.

Moreover, it was further reported the students were encouraged to work and exercise. 'The general conduct of the students has been satisfactory and if I am not mistaken the spirit of sober work and the tendency to take regular exercise alternating with work are distinctly visible. The reading room and library are appreciated.'<sup>495</sup>

'The results of the University Examinations were very satisfactory. We had the best pass percentage in the Punjab, both in the Intermediate and in the B.A. The individual performances were not of the best, except in Philosophy; but this is partly due to the fact that we have a few scholars entering the College.'<sup>496</sup>

In 1920-21, Rudra took a stand on the National Movement. 'I congratulate the students of the College for the way in which they faced the question of Non-Cooperation.'<sup>497</sup> Rudra (1920-21) further argued 'during this precious time of youth afforded for study, it was impossible to advise you in any other way than we did, and I am grateful for the response of the College which stood steady.'<sup>498</sup> Further, Rudra argued, 'this College would never stand against the imperative call of conscience but our advice was Be quite sure that your action is based upon deep conviction.'<sup>499</sup> Further, he pointed out, 'such advice could only lead to absence of mass action. You have shown yourself that you will not be carried away by emotion, but will control

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<sup>494</sup>File No EPR 1912, Education Half-Yearly Report, Subject Principal's 1/2Yearly Report (S.K.R.), April- September 1912, Contents:( S.K. Rudra's) Half -Yearly Report.

<sup>495</sup>Ibid.

<sup>496</sup>Ibid.

<sup>497</sup>File No E- PR 1920, Education Annual Report, Subject: Principal's Report(S.K.Rudra), 1920-21, Copy of Principal's Annual Report, p.4.

<sup>498</sup>Ibid.

<sup>499</sup>Ibid.

your emotion, but will control your emotion by careful thought. Eleven men left the College and have not returned.<sup>500</sup>

Rudra (1920-21) pointed out that 'mass action would have led to return which is a phenomenon we have seen all over North India. Such action leads to weakening of the will and not strengthening of it.'<sup>501</sup> Today the need of the hour is force of 'character acquired by the schooling of the will for which opportunities are afforded to you in this College.'<sup>502</sup> The Students were also helping Andrews in his work among the Indians in Fiji.<sup>503</sup>

F.F. Monk(1923) who succeeded Rudra, reported on the Social Service League and Health. The Social Service League made citizens. 'While on the subject of health I cannot refrain from congratulating ourselves on having attained such a general level of enlightenment that, in spite of the immediate inconvenience involved, close upon half of the College have availed themselves of inoculating against plague in the last few days thus giving a real and practical lead to the most truly beneficent elements on our much-maligned modern civilization.'<sup>504</sup>

### **VIII. Departure of Andrews and its impact on St. Stephen's College, Delhi**

Principal Rudra stood as the silent worker, besides C.F. Andrews until 1914. As in 1914, C.F. Andrews left St. Stephen's College, Delhi to assist Rabindranath Tagore in Bolepur.<sup>505</sup> This fact, was also taken up by Principal Rudra in the Annual Report of St. Stephen's College, 1914-1915. Principal Rudra mentioned that C.F. Andrews

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<sup>500</sup>Ibid.

<sup>501</sup>Ibid.

<sup>502</sup>Ibid.

<sup>503</sup>Ibid.

<sup>504</sup>File no. E- PR1922, Education Annual Report, Subject: Annual Report (Monk), 1922-23, Contents: Principal's Annual Report, 17.03.23.

<sup>505</sup>*The St. Stephen's College Magazine*, No. 4, (1914-1918) , March 1914, Supplement to the College Magazine, The Annual Report of St. Stephen's College for 1914-1915,p. 5.

retirement was a huge loss to St. Stephen's College as the latter had served for ten years in St. Stephen's College.

The Annual Report of St. Stephen's College for 1914- 1915 as reported, by Principal Rudra remained an important source of our study. This is because it covered the period when C. F. Andrews quit St. Stephen's College. It was argued that this period was the turning point in the history of St. Stephen's College. This is because the College became more open to nationalistic discourse. However, this period was essentially a mixed bag. As it had its positives and negatives. The War was prevailing in the West. So, people were on the edge of a panic.<sup>506</sup> The gloom and the darkness of the war cannot be properly examined. For it took a toll on human lives leading to hatred and an overall sense of discouragement, it may be argued. Both Rudra and Andrews wrote about negative aspects of war. Rudra's writings can be seen in this Annual Report of St. Stephen's College, 1914-1915. C. F. Andrews on the other hand talked about the war with reference to his autobiography called *What I Owe to Christ*.

Principal Rudra further mentioned that three European Staff members of St. Stephen's College, Sharp, Messers. Lawrence and Jenkin. decided to fight in the war.<sup>507</sup> Principal Rudra's own children were not far behind. Andrews talked about Principal Rudra's son Shudhir who had gone all the way to France to nurse sick soldiers in the hospital in France. Principal Rudra had also explained in the Annual Report of St. Stephen's College, Delhi, for 1914-1915 that the subscription for the New College Building was negatively affected owing to the War. Amidst all this, St. Stephen's College continued to prosper according to Principal Rudra. The prosperity was seen in the area of teaching, health and in the close ties among teachers and students at St.

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<sup>506</sup>Ibid.p. 1.

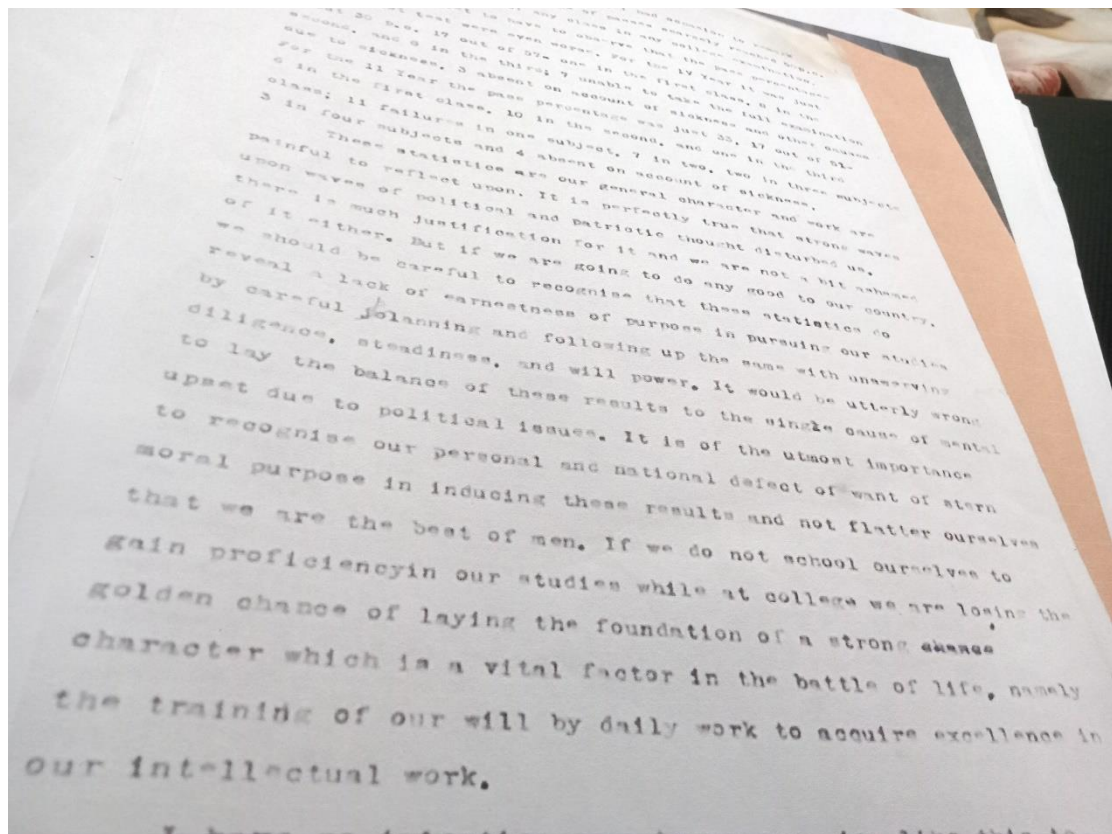
<sup>507</sup>Ibid.p.5.



Stephen's College, Delhi. St. Stephen's College had done well in the past year(1913-14). Also, M.A. Philosophy was offered in St. Stephen's College, Delhi. It was the only college in the University to do so, due to the able Philosophy lecturer named Sen.<sup>508</sup> It may be argued that the teachers made a lot of difference in college life. Most of them were Cambridge returned and had the calibre to instil higher values among the students. Having studied abroad, they had a broad mindset. They had novel ideas of teaching. Andrews interestingly related Shakespeare with Nationalism. Moreover, old students were filling posts of lecturers at St. Stephen's College, Delhi.<sup>509</sup>

## IX. Concept of Education

### Plate 3.3, Value of Academics in St. Stephen's College, Delhi



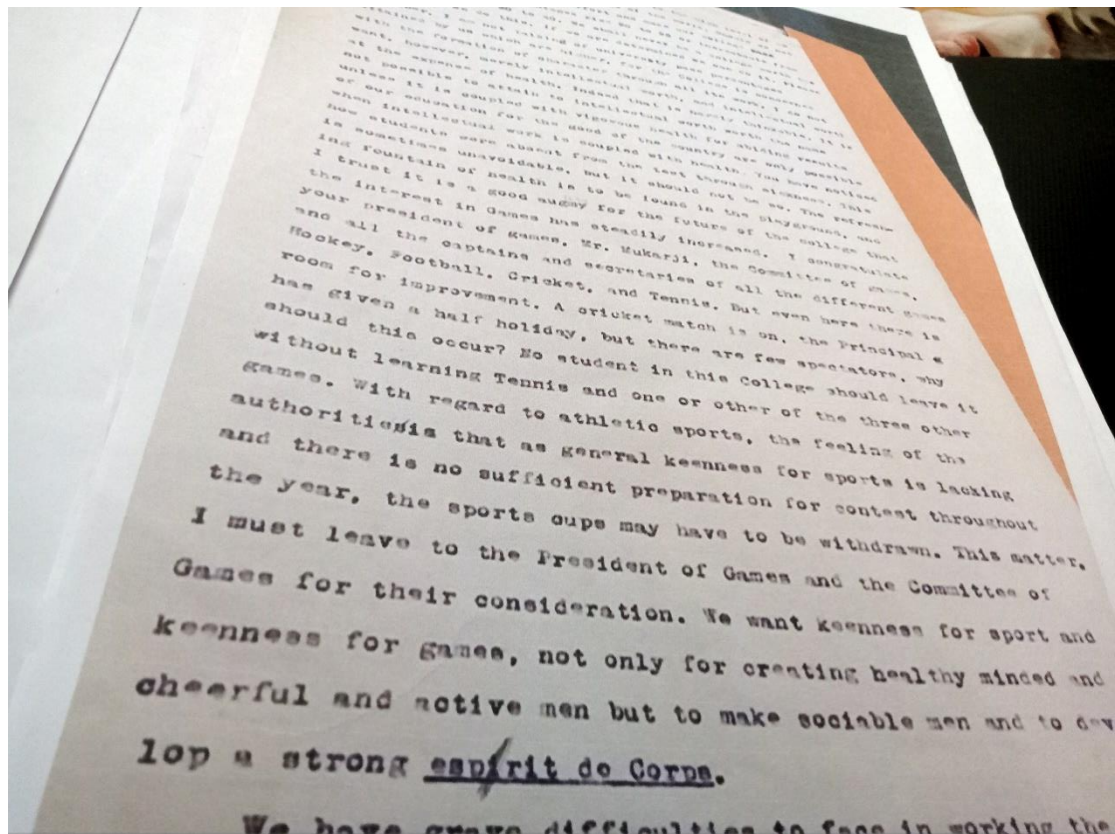
But, who was the ideal student? The College toyed with this discourse too. Principal Rudra pointed out that the 'best man' was well- developed, someone who was an all-

<sup>508</sup>Ibid.p. 1.

<sup>509</sup>F.F.Monk, *A History St. Stephen's College, Delhi*, 1935,p.165.

rounder, someone who was good at 'books and games.'<sup>510</sup> Furthermore, he put forth that the ideal student or man was someone who did not neglect the intellect nor did he ignore the co-curriculars. Students who rose above narrow 'partisan feelings' and cared for the welfare of others irrespective of 'caste and creed'<sup>511</sup> were the true role models in St. Stephen's College, Delhi.

### Plate 3.4, Importance of Co- Curriculars in All- Round Development



Principal Rudra paid attention to the highest citizenship that was present in St. Stephen's College. As mentioned earlier, there was close relationship between

<sup>510</sup>Ibid.p. 3.

<sup>511</sup>Ibid.p.3-4.

teachers and students. This led to an 'organic life among the students.' In fact, the students and staff were happy despite, the diversity within St. Stephen's College, Delhi.<sup>512</sup>

Bringing the focus back to Principal Rudra, it may be argued that he brought in 'inter-racial equality and cooperation of sympathy.'<sup>513</sup> This was reflected among the staff and students of St. Stephen's College, Delhi. Principal Rudra was very famous even among the Jat community. This is because he was the 'pioneer of higher education' among the Jat community. So much so, that the 'Jat- Rudra Scholarship Fund' was instituted. The Jains and Muslim community also bade a warm farewell to Principal Rudra. Therefore, it may be argued that Principal Rudra had won the trust of all communities and he 'infused' the same 'confidence' into St. Stephen's College, Delhi.<sup>514</sup> He had students taken from all walks of life. 'The student body was more heterogeneous, more Indian with poor men's sons hailing from mud-built villages rubbing shoulders with representatives of cultured families from towns.'<sup>515</sup>

The setting up of the Social Service League at the end of 1916 in the form of night schools for the impoverished, hospital visits and help to the poor patients were some of its features, but the idea was to make students sensitive to the needs around them.<sup>516</sup> Even in 1922, night schools and hospital visits continued.<sup>517</sup> This gave the College a humanitarian hue.

The discussion therefore showed that Rudra was a pro-nationalist and he did not discourage nationalism in College. Yet he wanted students to pay attention to their

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<sup>512</sup>Ibid.

<sup>513</sup>*St. Stephen's College Magazine*, Principal Rudra Farewell Number, No.77,1923,p.1.'Retirement of Principal Rudra.'by the Staff of St. Stephen's College, 28.02.1923.

<sup>514</sup>Ibid,p.4.

<sup>515</sup>David Baker, 'St. Stephen's College,'1998, p.83.

<sup>516</sup>F.F. Monk,' *A History of St. Stephen's College, Delhi*, 1935, p.170.

<sup>517</sup>*St. Stephen's College Magazine*, January 1922, No.2,Vol.XIX,'Clubs and Societies' By Bhagat Behari Lal, Secretary,p.23.

studies. The College became moderate in nationalism. Rudra also being the first Indian Principal did a lot to Indianize College through the Constitution. David Baker (1998) argued that he fought for the parity of pay for the English and Indian staff in 1909.<sup>518</sup> However, Rudra was constantly backed by Andrews.

### **Summary**

Overall, St. Stephen's College, Delhi became a democratic institution with the appointment of an Indian Principal and the drafting of a Constitution by 1913 for the College. The liberal upbringing of Rudra and Andrews affected the College. Moreover, the College became increasingly Nationalistic with the Non- Cooperation Movement with interaction with the Nationalists of the day. Additionally, the personal views of the Rudra and Andrews also had a bearing on the democratic tradition of the College. The setting up of the Social Service League also made the College more humanitarian. This would have affected the overall culture of the College.

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<sup>518</sup>David Baker, ' St. Stephen's College,'1998,p.78.

## Chapter Four

### **St. Stephen's College as a Centre of Elitism and Excellence:**

#### **The tenure of Principal S. N. Mukarji (1926-1945)**

This chapter discusses about the era of Principal S.N. Mukarji. It briefly presents his short biography and his main contributions to the field of education. In addition, the chapter presents the key arguments associated with his period and elucidated how Mukarji offered loyalty to the British Raj in St. Stephen's College, Delhi. So, the College's Nationalism during the Mukarji era was not just fuelled by the Principal-in-charge, but by other factors operating outside the College like the Delhi University's political activity, and through, former teachers of the College like C. F. Andrews. Interestingly, the College was an eclectic blend of colonialism and nationalism. There was a strong wave of moderate nationalism. During Mukarji's era, the students continued to display some level of nationalism, despite, Mukarji's support for the Raj.

'The appointment of the English missionary, F.F. Monk as the fifth Principal in 1922-1923 signified the change of direction.'<sup>519</sup> It marked the professionalization of education with the training of Professional elite. The mixed Indo-Western ethos of Rudra was abandoned in favour of leadership and responsibility. The restoration of English missionary spirit during Monk's period, gave way to the second Indian Principal Mukarji.<sup>520</sup> The College had become British and bureaucratic under Monk. The bureaucratic nature continued under Mukarji.

F.F. Monk (1926) also wrote a letter to the Bishop, discussing the reasons for stepping down as the Principal in favour of Mukarji. This was because both Mukarji

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<sup>519</sup>David Baker, 'The Stephen's College, Delhi.'1998, p.82.

<sup>520</sup>Ibid.

and Monk shared a level of unity as far as college policy was concerned. Furthermore, Monk(1926) pointed out that Mukarji was also winning the hearts of the staff, students and the clientele of the College. According to Monk (1926), Mukarji had the right nature, experience for the job and the practicality needed for the job.<sup>521</sup> It has been reported that S.N. Mukarji was the son of a CMS Headmaster who was in the Punjab. His father had converted through the efforts of Alexander Duff in Bengal. S.N. Mukarji had graduated from the Forman Christian College, Lahore. He went to the Queen's College, Cambridge where he excelled in Mathematics.<sup>522</sup> Mukarji was a brilliant scholar according to C.B. Young. It may be argued that he brought this brilliance to St. Stephen's College. He made the College highly professional. In fact it must be said he openly restricted the National Movement in College according to David Baker(2016).<sup>523</sup> As this would have endangered the flow of Government funds coming to College.

**Plate 4.1, Mukarji and his Predecessors (Rudra and Monk)**



<sup>521</sup>F.F.Monk, Principal's Correspondence, Subject (i) F.F. Monk's Resignation, EB (a-d) 1926-1927, M-23, 9 March, 1926,p.3.

<sup>522</sup>*The Stephanian*, Mukarji Memorial Number, October 1945,p.7, 'Article by C. B. Young.'

<sup>523</sup>*Sahapedia*, 'St. Stephen's College: In conversation with David Baker,' an interview by Aditya Pratap Deo, Dehi, 2016, <https://youtu.be/a53qLvQoEsU>, Accessed on 19 October,2020.

Mukarji was a strict disciplinarian, but, he brought in the element of friendliness to St. Stephen's College. He won the 'trust and affection' of students and work-mates. At the same time, his administrative ability prepared him for 'leadership.'<sup>524</sup> Such was the character of Mukarji.

**Plate 4.2, Rudra and Mukarji**



Mukarji's association with the college goes back to 1912, when he joined St. Stephen's College because of the influence of Susil Kumar Rudra and Charles Freer Andrews.<sup>525</sup> Before this, Mukarji had taught in the American Presbyterian College, Rawalpindi. He however, climbed up the ladder of prominence in St. Stephen's College. He became the Bursar and the Vice-Principal of the College too.<sup>526</sup> In 1926, he

<sup>524</sup>*The Stephanian*, Mukarji Memorial Number, October 1945,p.7,' Article by C.B. Young.'

<sup>525</sup>Ibid.

<sup>526</sup>Ibid.p.7.

eventually, became the sixth Principal of St. Stephen's College, succeeding F.F. Monk, who had taken over as Principal after Rudra.

C.J.G Robinson (1945) compared S.N. Mukarji with C.F. Andrews. According to him, both were similar in 'heart, mind and soul', despite their differences. Both these men loved St. Stephen's College, Delhi, India, humanity and Christ. But there were differences as well. One was a family man and the other an ascetic. Moreover, one an Indian, the other an Englishman. Also, Mukarji was a layman and Andrews was a priest. But, both were great friends.<sup>527</sup> It was important to compare these two entities because both of them, were great educationists. Both men were spiritual. One may add that Andrews was an avid writer but Mukarji was a man of action. This helps us understand the character of the College as it evolved, with Mukarji as the Principal and Andrews as a visitor in College. J.C. Chatterjee (1945) for instance, has discussed the spiritual upbringing of Mukarji. Mukarji's wife, Mary, was a devoted wife and mother to five sons. So, the Mukarjis were well-known for their domestic life, 'friendship and hospitality.'<sup>528</sup>

### **I. Lindsay Commission**

S. N. Mukarji contributed to Higher Education through his work in Delhi University, his presence in various boards and committees and through the Lindsay Commission which was significant.<sup>529</sup> The report of the Sub -Committee on Lindsay Commission recommended that 'the College should possess a strong Indian staff.'<sup>530</sup> It also said,

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<sup>527</sup>*The Stephanian*, Mukarji Memorial Number, October 1945,p.29,' Address by Rev. Canon C.J.G.Robinson.'

<sup>528</sup>*The Stephanian*, Mukarji Memorial Number, October 1945,p.20,' Article by J.C.Chatterjee.'

<sup>529</sup>*The Stephanian*, Mukarji Memorial Number, October 1945,p.30,' Address by Rev. Canon C.J.G.Robinson.'

<sup>530</sup>File No. E. Chev, 1931-32 regarding Lindsay Report, EGI Education, Subject: Christian Higher Education- India, date: NA(1930s)1931-32, Contents: Report of the sub -Committee of St. Stephen's College on the Lindsay Commission and other related material,p.1.



‘The College cannot displace any permanent members of its staff; any increase of the Indian Christian staff must be secured gradually as vacancies or opportunities to expand the staff occur.’<sup>531</sup> Moreover, the Report says ‘that a quota of non- Christians who are fully in sympathy with our religious aim and our general ideals and traditions is a valuable asset to the College, and therefore the ideal of a staff wholly Christian is not acceptable to this College.’<sup>532</sup> Further, the Report said ‘with the above provisos it is desirable for the College to aim at an increase in the numbers on its staff of Indian Christians possessed of adequate academic qualifications and a sense of religious vocation in their work. There is no ground, however, for non- Christians as a member of the College Staff.’<sup>533</sup> Furthermore, the practice of maintaining on the Staff at least 8 graduates of Oxford and Cambridge should be continued, but in recruiting to supply any of these places the possibility of securing an Indian Christian thus qualified should be kept in mind.’<sup>534</sup>

Lindsay Commission wanted to start the work of extension too in the College. This involved the delivery of popular lectures on various topics like ‘Civics and Politics, Indian History, Local History, Art and Architecture, Administrative problems, e.g., Local Self Government, Religious History, e.g., Bhakti movement, Sufism and religious personalities.’<sup>535</sup> Work was expected to be done in association with the Y.M. C. A.<sup>536</sup>

Lindsay Commission also pointed out that modern issues like racial issues, communal tensions and contact of cultures were relevant to research. The third category included ‘East and West, Hindu and Muslim movements, History of Delhi, Early Missionary

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<sup>531</sup>Ibid.

<sup>532</sup>Ibid.

<sup>533</sup>Ibid.

<sup>534</sup>Ibid.

<sup>535</sup>Ibid.

<sup>536</sup>Ibid.p.2.

Work.’<sup>537</sup> Besides, Anthropology was suggested which dealt with ‘research on Folklore in Delhi and suburbs.’<sup>538</sup> Another suggestion was ‘Psychology and Hygiene.’<sup>539</sup> Finally, ‘Sociology and Economics’ was another area of suggestion. Here the focus was on the living conditions of the poverty-stricken. Adult education, boys’ clubs, study of the Beggar issue, work in orphanages and raising public perspectives were also key concerns. These were ‘the lines of Social Service by students and Staff.’<sup>540</sup>

‘In 1930, Principal Mukarji became a member of the Lindsay Commission. The Commission members travelled all over the world studying educational institutions. It says something both for the College and the Principal’s standing that the ideal model of education in the Commission’s recommendations was largely based on St. Stephen’s College.’<sup>541</sup> According to Ram Kishore (1945) ‘the Lindsay Commission which aimed to make the College more Christian and more Indian.’<sup>542</sup>

## **II. Tussle between Nationalists and the Pro-Colonial Aspects**

Nationalism has been understood differently by different historians. At first there were historians like Partha Chatterjee (1993) who viewed ‘Nationalism’ a derivative discourse from the West. Ashis Nandy (1994) saw nationalism in India as a response to ‘western imperialism.’ There was additionally, the nationalism as propounded by the Nationalist School, which was based on nationalist thought and a national

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<sup>537</sup>Ibid.

<sup>538</sup>Ibid.

<sup>539</sup>Ibid.

<sup>540</sup>Ibid.

<sup>541</sup>Jaya’s Blog, Confessions of an avid bibliophile, ‘Remembering Principal Mukarji,’ by Jaya Bhattacharji Rose, 02.01.2021, also in *The Stephanian*, Vol. CIII No.1 April 1995, St. Stephen’s College, Delhi, p.2.

<sup>542</sup>*The Stephanian*, Mukarji Memorial Number, October, 1945, p.11, ‘Article by Ram Kishore.’

awareness. This school tended to exalt the glorious past of India. The early nationalist school and its followers focussed on nation- building and national consciousness.<sup>543</sup>

Moreover, there was the imperialist historians like Valentine Chirol(n.d.) that tend to give a lot of credit to the Colonial rule in terms of the ‘Western Education’ that was provided by the British Government. Also, the political representation was another aspect of the British rule. Furthermore, the latter category of Cambridge historians was about interpreting Nationalism in the context of ‘Contestation and Collaboration.’ Nationalism was therefore led by leaders who had their own selfish interests at heart. The Marxists understand the colonial period through an economic perspective. The Subaltern School tended to put forth that true nationalism was that of the masses as opposed to the superficial elite nationalism. Finally, this is taken forward by Partha Chatterjee, who further developed his views on nationalism. Chatterjee (1993) argued that there were two realms at play. The inner realm consisted of the spiritual aspect where nationalism reigned supreme. The outer realm or the material sphere was dominated by the Colonial government.<sup>544</sup>

Nationalism is a political ideology. Thus, ideology according to Meenakshi Thapan (1991) is about changing the existing conditions through a ‘positive’ action. It has been about ‘ideas, values and social transformation.’ It is about a ‘vision.’ An ideology has been about morality, and has the ability to change ‘social institutions and processes.’ Education in itself has been described as a social process. It has been about formal education coupled with ideology and the environment. Another process has been the ‘pedagogic process’ which was to be seen in the context of ‘knowledge,

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<sup>543</sup>Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition*, Delhi: Orient Longman,2004, p.185.

<sup>544</sup>Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition*, Delhi: Orient Longman,2004, p.189.

thought, values' and behaviour.<sup>545</sup> Furthermore, Thapan (1991) believes that the educational institutions do not exist in isolation. It has been about 'society' acting on people and 'institutions' through various 'agencies.' The interplay of ideology and education has to be thus examined.<sup>546</sup> Therefore, we need to look at the predominant ideas and ideology to get a sense of what was happening at St. Stephen's College, Delhi.

Mukarji's term as Principal was the longest in the History of St. Stephen's College, Delhi. It is marked with fullness of 'development and change.' Amidst all these tribulations, Mukarji stood strong as the head of the institution. Another important transformation, was the new College Building at the current site, in the Ridge Area. David Baker argued that S.N. Mukarji ensured that the funds from England and the Government were utilized properly and the foundation stone was laid by Andrews on 31 March 1939. Mukarji got involved in the design of the building, which was the work of Walter George. In 1941, the college was 'opened in unfinished buildings.'<sup>547</sup>

Ashok Jaitly (2006) has shown that Gandhi, Sarojini Naidu and Charles Freer Andrews (after his retirement) were some of the guests who visited St. Stephen's College during the period of Principal S.N. Mukarji in the 1930s. So, Mukarji, despite his faithfulness to the British Raj, could not limit the Nationalist wave for long. Gandhi had earlier complained that Mukarji did not invite him to College. This act of calling Gandhi in the 1930s may have been in response to the earlier complaint. Mukarji perhaps wanted to improve things between him and the nationalists in the later years and at the same time he wanted to be loyal to the government.

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<sup>545</sup>Meenakshi Thapan, *Life At School, An Ethnographic Study*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1991,p .9.

<sup>546</sup>Ibid.p.3.

<sup>547</sup>David Baker, 'St. Stephen's College,'1998, p. 85.

In the meantime, in August of 1942, a 'mass civil disobedience ' was launched under Gandhi with the 'Do or Die Speech.' Several Congress leaders were behind the bars. The Congress had made a 12 point programme including 'industrial strikes, holding up of railways and telegraphs.' It also consisted of action related to 'non- payment of taxes.' Moreover, 'parallel governments' were advocated. There were three phases identified with the Quit India Movement. Initially, it was an urban revolt, later it spread to the countryside and finally terrorism marked the movement, for instance, the secret radio service by Usha Mehta was an important feature.<sup>548</sup> The movement with Gandhi's fast on 10 February 1943, established Gandhi as the central figure of the movement.<sup>549</sup>

Despite Mukarji's close relations with the British Raj, students in St. Stephen's College became 'more volatile.' They did not pay attention to the Civil Disobedience Movement because of Mukarji's stand and the due to 'advice' given by the 'old students on the staff.' The students preferred a game of cricket than political strikes in the 1930s. But, in 1942, the college magazine explained that the students of St. Stephen's College, were 'upset and agitated.' The University campus was full of action with 'pamphlets', 'fasts', 'rumours' and 'deputations'. A 'section' of students accepted invitations from outside the college for action.<sup>550</sup>

There seems to be a debate on whether Mukarji was a Nationalist or not. C.J.G. Robinson (1945) has branded Mukarji as a Nationalist as he wanted India free.<sup>551</sup> This view clashed with the view presented by David Baker, who pointed out that Mukarji was very close to the British authorities. So, he curbed the nationalist activities in

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<sup>548</sup>Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition*, 2004, p.416.

<sup>549</sup>*Ibid.* p.423.

<sup>550</sup>David Baker, 'St. Stephen's College,' 1998, p.86.

<sup>551</sup>*The Stephanian*, Mukarji Memorial Number, October 1945, p.32.' Address by Rev. Canon C.J.G. Robinson.'

college. But Ashok Jaitley has also shown in his work that Nationalists like C.F. Andrews and Sarojini Naidu were also invited to the college during his period. Monk has explained that the students preferred a game of cricket rather than political strikes during Mukarji's era. Therefore, there is a debate whether Mukarji was a nationalist or not. It may be argued that Mukarji was not untouched by the nationalist fervour. But he did not want to come out openly in favour of the nationalists because he wanted concessions and favours for the college. He perhaps placed the college above the nationalist tide. This is how he managed to shift the College to its current premises.

### **III. Shift of the Building from Kashmere Gate and Construction of Buildings and Infrastructure in St. Stephen's College, Delhi**

It may be argued that St. Stephen's College was set up in the new site in 1939. Therefore, Principal Mukarji came up with a statement where he admired the contribution of Westcott in showing respect to the Eastern Religions. He observed the contribution of Samuel Scott Allnutt in dedicating his life to Delhi, who was followed by J.W.T Wright and Hibbert Ware as the successive Principals. Mukarji (1939) also examined the Principalship of S.K. Rudra. According to Mukarji(1939) Rudra was the first Indian Principal of a high -grade Christian college in India. Rudra enjoyed great success.<sup>552</sup> Like other Principals Mukarji also upheld the traditions of the College by throwing light on the contributions of others.

Mukarji (1939) elaborated on the shifting of St. Stephen's College to the present site. In fact it was in line with the 'Federal University ' and its 'constituent colleges.' Mukarji (1939) argued that no college could consider itself as a supreme unit of 'instruction.' Further, he acknowledged the work of R.N. Mathur in helping in the

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<sup>552</sup>*The Stephanian*, Vol. XXXII, June 1939, No.1, St. Stephen's College, Delhi,p.6, 'Statement by Principal S.N. Mukarji.'

establishment of Allnutt Hostel. This was done by keeping the cost low. The new building in addition, aimed at providing accommodation for all the members of the 'staff' and 'students' through the residence. According to Mukarji (1939) there was also a plan to provide mid -day meals which would ensure full participation of the members of St. Stephen's College.<sup>553</sup>

It may be recalled that 1939 was a period of great turmoil because the World War II had broken out.<sup>554</sup> Some of the teachers of St. Stephen's College went to the war front to fight the war. It was a sad time for St. Stephen's College as the collection for the building fund, as mentioned earlier, was disrupted.

K. C. Nag, Professor of Economics in College, noted that during Principal Mukarji's term, St. Stephen's moved from a corporate status to an official position. But one could not clearly say that it was due to change of site. It was found that the College was 'expanding.' However, the change in the site ushered in a few changes. As told to Maurice Gwyer, the nature of education underwent a transformation. Therefore, 'from connotation to denotation' , from 'intension to extension.' There was an overall shift to a very large area. At Kashmere Gate, things were more 'compact.' Later at the new site the college was 'spread out.' Also, the playing fields were earlier, located close to the college. Afterwards, the playing fields shifted to 'quite a distance' in the new, college premises. Moreover, as the numbers grew. It became tough for the Principal and staff to maintain a close rapport with the pupils. Consequently, the community became 'loose.'<sup>555</sup> It may be argued that with the acquisition of the new building, the College was spreading its wings.

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<sup>553</sup>Ibid.p.8

<sup>554</sup>Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition*, 2004,p. 411.

<sup>555</sup>*The Stephanian*, Annual 1962-63, p.10, Interview of Mr. K.C. Nag. by V.Sena, titled Mr.K.C Nag at Seventy, St. Stephen's through four decades, Vol.72, S.No. 189.

It may be summed up that the college changed its character as it moved to the present site around 1941-42. Something of the older spirit under Rudra disappeared as Mukarji became Principal. Mukarji helped to raise the college to new heights with an excellence in administration. But, the close bond between the Principal, Staff and Students was missing as the college became more scattered in the new college building. A business-like approach crept into the college. This obviously made the college efficient. But there was break in the earlier tradition of close relations between the staff and students. This was in sharp contrast to the times of Rudra.

Was Mukarji able to fulfil all his dreams concerning the college in his lifetime? According to Ram Behari (1945), the swimming tank remained an unrealised dream for Mukarji. Ram Kishore (1945) has additionally, talked about the college Chapel, more residential blocks and the swimming pool that could not be built by Mukarji during his era.<sup>556</sup> Prem Chand (1981) also argued 'that the whole project was going to cost about Rs.8 Lakhs and he was trying to collect the funds.'<sup>557</sup>

#### **IV. Admissions, Elitism and Excellence**

##### ***Student Admissions***

'This aptitude to attract, select and get the best out of an individual obviously paid off for instance, with excellent examination results, and made St. Stephen's College, the premier institution as the cliché has it.'<sup>558</sup> The admission policy of the students shows that high scorers were entertained usually.<sup>559</sup> Students generally sought residence or

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<sup>556</sup>*The Stephanian*, Mukarji Memorial Number, October 1945, p.12, 'Article by Ram Kishore.'

<sup>557</sup>*The Stephanian*, Harish Trivedi(ed.), Vol. XC, No. 1, College Centenary Issue, 1 February, 1981, St. Stephen's in Our Times, p.17, 'Article by Prem Chand.'

<sup>558</sup>Jaya's Blog, Confessions of an avid bibliophile, 'Remembering Principal Mukarji,' by Jaya Bhattacharji Rose, 02.01.2021, also in *The Stephanian*, Vol. CIII No.1 April 1995, St. Stephen's College, Delhi, p. 4.

<sup>559</sup>Correspondence between parents and Principal Mukarji in Admissions Residence, File No.2 AE, Subject Admissions, Residence, 1938-1939, 17 May 1939.



hostel facilities.<sup>560</sup> Kushwant Singh, who was a student in 1930-32, recalled that ‘in the College of over 500 students there were only three women. There were Sucheta Kriplani and Roma Sarkar doing their M.A.’s. And there was Indira Sarkar, a year senior to me. All the boys were in love with one or the other of these three.’<sup>561</sup>

I H Qureshi, whose student days were (1924-28) was really someone who actually went ahead and recalled his time of interview at St. Stephen’s College, Delhi. He talked about a three-year period when Qureshi was involved in political activity. He was asked by the acting Principal Mukarji how he would get back to studies after a life of political activity. Qureshi pointed out that he was clearly told that St. Stephen’s College, Delhi was actually a College set up by the Cambridge Mission and had most of its teachers English. Mukarji had been filling in place of F. F. Monk who had been away on leave. This goes to show that Mukarji had actually not been anti- nationalist as some circles believed. He admitted Qureshi into the College despite the latter’s affiliation with the Non- Cooperation Movement. Qureshi put forth that he was anti-British in his ideas and hence could not be changed by the English teachers. Also, Qureshi had applied to St. Stephen’s College, Delhi because of its good repute. Mukarji further questioned Qureshi whether he had any relatives from St. Stephen’s College, Delhi. Even though Qureshi’s answer was a no to the above question,<sup>562</sup> Mukarji judged in his favour. This goes to demonstrate that the authorities of St. Stephen’s College, went beyond narrow walls of thought and religion and admitted bright students, despite their political affiliations. No wonder the College was colonial and yet national. Mukarji was later asked later why Qureshi was preferred as a

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<sup>560</sup>Ibid.

<sup>561</sup>Aditya Bhattacharjea and Lola Chatterji(ed), *The Fiction of St. Stephen’s*, Delhi: Ravi Dayal Publisher,2000,p.Vi.

<sup>562</sup>*The Stephanian*, Harish Trivedi (ed). Vol.XC, No.1, College Centenary Issue, 1 February 1981,p.9, ‘Article by I. H.Qureshi.’

student? Out came the answer that Mukarji found Qureshi suitable because of his good academic background and because of the truthfulness in him. Qureshi also modelled the same behaviour later when he worked in Pakistan University. Moreover, he confessed that he owed his sense of identity to College. He declared that he became a member of the teaching staff due to his good track record as a student of the College.<sup>563</sup>

### *Academic Transactions*

Kushwant Singh (2000) also recollected that the teachers and students in the 1930s had helped transform Singh's mind. Among the teachers was K.M. Sarkar, the brother of the Sarkar sisters, who taught them Bible studies. Singh (2000) found it a great piece of literature and a source of inspiration for his writing. 'Another thing that St. Stephen's gave me was a consciousness of what is right and what is wrong. It did not come through sermons on morality, it was there in the atmosphere that pervaded the campus: you imbibed it, like inhaling fresh air.'<sup>564</sup>

C.B. Young (1945) has explained that S.N. Mukarji was an accomplished teacher. He took a keen interest in all his students. This is the reason why he has been fondly remembered by 'every Old Stephanian.'<sup>565</sup> David Baker (1998) argued that the students during his era were the children of Government servants. In other words, children of bureaucrats were taken in during Mukarji's time, which gave the college an elitist hue. Mukarji was himself Cambridge returned. So, he brought in the culture of Cambridge which was favouring the British rule in India. This was also based on excellence in academics and co-curriculars. He was a mediator between Britain and

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<sup>563</sup>Ibid.p.10.

<sup>564</sup>Aditya Bhattacharjea and Lola Chatterji(ed), *The Fiction of St. Stephen's*, Delhi: Ravi Dayal Publisher,2000,p.VII.

<sup>565</sup>*The Stephanian*, Mukarji Memorial Number, October 1945,p.8,'Article by C. B. Young.'

India. As he wanted the students to focus on Education and get the best out of Britain for India, as he realized that St. Stephen's College was dependent on Government funds. He tried to strike a neat balance between Indian needs and British demands.

Mukarji, according to Hilda M. Gould(1945) also loved flowers.<sup>566</sup> C.J.G. Robinson (1945) also has discussed how Mukarji was particular about the environment. As he had inherited the Cambridge value that a beautiful ambience helped shape 'character.'<sup>567</sup> No wonder St. Stephen's is lush green to this day.

### ***Teacher Recruitment***

The teachers of the College were also taught about the need for personal contact with students.<sup>568</sup> Several of the teachers were the Alumni of the College.<sup>569</sup> It also appeared that Mrs. Mukarji was popular with the women students at the time as reported by the letters exchanged between Sully, The Principal of St. John's College, Agra and Principal Mukarji.<sup>570</sup> H.M. Close replaced Dr. Percy Spears as Probationer on the Staff. Spears had gone abroad for a fellowship of two years. Teachers were encouraged to study during Mukarji's era.<sup>571</sup> 'A copy of regulations for the Missionary Professional Staff was enclosed' for Close by Principal Mukarji.<sup>572</sup> Moreover Duli was asked to replace Spears in the History department.<sup>573</sup> Mukarji also wrote to Seeley of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi- S.P.G. London regarding finding replacement of Spears.<sup>574</sup> This showed that finding teachers was a centralised exercise for the College. Seeley, one of the Cambridge missionaries, was asked by

<sup>566</sup>*The Stephanian*, Mukarji Memorial Number, October 1945,p.15,'Article by Hilda M. Gould.'

<sup>567</sup>*The Stephanian*, Mukarji Memorial Number, October 1945,p.31,'Address by Rev. Canon C. J. G. Robinson.'

<sup>568</sup>H.B. Richardson Esqr.17, File No. 1224,1935, 3 July, Delhi.

<sup>569</sup>S. Dass Gupta Esqr.17,02.05.1938.

<sup>570</sup>Keith Tom Esqr.17,12.11.1937.

<sup>571</sup>Substitute for Dr. Spear's place,17, no.1850,23 October 1937, Delhi.

<sup>572</sup>Substitute for Dr. Spear's place,17,no.1841, 23 October nd.,Delhi.

<sup>573</sup>Substitute for Dr. Spear's place,17,no. 713, 21 June 1937, Delhi.

<sup>574</sup>Substitute for Dr. Spear's place,17,no. 674, 18 June 1937, Delhi.

Mukarji to look for certain type of teachers to fill in for Spears. Mukarji wrote in 1937, 'If a young Don keen on the work of the Cambridge Mission would come out and fill Percy Spear's place it will suit us ideally. Feeling this, we shall be willing to consider a man who has done the History tripos or has secured at least a good II Class.'<sup>575</sup> There was additionally, the case of S.K. Datta who was being considered for the English post. Mukarji wrote 'we would very much like to engage a Christian provided he is at least a II class M.A. and possess a personality worthy of Christian College.'<sup>576</sup>

The teachers in the Mukarji era were encouraged to take study leave. One such teacher was K.M. Sarkar who had completed seven years of service to the College and was pursuing a PhD degree in History from Cambridge.<sup>577</sup> Teachers from other faiths were also considered for teaching in College. There was the case of Dorab, a Parsee who had a M A (Masters of Arts) degree and had good character, who was being considered by Frelden, a Cambridge official.<sup>578</sup>

Mukarji reported that 'the year is marked by an unusual number of changes in the Staff. We sustained a heavy loss in the departure of Mr. and Mrs. Sharp who for the sake of their children's education were compelled to return to England. They had endeared themselves to the Staff and to the students by a life full of love and sympathy. As teacher of English, Mr. Sharp's experience was invaluable but it is more from the point of view of what he did for the general life of the College, particularly in building up the activities of the Social Service League and in Scouting, that we shall remember the services rendered by him. He had succeeded in a

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<sup>575</sup>Ibid.

<sup>576</sup>Substitute for Lecturer in place of Mr. Anand, Correspondence with Mr. Frelden, re- Mr. Datta, no. 727, 17, 6 February 1932, Delhi.

<sup>577</sup>K.M.Sarkar Esqr, Study Leave File, 17, 6 February 1932, Delhi.

<sup>578</sup>Substitute for Lecturer in place of Mr. Anand, Correspondence with Mr. Frelden, re- Mr. Datta, no. 727, 17, 6 February 1932, Delhi.

remarkable manner in establishing contacts with students which gave him a chance of getting into close personal touch with them.<sup>579</sup> Giti Chandra, a teacher from contemporary times, also wrote in 2015-2016, 'there was a kind of trust that was fostered between faculty and students-not always, not by everyone, of course-but enough so that we recognised it when we saw it and valued it.'<sup>580</sup>

## **V. Support to the Corporate life of the College and Relations with Students (Life in the College)**

### *Avenues for Co-Curricular Engagements*

While the nation was immersed in the Civil Disobedience Movement, Mukarji took a deep interest in the life of St. Stephen's College. He encouraged the Games, especially Cricket. He also breathed life into the various societies and kept the Hostel life going. Even when he was busy, Mukarji attended the events at St. Stephen's College. He took an active interest in the overall life of the College including Games. According to Mukarji, Games refreshed the mind after a tiring day.<sup>581</sup>

Mukarji (1939) pointed to the visit of Lord Irwin in 1929. Irwin further showed that 'character' with 'sound learning' was vital. Furthermore, Mukarji supported the 'corporate life' of St. Stephen's College with its numerous 'clubs', 'societies' and 'hostel life.' Moreover, Andrews was known for his service in India and the world-over.<sup>582</sup> This support to the above activities showed that Mukarji had learnt from the life of Andrews. For instance, Mukarji had continued the tradition of secularism in the College.

<sup>579</sup>File No. EPR 1926, Education Annual Report, Subject: Principal's Report (S.N.Mukarji), 1926-1927, Contents: Principal's Annual Report at Dismissal.

<sup>580</sup>*The Stephanian*, Dr. Bikram Phookan (ed).Vol. CXXIII, October 2015,Volume CXXXIV,October 2016, St. Stephen's College, Delhi,p.33, 'A Kind of Excellence' by Giti Chandra.

<sup>581</sup>*The Stephanian*, Mukarji Memorial Number, October 1945,p.22,'Article by Ram Behari.'

<sup>582</sup>*The Stephanian*, Vol.XXXII, June 1939, No. 1, St. Stephen's College, Delhi, p.9, 'Statement by Principal S. N. Mukarji.'

### *Teacher-Student Relations*

It is interesting to study the views on Mukarji and the college through the perspective of Kashav Chandra Nag, a teacher at St. Stephen's College, Delhi, who served from 1921 to 1958, for a very long time. Nag was extremely devoted to college, he served with a greater level of 'zeal' and 'loyalty.' Nag was well-known in College and University for being an exemplary teacher of Economics. He was known for his 'personal qualities' and teaching skills. Moreover, Nag put 'personal loyalties and service' ahead of worldly comforts. He resisted joining the 'Government and University service' and stuck diligently to his teaching job at St. Stephen's College, Delhi because he was impressed with Principal Rudra. Principal Rudra was followed by Principal F.F. Monk who was highly honoured by Nag.<sup>583</sup> This biography of a teacher has shown us the kind of teachers that were coming up in College.

However, it may be argued that Mukarji wanted to have close relations with his learners. He insisted on written work.<sup>584</sup> Even in his classes he took keen interest in the students and would ask his pupils to come at the board and solve problems. In fact, C.J.G. Robinson (1945) has described the college as an 'extension of his family.' Additionally, he did not want the college to be too large. He wanted the learners to have a close interaction with the teachers. So, he advocated the tutorial system, which led C.J. G. Robinson (1945) to call the college a great 'big family.'<sup>585</sup> Hilda M. Gould (1945) has also critically examined how Mukarji kept his home open and hospitable to all. Sometimes, even a meal was shared with outsiders. Also, S.N. as he is lovingly called, had a family consisting of a wife Mary and the boys. They were warm and

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<sup>583</sup>*The Stephanian*, Annual 1962-63, p.8, 'Interview of Mr. K. C. Nag, By V. Sena, titled Mr. K.C. Nag at Seventy, St. Stephen's through four decades,' Vol.72, S.No.189.

<sup>584</sup>*The Stephanian*, Mukarji Memorial Number, October 1945, p.22, 'Article by Ram Behari.'

<sup>585</sup>*The Stephanian*, Mukarji Memorial Number, October 1945,p.30, 'Address by Rev. Canon C.J. G. Robinson.'

prayerful and made the guests feel at home. The entire family participated to make the guest comfortable.<sup>586</sup> Such was the character of the college he built.

During Principal Mukarji's period in 1926, a Muslim pupil was baptised. There was trouble that was feared. But nothing happened. It may be argued 'private judgement and personal conviction in religious matters are now respected, and that is an immense step.'<sup>587</sup> There was a transformation in the educated sections, people had a desire for God. According to Duncan Jones, the Chairman of the London Committee, there was need in education to have a religious moulding to groom people of Character who would fill up public service posts.<sup>588</sup> There were secular aspects as well. There was a great deal of union between different communities. Moreover, games, hostel life, daily prayers, Bible reading and Scriptures<sup>589</sup> ensured this sense of community. The motto was '*to the glory of God.*'<sup>590</sup> So, religion could not be sidelined at the same time.

The Bournemouth Graphic (1934) further reported, 'The Principal is an Indian Christian and a Cambridge Wrangler. The whole staff loved and trusted him and worked under him most harmoniously. The non- Christians took their share in the control of the administration, and race consciousness was negligible. Between the staff and students also there was real comradeship. After 18 months' absence I still get long letters from several of my old pupils which I greatly appreciate.'<sup>591</sup> This was reported by N. S.I. This was contrary to what David Baker (1998) pointed out.

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<sup>586</sup>*The Stephanian*, Mukarji Memorial Number, October 1945,p.14,'Article by Hilda M. Gould.'

<sup>587</sup>*Delhi Mission News Quarterly*, The Farewell to Principal and Mrs.Mukarji, By Duncan Jones,Vol.XII,No.1,January 1928, Delhi,p.6.

<sup>588</sup> Ibid.p.5.

<sup>589</sup>Ibid.

<sup>590</sup>Ibid.

<sup>591</sup>*Bournemouth Graphic*, British Newspaper Archive, 'St. Stephen's Delhi,' By N.S.I.,Saturday, 25 July,1936, Somerset,England,p.20.

According to Baker (1998) there was some gap in the relations between the staff and students of the College during Mukarji's era because he was very strict.

Evangelism remained one of the aims of the College, although not the primary aim. Mr. Mukarji said 'of 300 students at the College, 260 were non-Christian, and their aim was to bring the message of Jesus Christ to them, so that, ultimately, they might acknowledge Him. The English and Indian Christians worked hand in hand, and on terms of equality.'<sup>592</sup> Some of the secular concerns were residential facilities like 'Oxford or Cambridge.'<sup>593</sup> The Chapel was also envisioned around this time with '200 worshippers.'<sup>594</sup>

Principal Mukarji's wife was also involved in making College homelier for the students. Her own children were in harmony with children from other communities. Even women desired education for themselves.<sup>595</sup> For that matter even in schools there was great harmony between different communities.<sup>596</sup> Mukarji's era was about mixing religion with secularism.

Mukarji was deeply sensitive to the missionaries of the city. He argued that there was reduction in their numbers. As a result, even, the Christian students of the College once they passed out were reportedly persecuted. Hence, he wanted a strong Indian church which would have its own individuality. Although, Mukarji as discussed by David Baker (1998) was close to the British, he wanted a Church which would not just copy the English.<sup>597</sup> Therefore, some elements of the Indianization were present

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<sup>592</sup>*Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, British Newspaper Archive, 'Missionary from Delhi,' by S.N. Mukarji, Saturday, 25 July 1936, Somerset, England, p.20.

<sup>593</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>594</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>595</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>596</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>597</sup>*Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, Somerset England, Saturday 25 June 1938, p.18, 'Visitor from Delhi' by S.N. Mukarji.



under Principal Mukarji. Even nationalism was not absent. 'In the summer of 1930 the Nationalist Society was set up to meet the heartfelt desire of the students to express their nationalistic feelings.' Moreover, its members took a pledge to support the swadeshi movement. Percival Spear, the British and European History teacher at the College gave the members of the above society a talk on the 'difference between non- violence and coercion.'<sup>598</sup>

Coming to the personality of Mukarji, 'in spite of his great ability, Mr. Mukarji was child-like in trusting others. It is surprising how he would again and again trust men who were suspected by others, and when his friends pointed out the danger in reposing any confidence in such men, he would always say simply, 'When he says such a thing, how can I disbelieve him?' He was seldom suspicious of others, and whenever there was an opportunity of compromise or cooperation, he would not let it go.'<sup>599</sup>

'It was because the college must be a home that he wanted most of the students to live in college; it was for that reason that they must all dine together; it was for this purpose that he was peculiarly intolerant of the formation of small groups, even of the organization of students on the basis of the blocks in which they lived. A man like that could not brook indiscipline, he would be deeply concerned indeed if difference of opinion inside the college led to quarrels or bad feelings. It was characteristic of him that he would not even permit any frivolity on the subject of marriage. He lost temper when a College Society wanted to have a debate on the frivolous motion that in the opinion of this House marriage is a ladder leading to disaster. Matrimony as the basis of the family, an institution so dear and sacred to his heart, could not be

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<sup>598</sup>Percival and Margaret Spear, *India Remembered*, New Delhi: Orient Blackswan Private Limited, 2010, p. XIII.

<sup>599</sup>*The Stephanian*, Mukarji Memorial Number, October, 1945, p. 8, 'Article by C. B. Young.'

permitted to be this kind of respect that he wanted to create in the hearts of his students for the alma mater. And he succeeded, because great is the love in which St. Stephen's is held by its alumni.'<sup>600</sup> Mukarji was blessed with 'unfailing cheerfulness-even in times of utmost stress he always came up smiling-his warm and loyal affection and ready helpfulness, his ardent belief in the College, its ideals and traditions, and his devotion to the cause of Christ.'<sup>601</sup>

### ***Principal -Staff-Student Relations***

Mukarji was someone who fit into many roles. Ram Kishore (1945) has argued that he was the Bursar and the President of Games. He had replaced Monk because of his efficiency as Acting Principal and as someone who handled the University issues well. He added reputation to the College.<sup>602</sup>

'Principal Mukarji was unable to stand indiscipline in students or staff. He had absolutely no hesitation in rustivating students. One such person recollected years later how he was summoned to the office of S.N. who said, Mend your ways or end your days here. He may have said this to more than one student, or perhaps several claim he said it to them, because it is a familiar story in at least one other family. At any rate the presence of Mr. Mukarji was enough to silence the noisiest bunch of students, even when they were from some other college.'<sup>603</sup>

Another source informed us that 'another college held a major function to which Mr. Mukarji was invited.'<sup>604</sup> 'The students of that College were not just restless, they

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<sup>600</sup>Ibid.p.39.

<sup>601</sup>Ibid.p.10.

<sup>602</sup>Jaya's Blog, Confessions of an avid bibliophile, 'Remembering Principal Mukarji,' by Jaya Bhattacharji Rose, 02.01.2021, also in The Stephanian, Vol. CIII No.1 April 1995, St. Stephen's College, Delhi, p3.

<sup>603</sup>Ibid.

<sup>604</sup>Ibid.

were so rowdy that the festivities could not start. The host Principal pleaded with his students to calm down but they would not. Finally, Mr. Mukarji came to the front of the dais. That's all he did, but there was instant silence. The show got off the ground and finished without further interruptions. Mr. Mukarji, like all sensible people did not mind harmless pranks by students, a few of whom say they got into the army on the strength of his recommendations.'<sup>605</sup>

Therefore, it may be argued that Mukarji was a no-nonsense Principal. He was someone who kept the decorum of the College with his strict discipline. He not only told what students were to do, but, he also took care of the behaviour of the staff. 'Principal Mukarji's obvious annoyance with the indiscipline in the staff can be gauged by a sheet of paper I have. It has a couple of points jotted down for a speech to be made in the dining – hall:' Principal Mukarji had written-

'We had to build up traditions about the dining hall. They do not exist.

As members of the staff, they are not expected merely to deliver their lectures. They are expected merely to deliver their lectures. They are expected to take their due share in the corporate life of the College and are expected to attend dinners on guest nights.

Bad manners if they do not turn up when guests come. If for some reasons they are not able to do so, they must take leave from the Principal.

We have got the plant, we must use it in the right way.'<sup>606</sup>

This goes to show that Mukarji did make hard choices which were not always popular. Moreover, he cared more for the institution over the individual. The Collective good was very important to him. No wonder his principalship was the

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<sup>605</sup>Ibid.

<sup>606</sup>Ibid.

longest in the History of the College. He believed in the sense of community which why he paid importance to the College inter-dining.

‘S.N. Mukarji continued to teach while he was Principal and was a good lecturer, if a sometimes uncomfortable one. He had the uncanny knack of being able to pick out a student who had not done his homework. He would throw a piece of chalk at the boy and ask him to come to the blackboard and explain a problem, and obviously the boy would not know how to solve it.’<sup>607</sup>

‘Principal Mukarji was known to hold tutorial classes at his residence at 7 am even in Winter. Recalcitrant students would be punished with his icy fingers on their necks, literally sending shivers down their spines. Mrs. Mukarji’s coffee, always served at these tutorials, would bring them back to life! Dr Ram Behari, a younger contemporary of Mr. Mukarji and also a legendary teacher of Maths, inherited Principal Mukarji’s maths notes. When Dr Ram Behari retired he couldn’t bear to throw away these notes. So, he presented the neatly written sheets of paper to one of the Mukarji sons. There were about half a dozen piles, each two feet high.’<sup>608</sup>

Contrary, to what David Baker (1998) said about Mukarji’s era, that close relations between the staff and students declined.<sup>609</sup> Ram Behari (1945) has shown that Mukarji was blessed with a sharp memory that he could recall old students. Moreover, he gave personal attention to his pupils even, if it pained his wallet. As teacher he was

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<sup>607</sup>Jaya’s Blog, Confessions of an avid bibliophile, ‘Remembering Principal Mukarji,’ by Jaya Bhattacharji Rose, 02.01.2021, also in The Stephanian, Vol. CIII No.1 April 1995, St. Stephen’s College, Delhi,p3.

<sup>608</sup>Ibid.p.4.

<sup>609</sup>David Baker ‘St. Stephen’s College’1998,p.84.

particular about 'written work' and the tutorial system.<sup>610</sup> Mukarji was seen participating in games.

## VI. Experience of Women Students

Prem Chand (1981) one of the old students at the College, who studied Economics in College during 1928-1932, recalled 'Mr. Mukarji was very methodical in running the College and never interfered in the things he had entrusted to us. He narrates an instance: 'Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali with another lady had come to see the Principal one afternoon. He was at the playing fields: so they went there and asked him if he would kindly lend the College hall for an evening for a performance to be organized by the All- India Women's Conference.'<sup>611</sup>

The All-India Women's Conference (AIWC) was allowed to perform finally at St. Stephen's College, Delhi. This was because Mukarji's era was lined with interest in Women's Education. It may be argued that the All-India Women's Conference was about educational reform and issues crucial to women and children and 'humanity at large.'<sup>612</sup>

Mr. Mukarji's achievement also lay in 'his initiative that the governing Body of the College instituted the system of study leave for the Indian staff of over seven years' service to the College. The first to avail of this opportunity was Maulvi Abdur Rahman, Head of the Department of Arabic.'<sup>613</sup> 'The other member of the staff to take

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<sup>610</sup>*The Stephanian*, Mukarji Memorial Number, October 1945, p.22, 'Article by Ram Behari.'

<sup>611</sup>*The Stephanian*, Harish Trivedi (ed)., Vol.XC, No.1, College Centenary Issue, 1 February, 1981, St. Stephen's in Our Times, p.16, 'Article by Prem Chand.'

<sup>612</sup>R.K. Sharma, *Nationalism, Social Reform and Indian Women*, New Delhi: Janaki Prakash: Patna, 1981, p.113-114.

<sup>613</sup>*The Stephanian*, Harish Trivedi (ed). Vol.XC, No.1, College Centenary Issue, 1 February, 1981, St. Stephen's in Our Times, p.16, 'Article by Prem Chand.'

advantage of this facility while I was in College, was Mr. Azhar Ali who taught Persian' according to Prem Chand (1981).<sup>614</sup>

By Mukarji's time period, women students had started to be inducted, starting from 1928, as shown by Ashok Jaitly(2006) There was a section in *Stephanian* that actually recounted the experiences of these women students. It was called Ladies Corner. The Ladies Corner of the *Stephanian* reported 'The most difficult task for us, lady-students, is to make a review of past events of the College in which we have played more or less the part of spectators! This I must admit is no way surprising for the College consists of some hundreds of students of whom we girls form but a small minority.'<sup>615</sup> This was a major challenge for the College because although women in the twentieth century were coming out in the open. They played a minor role in the overall life of the College.

N.S. Beckaya (1937), a woman student, wrote, 'we are obliged to limit the scope of our activities to the Ladies Corner. This corner is a small room-say, about 10 feet by 5 feet. Its space is occupied by two enormous cup-boards, fitted with mirrors.' Furthermore, 'Now since Shakespeare is said to be a good authority of human character, who delved deep down into the recesses of the human soul, I should like to quote him on the matter. He said of woman, *Frailty, thy name is woman*, but I do not remember his ever having said, *Vanity thy name is woman*.' She then asks, 'Why, therefore, these cup-boards and mirrors? These take up at least half of the room! The rest of the space is most generously blessed with chairs and tables. These tragedies finally come to a climax by the discovery that the room is attached to the Principal's

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<sup>614</sup>*Ibid.*p.17.

<sup>615</sup>*The Stephanian* Vol.29, April 1937, No.4, St. Stephen's College, Delhi,p.59, 'The Ladies Corner' by N.S. Breckaya.

Bungalow.’ So, women students were given special attention by the College as they were of a unique disposition and few in number.

Further she inquired, ‘Is it any wonder we so often look pale and cramped by the time. The day’s work is done?’<sup>616</sup> In other words the women students were imagined to be vain and they were evidently struggling for their own space in the mid-twentieth century. They knew they were a minority hence, they had a limited voice. Perhaps, just penning their ideas from *The Stephanian* from the Ladies Corner, explaining their struggles and their plight as the minority voice at St. Stephen’s College, Delhi was another side to their story.

N.S. Beckaya (1937) pointed out that ‘Lastly, we would like to record, the achievement of one of our own members-Kailash Kashyap- who won the General Proficiency Prize in the IV Year and secured 65% marks. She is the first Lady student to have done so. We hope many others will try to emulate her example.’<sup>617</sup> This performance in Academics of Kailash Kashyap proved that women put their effort despite being side-lined, owing to the prevailing circumstances. It may be argued that women were educated so that they could be better marriage partners. Education was not for the purpose of career advancement. N.S. Beckaya further (1937) argued ‘Miss Kashyap has recently got married. It is not a far cry, it seems, from the theoretical economics of the Class Room to the practical, domestic economics of everyday life. The intricacies of exchange and the problems of marginal utility will now become live issues for her. Even though she exchanges the needle for the pen, we hope her fingers will not lose their natural skill. We wish her every happiness.’<sup>618</sup>

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<sup>616</sup>Ibid.

<sup>617</sup>Ibid.p.60.

<sup>618</sup>Ibid.

Despite the drawbacks in the education system that College had to offer, Women were performing well and, according to N.S. Beckaya(1937) were emerging out of the Purdah. Also, through their correspondent they would update everyone of their condition and allow one to get the 'benefit of their impressions of college life.'<sup>619</sup> So, women were trying to represent themselves through their own agency. It may be argued that women at St. Stephen's College were being given the opportunity to study and express themselves. But they were struggling to get their sense of space and freedom. They were doing reasonably well, coming out of seclusion, nonetheless they remained a lone voice striving for recognition. Even after completing studies at St. Stephen's College, women were not exactly going for higher studies or pursuing a career. They were settling into domesticity into married life.

N.S. Beckaya (1937) wrote 'the prophecies regarding the result of the Test Examinations have not proved as dreadful as had been anticipated. We seem to have come out unscathed from its terrors, and now enjoy the more dignified position as IV year students.'<sup>620</sup> Moreover, 'Dreams of promise were once more ours. Fear and bitterness had given way to new hopes, new ideas and new ambitions, but the terrific heat on our return seems to have deprived us even of this visionary glory which we had hoped to share in the new term. Spring has gone...dreams have faded, and we have naught to sooth our suffering souls or cheer our unhappy lot-except, perhaps, occasional glasses of ice cream soda with plenty of ice. Rather a dreary existence.'<sup>621</sup> In other words the women students had a mixed bag of experiences, both good and bad. They had described themselves as an unhappy lot. Even though women had

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<sup>619</sup>Ibid.

<sup>620</sup>*The Stephanian*, Vol.30, No.I, June 1937, St. Stephen's College, Delhi p. 35, 'Ladies Corner' by N.S. Breckaya.

<sup>621</sup>Ibid.p.36.



succeeded at the examinations but they had their own woes. They perhaps wanted absolute equality with the men students. Women had their own aspirations.

N.S. Beckaya (1937) also recalled ‘Miss Shanta who did her M.A. in that subject this year has preferred to apply her knowledge to the domestic activities of her new home, instead of the lecture rooms and examination papers. We wish her every happiness.’<sup>622</sup> This lady student had also settled for matrimony after doing Economics. There was of course the call to marriage and the need to emerge out of the purdah.<sup>623</sup> Apart from this, women students were active in various activities. ‘Some of us are taking active part in the Social Service League: Miss Thakurdas is a member of the Reading Room Committee: Miss Uma Banerjee has been co-opted to the cabinet of the Criterion Club. What is more, some of our members have even tried to write articles for the magazine in spite of the hot weather. Perhaps, some-day the Stephanian will be inundated with the literary products emanating from this tiny Ladies Room.’<sup>624</sup>

### **Admission of Women Students- A Successful Step**

Ashok Jaitly (2006) argued that ‘it seems that lady students were first taken into the intermediate class in the late 1920s and did well right from the start. The Stephanian of July 1928, in one remote sentence, records the achievement of Miss Roma Sarkar who obtained a first division in the F.A. Pass and also won a university scholarship. The versatile young lady, along with Miss Sen, entertained the gathering to Bengali songs at the College dinner in 1930 which was inaugurated to encourage inter-dining.

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<sup>622</sup>Ibid.

<sup>623</sup>Ibid.

<sup>624</sup>Ibid.

Roma Sarkar also contributed to the Ladies Corner in the June 1932 issue of *Stephanian*.<sup>625</sup>

‘Apart from this brief interlude, the participation of women in the life of the College finds little mention. Even Monk’s otherwise meticulous history only contains a grudging footnote about the inclusion of women students.... who are mainly confined to the Honours and M.A. Courses but on more than one occasion have not only topped the lists but created records in the number of marks obtained. Sucheta Kriplani was one of the eminent toppers of 1930 and Usha Rani Malik was declared the best College debater in 1939.’<sup>626</sup>. This was put forth by Jaitly(2006).

Ashok Jaitly (2006) further argues, ‘It was only in the 1940s that women were taken in larger numbers into the undergraduate classes and also allotted a common room by the side of the Hall.’ Finally, ‘then all of a sudden and apparently for no plausible reason. St. Stephen’s closed its doors to women in 1949 after Miranda House was founded by Sir Maurice Gwyer, and for the next quarter century, St. Stephen’s reverted to its all –male status.’<sup>627</sup>

Jaya Bhattacharji (1995) the relative of Mukarji, his great grand daughter has shown, ‘Principal Mukarji had wanted not merely more women students in the College but also a women’s residence which was included in the original blue-prints for the present College premises. The women’s residence was to be constructed on what was till very recently the dhobi ghat and where we now have a football field.’<sup>628</sup> It may be

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<sup>625</sup> Ashok Jaitly, *St. Stephen’s College, A History*, New Delhi: Roli Books, 2006, p.54.

<sup>626</sup> Ibid.

<sup>627</sup> Ibid, p.55

<sup>628</sup> Jaya’s Blog, Confessions of an avid bibliophile, ‘Remembering Principal Mukarji,’ by Jaya Bhattacharji Rose, 02.01.2021, also in *The Stephanian*, Vol. CIII No.1 April 1995, St. Stephen’s College, Delhi, p5.

argued' Perhaps, half a century after his death, we could remember Principal Mukarji by starting the process for a women residence.'<sup>629</sup>

## **VII. Secular Nature of the College**

S. N. Mukarji observed that the 'first year class is drawn mostly from Schools where there has been either no religious instruction or instruction based on other faiths. The earlier part of the course therefore is intended to arouse in them a sense of need for true religion and religious instruction.'<sup>630</sup> Moreover 'discussion on controversial subjects is avoided in class nor is any attempt made to point out the superiority of the religion of Christ. One aim is to make real to the students the personality of Jesus and to bring them face to face with Him in the hope that He will Himself by the beauty of this character compel their attention.'<sup>631</sup> It was observed in Monk's period also that 'Mr. Sen's religious lectures on the Fundamental Ideas of Religion will be at 5p.m. in the College.'<sup>632</sup>

Further, N.K. Sen wrote to the Principal about the above lectures that he conducted. 'The lectures were open to the members of the University and I had few outsiders in my class.'<sup>633</sup> The subject of discussion was from a wide range of topics. 'The meaning and value of spiritual life; religious life as distinguished from intellectual, artistic and moral life; Personality, human and divine; value of personal life; religious experiences; mysticism- eastern and western; the three maagas as (ways)- Inan (knowledge), bhakti (religious emotions) and Karma (work or service); distinguishing features of the chief religions of India- Hinduism, Islam, Jainism, Buddhism and

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<sup>629</sup>Ibid.

<sup>630</sup>File No. CAI, SC1, College Government, Subject: Supreme Council, Date 1913-1924, Contents: Supreme Council Reports on Teaching, Religious Instruction etc.

<sup>631</sup>Ibid.

<sup>632</sup>Ibid.

<sup>633</sup>Ibid.

Christianity, love-sentimentalism and service; the doctrine of conservation of values; religious values chiefly personal. The daily attendance was fairly satisfactory-the average number being about 12. The lectures were generally followed by a discussion.’<sup>634</sup>

The College despite its secular nature stressed on religious teaching. Mukarji for instance wrote to Walters about religious teaching.’<sup>635</sup> We would welcome any help that you can give us in religious teaching.’<sup>636</sup> Also, Mukarji invited Walters to meet with his eldest son in Queens’. Mukarji wrote ‘If you happen to go up to Cambridge you might look him up and learn from him something of St. Stephen’s.’<sup>637</sup> This also showed that the alumni of the College were important to the life of the College.

‘The old students’ Re-union was last held in December 1940. The College moved to its New Buildings in October of 1941, and it was then hoped that the annual Reunion could be synchronized with the formal opening ceremony of the New Buildings as soon as the Chapel was built. Re-union was postponed to sometime in 1942. Unfortunately, it was found later that the Chapel cannot be built now for some time, and so the committee of old students has decided to start the Re-union again beginning with a function on 27<sup>th</sup> March 1943.’<sup>638</sup> Furthermore, ‘it was decided to curtail the programme, for this year at any rate, and to have only an afternoon party in the Garden of the new College. This would give an opportunity to Old Students not

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<sup>634</sup>Ibid.

<sup>635</sup>Rev. D.N.I. Walters, No.2610, St. Stephen’s College, Delhi, 14 April 1938.

<sup>636</sup>Ibid.

<sup>637</sup>Ibid.

<sup>638</sup>File No BC-5, Old Students Re- Union, Subject, Re-union, 27 March 1943, (last held 1940), Contents : Notices, Invitations to Reunion, St. Stephen’s College, Delhi, 20 March 1943.

only to meet each other but also to see the New Buildings of the College.’<sup>639</sup> The Old Students had to pay a small amount towards the arrangement costs of the function.

On the personal and professional front, Mukarji was a secular man at heart. He did not believe in narrow communal ties. In spite of being a Bengali, he married the daughter of a Punjabi Christian, Chandu Lall. Also, as mentioned before, the St. Stephen's Annual Dinner broke 'every communal barrier' in the words of C.B. Young (1945). This has been reiterated by David Baker (1998). In these dinner functions, most of the members of the college sat down and ate irrespective of caste, community and race. 'At the end of the meal a programme of entertainment followed in which members of the staff participated along with the students. This added a great charm to the life of the College.’<sup>640</sup> Another feature was the a dinner for the workers of the college during Christmas time. Here, the staff waited on the workers of the college 'who normally served them' and Christian message was delivered verbally.<sup>641</sup> Hence, the Christian message of love was shown in action as well.

Prem Chand (1981) an old student looked back, 'Mr. And Mrs. Mukarji showed a great interest in all the activities of the College but especially in the dramatic performances, put up by the students. It was their usual practice to invite all the actors and helpers of the Shakespeare Society to dinner at their house after the last performance of the play. This function was a great occasion for us and we always looked forward to it.’<sup>642</sup>

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<sup>639</sup>Ibid.

<sup>640</sup>*The Stephanian*, Harish Trivedi (ed). Vol.XC,No.1, College Centenary Issue, 1 February, 1981, St. Stephen's in Our Times, p.16. 'Article by Prem Chand.'

<sup>641</sup>*The Stephanian*, Mukarji Memorial Number, October 1945,p.8, 'Article by C.B. Young.'

<sup>642</sup>*The Stephanian*, Harish Trivedi (ed). Vol.XC,No.1, College Centenary Issue, 1 February, 1981, St. Stephen's in Our Times,p.17, 'Article by Prem Chand.'

### **VIII. Establishment of Delhi University and the Role St. Stephen's College played in the formative years**

Mukarji was a broad-minded man. It may be argued that he was also quite practical. He used his influence with the government to establish Delhi University and later, shaped the new college building. He was a man of purpose, an able administrator and not just a dreamer. His sense of discipline gave a certain efficiency to St. Stephen's College. David Baker (1998) has also argued that St. Stephen's College became 'more efficient, almost bureaucratic' under Mukarji.<sup>643</sup>

In addition, Maurice Gwyer (1945) recollected his association with Principal Mukarji. How Mukarji convinced him to become the Vice - Chancellor of the University. In spite of being active in the university, Mukarji was a firm believer in the college system. Nonetheless, he had a 'wider vision' unlike many of his contemporaries in the 'colleges.' Mukarji wanted to balance the college and the university. He did not want to weaken the university in order to strengthen the colleges. Mukarji had become inspired by the Cambridge University System. He believed like Gwyer that the University education was uniform everywhere and that with faith, the collegiate system could flourish anywhere. Mukarji transferred the college from Kashmere Gate to the 'University Site.' This was also an act of faith. As the architecture of St. Stephen's College has remained 'unmatched.' But Principal Mukarji was unhappy that the war had prevented the completion of the 'third court of the college' and 'the chapel' which was to stand at the 'centre' of the building.<sup>644</sup> Mukarji wanted to give a unique character to the College vis-a-vis the Delhi University.

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<sup>643</sup>David Baker, 'St. Stephen's College,' p.84.

<sup>644</sup>*The Stephanian*, Mukarji Memorial Number ,October 1945, p.17, 'Speech of Sir Maurice Gwyer.'

Like the Bishop of Lahore, Gwyer(1945) also called Mukarji sincere. According to Gwyer, Mukarji was a strong man, although not very open to opposition. Mukarji's words 'carried the greatest weight' in the University meetings.<sup>645</sup> He was a man of few words. His absence marked a great loss to the University, where he played a key role and impacted the Christian community in Delhi.<sup>646</sup>

Maurice Gwyer (1945) put forth that 'the late Principal was always a strong upholder of the rights of the Colleges, but he was at the same time a convinced believer in the need for reform in the University itself.'<sup>647</sup> Mukarji supported the College system. But he found the Colleges and University complementing each other.<sup>648</sup> C. B. Young(1945) has also put forth that Mukarji wanted to give a distinctive character to St. Stephen's College, Delhi. He believed in the family as a unit and maintained the diversity through the notion of the college as a family.<sup>649</sup>

Ram Kishore has shown that 'Mukarji's chief interest when he took over as Principal was centred in the creation of a full-fledged University. Indeed his accession to office was marked by increasingly cordial co-operation between the University and its constituent colleges; and he threw himself with zest into the task of eliciting from the Government the long- promised provision of the University site and central buildings and also of grants to enable the Colleges to migrate and establish themselves round the centre.'<sup>650</sup>

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<sup>645</sup>Ibid.

<sup>646</sup>Ibid.p.18.

<sup>647</sup>Ibid.p.17

<sup>648</sup>Ibid.p.16.

<sup>649</sup>*The Stephanian*, Mukarji Memorial Number, October, 1945,p.8,'Article by C. B. Young.'

<sup>650</sup>*The Stephanian*, Mukarji Memorial Number, October 1945, p.11, 'Article by Ram Kishore.'

## IX. Critical Appreciation of Mukarji's tenure

According to Samuel Mathai (1945), Mukarji's passing away marked the 'end of an epoch.' Mukarji's death was a shocking piece of news because the man was known for his strength and it was predicted that he would recover from illness. Unfortunately, this recovery did not take place. The very fact that people expected Mukarji to recover goes to show that he was well- respected. He had contributed greatly towards the field of Education. He was also behind the setting up of Delhi University. This has been pointed out by David Baker (1998).

However, David Baker (1998) has critiqued the tenure of Mukarji. Baker has shown that the 'old' link between staff and students under Mukarji 'weakened.'<sup>651</sup> This may be attributed to Mukarji's bureaucratic ways. Mukarji attended the 'New Delhi parties ' very regularly. He was socially-active and was popular with the government. Therefore, it seemed that Mukarji may have had at times irked those nationalist sentiments in St. Stephen's College. Also, Mukarji was strict this may have angered some sections of the College, the staff and the students.

But, the Bishop of Lahore called Mukarji sincere in perhaps his efforts. Samuel Mathai (1945) also pointed out that Mukarji lived to the glory of God, which was in line with the college motto.<sup>652</sup> In other words he feared God not man. This made him bold. His portrait hangs in the 'Dining Hall' along with the portraits of Allnutt, Rudra and Monk.<sup>653</sup>

In summary, it may be argued that Mukarji spent most of his time straightening the staff and the students. This process of disciplining may have also led to disconnect or

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<sup>651</sup>David Baker, 'St. Stephen's College, Delhi,'1998, p.84.

<sup>652</sup>*The Stephanian*, Mukarji Memorial Number, October 1945, p.ii, 'Editorial by Samuel Mathai.'

<sup>653</sup>Ibid.



gap between the staff and students. The other subject that is controversial is whether Mukarji was a Nationalist? The answer to that is that he was not particularly nationalistic because he wanted to please the Government. At the same time he did not wish to alienate the nationalistic forces at work. He invited Gandhi, Andrews and Sarojini Naidu to College during his principalship. He also helped in the formation of the Nationalistic society within the College. It may be argued that Mukarji was close to the Vice Chancellor of the University, Maurice Gwyer that assured him a good piece of land in the current campus. Mukarji will be remembered for his family as well. Mrs. Mukarji created a conducive atmosphere for the College members to feel at ease. She would offer gentleness to the students who were pulled up by Mukarji during the early morning tutorial meetings. What perhaps was remarkable in Mukarji's era was his interest in helping women students to get admission in St. Stephen's College, Delhi. Since he was a family man, he wanted women students to progress and have a residence of their own. This was realised much later. The College therefore became a centre of excellence and elitism trying to raise public servants and also favouring children of public servants.

## Chapter Five

### Students, Teachers and their Contributions and Recollections (1881-1945)

This Chapter looks at the view of the Alumni and the teachers on the College during the Pre -Independent period up to 1940s, including their social views concerning the College. These include ideas on the existing Principals, the College social life, the freedom movement and the College Culture as it developed. This helps us get an insight into the different facets of the College life, like the leadership and the other transformations that shaped the College from the perspective of the teachers and students. The chapter examines the Alumni contributions and recollections and the teacher contributions and recollections about the College, Principals and College Social Life.

#### **Part I- Alumni contributions and recollections about the College, Principals and College Social Life**

L. Har Gopal (1881-5) was one of the early students of the College. He reported ‘during the first two years, the Principal used to teach Logic and English.’<sup>654</sup> The Principal was Rev. S. S. Allnutt.’ Rev. G.A. Lefroy used to teach Philosophy and History; Rev. H.C. Carlyon and Master Ram Chandra Mathematics; Moulvi Mir Shah Persian; Rev. E Bickersteth. used to give lessons on the Holy Bible, and sometimes on Philosophy,’ according to Har Gopal (1881-5).<sup>655</sup> Har Gopal (1881-5) explained the College was located in the ‘centre of the Mohallas of Kayasths, and as a natural result

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<sup>654</sup>*The St. Stephen's College Magazine*, Jubilee Supplement 1929 to 1932, December 1931, No.37, ‘The Beginnings of the College’ By L. Har Gopal, p.2.

<sup>655</sup>Ibid.

I may say with certainty that a majority of the students, at least about 50%, were Kayasth students in the College then and for many years following that period. I am of also a Kayasth of course.<sup>656</sup> This community got a lot of benefits from the College. But had the College not existed this community would not have been educated nor acquired a status without the setting up of the College. Even the staff- student relationship was closely knit in the words of Har Gopal (1881-5).<sup>657</sup> These were some of the early reflections of the students in the early days.

Har Dayal was yet another old student of the College who acquired a Bachelor's degree in Sanskrit in 1903.<sup>658</sup> The reason why we are also talking about Har Dayal in this chapter is because Har Dayal was an important revolutionary who was birthed by St. Stephen's College. Har Dayal's father did not possess great wealth, although he was a reader in the District Court in Delhi. Har Dayal was the sixth child among seven children. In his school years, Har Dayal became a 'prodigy,' as he was said to have asked many questions and had an exceptional memory. In class sixth, he would read the editorials from English newspapers and would be able to 'reproduce' whatever he read.<sup>659</sup>

But, despite Har Dayal's brilliance, he remained absent-minded. He would go to St. Stephen's College without realizing that his pants were turned inside out. He was careless about his dressing. Moreover, he was also careless about his books. Charles Freer Andrews noted that Har Dayal was of an ascetic spirit. This was reflected in his living and student life, when Har Dayal had gone to England to complete his post-graduate studies, a three year course. He had actually received a State Scholarship by

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<sup>656</sup>Ibid.p.3.

<sup>657</sup>Ibid.

<sup>658</sup>*The Hindu*, 'The league of quiet, extraordinary gentlemen' by Muhammad Mutahhar Amin, January 11, 2013.

<sup>659</sup>Dharmavira, *Lala Har Dayal*, , New Delhi: Indian Book Company, 1970, p. 11.

the Indian Government to study in England. This was because teachers at St. Stephen's College, Delhi and the Government College, Lahore (from where Har Dayal drew his stipend) were extremely supportive of him.<sup>660</sup> Har Dayal was selected for 'state scholarship,' by the Government of India. He was the first Punjabi among scholars to be selected. As most of those who were selected were from 'coastal universities' of Calcutta, Bombay or Madras.<sup>661</sup>

Har Dayal also wrote on education. According to Har Dayal the first object of education was to serve humanity. This in theological language meant serving God. Har Dayal like St. Benedict believed in feeding the poverty-stricken, clothing the nude and helping the sick. His land lady in Boston even assumed he was a Christian because Har Dayal was a good gentleman. His motto in life was 'knowledge and service.' This was based on 'selflessness.'<sup>662</sup>

Har Dayal being a nationalist, felt immensely for the nation and its problems. He wrote on 'Our Educational Problem.' This book was introduced by Lala Lajpat Rai. Lajpat Rai also wrote in the introduction of 'Our Educational Problem,' that 'our present Education ' was established to 'prolong' our subservience. He elaborated that our current education was 'denationalising' which was dangerous rather than productive. The education through its methods made us hate our own inheritance i.e. our 'culture' and 'language.' So, we try to imitate the Europeans. This led to tutelage to the British government. The first object of education according to Har Dayal (1957)

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<sup>660</sup>Ibid.p.15.

<sup>661</sup> Emily C. Brown, *Har Dayal*, Hindu Revolutionary and Rationalist, New Delhi: Manohar, 1957,p.18.

<sup>662</sup> Ibid.p. 300.

should be child's duty to humanity which in spiritual language may be 'duty' to God. According to him, everything should surrender to Dharma.<sup>663</sup>

Har Dayal (1929) also elaborated on duty towards the country. He gave importance to the social spirit that comprised 'its vitality.' He talked about historical tradition that separated one nation from the other and emphasized the 'awakening of patriotism' through the national history teaching. This was the sound principle behind a strong educational system, he believed such kind of a training would involve the following ingredients: namely, historical tradition, character formation, and the social environment like in school. Har Dayal (1929) talked about the theory of professions and livelihoods. He argued that those who went after Dharma would obtain Arth and Karma as directed in the Mahabharata. Elucidating on professional competence, Har Dayal (1929) pointed out that one intellectually gifted could not become a cobbler or hawker, if he did so this would amount to 'theft.'<sup>664</sup> Har Dayal's ideas seemed Brahmanical and primitive.

Har Dayal (1929), also critiqued the education system established by the British Government. He found it 'unsound.' Nevertheless, he advocated a 'national educational system.' He showed that the British Educational System in India was destroying the soul of the nation. He described it as a death that was taking place within the nation, that was beyond the resurrection. He even thought that the nation was committing suicide, without even realizing it. Further, there were well-meaning people who supported the British Educational System. But, they paid no attention to

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<sup>663</sup> Har Dayal, *Our Educational Problem*, Madras: Tagore and Company, 1929,p.6.

<sup>664</sup>Ibid.p.13.

what kind of education? After all, the current system was being led by an alien people.<sup>665</sup>

Commenting on the educational policy of the government, Har Dayal (1929) said that 'nothing is more instructive than history.' He notes that some people believe that when the Britishers came they had mercy on the people of India. He argues that they arrived as traders and tax -collectors. But as time progressed, they paid attention to aspects like 'health, education and general welfare.' Moreover, there were missionaries who appeared on the scene. Har Dayal (1929) essentially presented the views of the 'Apologists for English Education.' These Apologists like Gokhale viewed the British Education as essentially helpful because of its strengths. Further, it is stated that British were aware that Indians would soon acquire the right to vote. But, the British stuck on their 'sense of duty.' Even Ellenborough told Dwarkanath Tagore that education would mean the 'end' of British dominance in India. Har Dayal (1929), presenting the views of Mehta and other apologists explained that the initial Governors-in- General were 'adventurers.' But in course of time the British Statesmen in India became more merciful. For instance, Macaulay in his despatch was willing to grant 'European institutions' to the people of India through the means of Education.<sup>666</sup>

It is interesting how Har Dayal an extremist, called the moderates, apologists. He evidently did not agree with their views. According to Har Dayal (1929), the British were not straight forward as they seemed. He uncovered their real motives later, after having discussed the views of the moderate leaders of India. According to Har Dayal

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<sup>665</sup>Ibid.p.16.

<sup>666</sup>Ibid.p.19.

(1929), the real motive behind British Education was consolidation of the British Empire.<sup>667</sup>

Har Dayal (1929) elaborated how the British Educational System affected India, in terms of the 'Hindu institutions and polity.' He stated that its 'effect ' on Indian languages was destructive and criticized those who depended on the English language, particularly, the upper classes of India. Additionally, it is difficult to digest that our history was being written by 'foreign conquerors.' He continued to condemn those who sent their children to 'Anglo-Indian schools.' Such people looked down upon the 'national heroes' and dishonoured 'national history.' He feared the decline of Sanskrit which reduced the state into a 'disorganized' condition sans 'national institutions.' Allnut had popularized Sanskrit in College, it may be noted.

Har Dayal (1929) did not like the idea of parents writing English letters to children, people reading English newspapers, students naming their clubs with English names, and 'national assemblies' having English names. Even the examinations were in English. George Birdwood also pointed to the ill- effects of British Educational System on the soul of the country.<sup>668</sup> He had perhaps observed these trends in India at St. Stephen's College, Delhi. The culture in St. Stephen's College was Anglicised. Also, because the funds for the College came from the British government.

Har Dayal (1929) argued that the British Educational System affected the social life negatively. Therefore, there was a lot of confusion regarding the dress code, speaking style and even the mannerisms. Moreover, 'Religion and Patriotism' were the two aspects which made people great in a country. Unfortunately, the students have lost faith in 'religion', 'politics', 'art' or 'science.' They have started believing in worldly

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<sup>667</sup>Ibid.p.22.

<sup>668</sup>Ibid.p.71.

things. He even quoted from the Bible stating that the people 'perisheth' where there is no vision. This shows that Har Dayal learnt from the West and used it to instil confidence in our own culture. Further, the 'graduates' lost faith in 'social institutions.' He noted that British Educational System enlarged the gap between the classes and masses. It also reduced the respect given to heroes like 'Rama', 'Krishna' and others, apart from curbing 'political aspirations.'<sup>669</sup>

Har Dayal condemned those who did not bother about the motherland. According to Har Dayal (1929), courage cannot grow in the educational system of 'our colleges.' This is because students cannot truly love their officials. As there is no 'moral courage.' A life of deceit can never construct 'character.' An educational system with English as the medium of instruction drained one's physical strength.<sup>670</sup> This is because English was perceived as an alien language and acquiring it was considered an exhausting process.

The Hindu virtues of 'temperance,' 'family affection,' and 'respect for elders,' etc. were to be thwarted by the British Educational System. In fact, the two great virtues of patriotism and spirituality were not supported by the educational system. Even the smaller virtues of Hinduism disappeared in the face of foreign ideas and in the presence of 'European Professors' who were 'third-rate' according to Har Dayal (1929). This brings to light the fact that perhaps, Har Dayal never appreciated his foreign teachers at St. Stephen's College. Nor was he really happy about foreign instruction. He again quoted from the Bible without realizing it. He cited the source saying what use is the whole world and what profit it is, when you lose your soul, acquiring it. Similarly, if a country, were to acquire the education of the entire world,

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<sup>669</sup>Ibid.p.73.

<sup>670</sup>Ibid.p.75.



but was to lose its own' institutions, life and character', would it really 'survive?' The British Educational system led to 'Denationalization and Demoralization.'<sup>671</sup> Har Dayal perhaps felt that St. Stephen's College with its Colonial heritage was eroding the Hindu values of the nation.

Har Dayal argued there were several results of setting up of Government schools and colleges. One such consequence was the destruction of the 'Hindu Race.' This is because the British proceeded to becoming the Brahman class by the 'social conquest' of the country. They had already become the Kshatriya class having amassed muscle strength. The schools make the Brahman class subservient to the British. Another consequence was the glory of the 'bureaucracy.' The educational system of the British Government ensured that the officials running it, enjoyed a high position. The British Government was the 'source of all life.' This trend was seen even in Mukarji's term in St. Stephen's College, Delhi. There was a lot of importance given to bureaucratic service. Students were encouraged to join the Civil Services in Mukarji's era.<sup>672</sup> Furthermore, another consequence of the British institutions, according to Har Dayal (1929), was that it led to 'loss of Self -Government.' This is because these institutions robbed us of our self -worth. Also, our 'character', 'patriotism', 'national literature', 'history' and 'self-reliance' were stolen.<sup>673</sup> Har Dayal 1929 also talks of another problem the tightening of British presence in 'Indian States.' Apart from that Har Dayal (1929) talks of 'Industrial Backwardness' of India. The educational system tended to make the 'sons' of India, mainly, 'bankers' and 'traders', dependent on the bureaucracy. The university education also made the young men take up 'no useful profession.' Therefore, we see the son of a shopkeeper becoming a lawyer. These

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<sup>671</sup>Ibid.p.76.

<sup>672</sup>David Baker, 'St. Stephen's College, Delhi'p.83.

<sup>673</sup>Har Dayal, *Our Educational Problem*, Madras: Tagore and Company, 1929,p.80.

lawyers suffer from the 'perversion of judgement.' In fact, the University system lead to 'economic enslavement of our race.'<sup>674</sup> He feared this sort of system where one was overtly dependent on the bureaucracy for their survival. He found Indians increasingly, subservient to the British race. Consequently, this might have led to poverty. Har Dayal's views seem backward.

Har Dayal (1929) also questioned the unifying aspect of the English language. He found that abiding by the 'Conqueror's Language' was unsound as it destroyed 'national solidarity.' He found solution in Sanskrit which was the 'national tongue' for India. He did not consider Sanskrit a dead language but instead considered the people dead. He spoke against the abandonment of Sanskrit in the Mughal and British periods. This proved suicidal as Sanskrit was replaced by Persian and later English.<sup>675</sup>

Har Dayal (1929) has further said that the ideal of working with the bureaucracy has made us play the 'second fiddle.' Further, the 'majority ' of the people end up 'undermining' the concept of 'nationality.' People serve in various capacities building the arms of the bureaucracy. Har Dayal (1929) furthermore argued that there was the 'denationalizing' environment in Government Colleges.<sup>676</sup> Probably, Har Dayal was put off with the atmosphere in the British run Colleges like St. Stephen's College. Even during Mukarji's era nationalism was not allowed to grow too much.

Har Dayal (1929) also questioned the 'outcome' of the British educational system namely, the Congress. He pointed out that the Congress marked the 'decline of political morality.' Moreover, the Congress also stood for close association with the bureaucracy. Har Dayal (1929) also critiqued the moderates. He did not support the

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<sup>674</sup>Ibid.p.83.

<sup>675</sup>Ibid. p. 89.

<sup>676</sup>Ibid. p. 93.

war of words between the bureaucrats and their disciples. Instead, he appreciated the illiterate sections of peasants and artisans who mainly stayed away from the British. These people had a better perception of the British rule. These so-called uneducated people believed in the glory of their own civilization. Har Dayal (1929) also appreciated their political work. In fact, these people had their common sense to fall back on. He also criticised the notion of political awakening which was more a 'delusion' as it called for association with the bureaucracy.<sup>677</sup>

Unfortunately, Har Dayal did not speak about women's education here. Even though, he talked about boys' education and the ways to build a 'healthy educational system.'<sup>678</sup> Could the environment at St. Stephen's College have framed his ideas? An education that catered essentially to the men of the pre-independence era. Or was Hardayal simply a product of his times? A time where women were struggling to make it to the public sphere even in the early part of the twentieth century. So, all Har Dayal did was present the times he lived in. Then, how can we call him a revolutionary. Did a revolutionary mean someone who supported violence or bombings? Nonetheless, Har Dayal stood for extremism. His limitation was, as mentioned, that the poor visibility of women in his nationalist writings. But, he did make a vital contribution in the realm of education, by critiquing the British Educational System. Being an insider, having studied in St. Stephen's College, he could clearly see the faults with such an education. In fact, Lala Lajpat Rai has as

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<sup>677</sup>Ibid.p.100.

<sup>678</sup>Ibid.p.13.

mentioned earlier, summed up that such sort of an education had produced contempt for one's culture and language.

According to Emily C. Brown (1957), Dharmavira identified three different personalities in Har Dayal. The first phase was when Har Dayal was a student, he then embraced the love for humanity. Phase two was when Har Dayal committed towards love for Hindu Nationalism. Later, Har Dayal fell in love for freedom for Hindusthan.<sup>679</sup> Har Dayal was against the idea of stifling political activity and also talked about the Government running prisons for the youth by not allowing them to read nationalist newspapers.<sup>680</sup>

Shudhir Kumar Rudra(1910), a second year student of the College, and son of Principal Rudra, argued, 'it has been stated and with no little truth that opinions are but forms of cloud created by the prevailing currents of the moral air.'<sup>681</sup> Furthermore, Shudhir Kumar Rudra (1910) has argued 'the conditions of human existence depend upon two fundamental principles, Liberty and Progress. For the perfect development of a nation the co-operation of both these virtues is necessary. The one cannot last without the other.'<sup>682</sup>

It is further argued by Shudhir Kumar Rudra (1910) that 'it is an established fact that to measure a country's true progress education is the universal unit. Thus, we shall have to judge the progress of India, that is, the education of India in the past and the

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<sup>679</sup>Ibid.p.7.

<sup>680</sup>Har Dayal, *Our Educational Problem*, Madras: Tagore and Company, 1929,p.74.

<sup>681</sup>*The St. Stephen's College Magazine*, May 1907 to May 1914, No.13, November 1910, 'Education in India- Past and Present' by Shudhir Kumar Rudra,p. 10.

<sup>682</sup> Ibid.

present, according to the light that prevailed in the country during the respective periods of time mentioned.<sup>683</sup>

The Manava Dharmashastra was the reliable source of knowledge according to Shudhir (1910). Hence, the head knowledge was considered superior to the hand knowledge. It may be recalled ‘the Brahmins were destined to train the their intellect, the Kshatriyas to educate their martial capacities, and the Vaishyas to develop their commercial talents. In this way intellectual education was divorced from commercial education and mental from physical,’ according to Shudhir (1910).<sup>684</sup>

Shudhir (1910) further admired the Teacher- Student or the Guru- Chela relationship. He elaborated that ‘the chelas while studying at the Gurus’ feet and serving them acquired the peerless virtues of a deep love for knowledge and a really true respect and affection for their Gurus. Self- sacrifice and the thought for others were qualities which students were bound to gain and assimilate. This was the price they had to pay, if they desired to gain knowledge’ as argued by Shudhir (1910).<sup>685</sup> Further, in Muhammadanism it was the same trend with the Ulema or religious teacher as a person of ‘great knowledge and piety.’<sup>686</sup> The Ulemas were devoted to their Shagirds or disciple having no regard for a lucrative business in their respective business or profession. They instead valued the love of Shagirds for knowledge according to Shudhir. This sort of arrangement also led to a considerable level of discipline it may be argued.<sup>687</sup>

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<sup>683</sup>Ibid.

<sup>684</sup>Ibid.p.11.

<sup>685</sup>Ibid.

<sup>686</sup>Ibid.

<sup>687</sup>Ibid.

Shudhir (1910) has argued that such were the educational systems in the past. But the system has now broken down. Additionally, ‘the old institutions have changed, and we ourselves have also changed. Our conditions, and therefore our ideas, have been altered. We believe in a way that is directly opposed to what our ancestors held, that true education consists in the symmetrical development of the Hand, the Head and the Heart’ according to Shudhir (1910).<sup>688</sup> This was in line with Gandhiji’s Basic Education Policy of 1937. Thus, the ideas of Gandhi had found its way into St. Stephen’s College, Delhi. The Basic Education Policy wanted the holistic development of the student. It was no different for St. Stephen’s College, Delhi where Games, Clubs and Co- Curriculars were important other than Academics.

Shudhir (1910) has put forth that ‘in modern days we hold that God has created each of us for some special object in life, but our lot may differ from that of our fathers. It is the function of our education to develop our special capacities and make us fit for our mission. Thus, no restriction like the Caste System can help us in our aspirations. Freedom and liberty opportunities and possibilities are what we stand in need.’<sup>689</sup>

Shudhir (1910) argued that ‘our present system of education however, is not a very great stimulus to our efforts. Indian Educationists would be the first to acknowledge this. There are not many institutions in the land that could afford people of different capabilities to develop fully their special faculties. The neglect on the part of the people is great and that of the Government of the country is greater. Much good material in the country is lost yearly by the lack of opportunities. Much that is turned out by the present system of education is wasted. Until many, varied and free opportunities to train the different abilities of the people are established, the ideal of

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<sup>688</sup>Ibid.p.12.

<sup>689</sup>Ibid.

education will not have been achieved.’<sup>690</sup> Shudhir (1910) perhaps realized the importance of diversity in education which was not just about churning out civil servants but people with different kinds of potential.

Further Shudhir (1910) observed the elements of Western Education like the Dining Hall, the Club, the Playground and the College Chapel were operational in St. Stephen’s College, Delhi. But, most of the features of Western Education were found missing in the context of India. Thus, Western Education had failed. This had caused a lot of anxiety among the leaders and supporters of the country. Thus, the true essence of education was lost.<sup>691</sup>

Ram Kishan Mathur, a fourth-year student of the College also analysed the Education in India -Past and Present in his article in 1910. He pointed out that ‘in India there has always prevailed some popular system of education.’<sup>692</sup> Education was known by heart. Mathur (1910) argued further that ‘as time went on, and the art of writing was somehow, invented, they began to teach by means of manuscripts.’<sup>693</sup> Mathur (1910) argued ‘even after the art of printing was invented the conservatism of the Hindus would not let them have their Shastras defiled by passing through the press.’<sup>694</sup>

Mathur (1910) unlike Shudhir Kumar Rudra critiqued the teacher (guru) and student (chela) relationship. The former argued that the above system of education tended to make the intellectuals conceited and self-absorbed and hence isolated. This led to the issue of intolerant ideas and narrow views. This left no scope for liberal ideas. In the recent years stress has been laid on the need for co-curriculars based on games and

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<sup>690</sup>Ibid.

<sup>691</sup>Ibid.p.13.

<sup>692</sup>*The St. Stephen’s College Magazine*, May 1907 to May 1914, No.13, November 1910, ‘Education in India-Past and Present’ by Ram Kishan Mathur, p. 18.

<sup>693</sup>Ibid.

<sup>694</sup>Ibid.

clubs, etc. Mathur (1910) applauded the emerging Western Education over the traditional Pathshalas and Makhtab system. As Western Education is more inclusive, promotes research, frees from narrowness of ideas, makes one more generous, and leads to a well-balanced human being.<sup>695</sup> This meant it does not create intellectual heroes and physical pygmies. Here, academics and co- curriculars go hand in hand.

The students of St. Stephen's College wrote on varied topics such as religion. Zia- ud- din Ahmad, a third-year student in 1911, talked about the common points between Christianity and Islam.<sup>696</sup> The common points were the concepts of heaven and hell, the notion of resurrection, the day of judgement and saints like Abraham who was described as the friend of God by both the religions. He quoted from 'the Quran Sharif which says, the Christians are the nearest in friendship.'<sup>697</sup> There were therefore attempts by students to create an environment of communal harmony by way of their understanding of religion. Ahmad (1911) furthermore argued the need to study Arabic among the Indian students in order to promote a better insight into the Quran Sharif.<sup>698</sup> Oriental learning apart from English learning were therefore promoted in St. Stephen's College, Delhi. This allowed Indians to also glory in their past and not just be influenced by Western learning.

The Principal S.K. Rudra was definitely a leader who had a sense of humour reminisced Patrick N. Joshua(1914-19) an old student. He studied B. A. in Maths and later completed his M. A. and L.L.B. and retired as a Judge in Punjab. 'Once some boys, with more pluck than sense, stole the College bell. Instead of punishing the culprits, Mr. Rudra referred to the incident before the assembly of students in such a

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<sup>695</sup>Ibid.p.22.

<sup>696</sup>*The St. Stephen's College Magazine*, May 1907to May 1914, No.15, May 1911, 'Article on Religion' by Zia- ud- din Ahmad, p. 28.

<sup>697</sup>Ibid. p.29.

<sup>698</sup>Ibid.p.30.



humorous way that the bell was soon restored to its place.’<sup>699</sup> Additionally Rudra settled the student disputes in the College through ‘his influence.’<sup>700</sup> Rudra was found to ‘considerate, sympathetic and understanding.’<sup>701</sup> It was further recalled by Joshua(1914-19) that St. Stephen’s College gave its students sportsmen spirit and character. Moreover, cricket was an essential sport. It allowed students to ‘stand up for a cause.’<sup>702</sup> Moreover, St. Stephen’s College was perceived by Joshua (1914-19) as a temple of love and sacredness not just a place of learning.<sup>703</sup> Further, he (1914-19), also recalled Professor Mukarji and his wife, Mary Mukarji who was a motherly figure to the students as their home was open to all students.<sup>704</sup>

Kanwal Kishore Raizada, a student during 1921-1925, recalled that there were student-teacher relationships in the College there were extremely ‘cordial.’<sup>705</sup> The students were treated like one’s own children.<sup>706</sup> So much so, that preference was given to alumni children during admissions.<sup>707</sup> Unfortunately, the Government started interfering in this process as well, endangering the Alumni and College relations.<sup>708</sup>

Sham Singh (1921-1925), another old student argued that the National problems were discussed by Rudra along with the students. According to students he was nationalist.<sup>709</sup> Concerning hostel life, it may be recalled that ‘there was no Harijan

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<sup>699</sup>*The Stephanian*, Harish Trivedi(ed). Vol.XC, no.1 College Centenary Issue 1 February 1981, St. Stephen’s in Our Times, p.1.’Article by Patrick . N. Joshua.’

<sup>700</sup>*Ibid.*p.2.

<sup>701</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>702</sup>*Ibid.*p.3.

<sup>703</sup>*Ibid.*p.1.

<sup>704</sup>*Ibid.*p.2.

<sup>705</sup>*The Stephanian*, Harish Trivedi,(ed), Vol.XC, no.1 College Centenary Issue 1 February 1981, St. Stephen’s in Our Times, p.5, ‘Article of Kanwal Kishore Raizada.’

<sup>706</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>707</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>708</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>709</sup>*The Stephanian*, Harish Trivedi,(ed). Vol.XC, no.1 College Centenary Issue 1 February 1981, St. Stephen’s in Our Times, p.6,’Article of Sham Singh.’

students at that time.<sup>710</sup> It was further said that the College stood for discipline. Sham Singh (1921-25), was also writing at the time that, ‘the discipline and the general tone that I imbibed during my stay at the College have played a very important part in my life.’<sup>711</sup> This showed that moral education was an important goal of the college.

Bhagwati Charan, a student of the 1923-30 era also spoke of how the College educated the marginalized in the night schools under the Social Service League.<sup>712</sup> The old students of the College helped compile the History of the College. This is the case with the History written by F.F. Monk.<sup>713</sup>

D.C. Ghose (1927-33) was an old student during 1927-33. He remembered how as a Principal S. N. Mukarji would urge the parents to send their wards to St. Stephen’s College, Delhi.<sup>714</sup> He further appreciated the strong teacher-student relationships.<sup>715</sup> The College was holistic it stressed on character formation, academics and games.<sup>716</sup> Societies were an important part of the College life, especially, the Shakespeare Society, Social Service league and the Criterion Club.<sup>717</sup>

Another important alumni of the College was Sucheta Kriplani, a freedom fighter. Sucheta (1929) recalled that during her student years she had lost her father.<sup>718</sup> Hence, she was unable to concentrate on her studies at St. Stephen’s College, Delhi. Despite her agony, Sucheta Kriplani not only passed her M.A. History Examinations, but also topped the list of the passed candidates in the History section. She also won a gold

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<sup>710</sup>Ibid.

<sup>711</sup>Ibid. p.7.

<sup>712</sup>Ibid.p.8.

<sup>713</sup>Ibid.

<sup>714</sup>*The Stephanian*, Harish Trivedi(ed). Vol.XC, no.1 College Centenary Issue 1 February 1981, St. Stephen’s in Our Times, p.12, ‘Article by D.C. Ghose.’

<sup>715</sup>Ibid.p.13.

<sup>716</sup>Ibid.

<sup>717</sup>Ibid.

<sup>718</sup>K.N. Vaswani(ed). *Sucheta, An Unfinished Autobiography*, Ahmedabad, Navajivan Publishing House,1978,p.13.

medal.<sup>719</sup> Sucheta Kriplani (1920s) looked back at how ‘there were then very few girls in that College, hardly half a dozen. We had a small girls’ retiring room attached to the house of the Principal, Mr. Mukarji. We went into the classes along with the teachers.’<sup>720</sup> This showed that St. Stephen’s College offered a safe and conducive environment to the women students.

Kriplani (1920s) admired teachers like Dr. Spears, Head of the History Department. According to Kriplani (1920s) reminisces that Spears was an outstanding teacher, known by all students. Spears ‘expressed, in those days, great admiration for Gandhi, Tagore and other Indian personalities. This endeared him the more to us.’<sup>721</sup> Furthermore, Kriplani in the twentieth century, remembered ‘I joined the university during the height of the freedom movement. The university was very much in the main stream of the struggle. We had frequent strikes and political demonstrations. Though the staff was in full sympathy with the strikers, they had to make an effort to hold our classes. The girls would, of course, join the strike , but they were in these days not bold enough to go out and take part in the demonstrations staged by the boys.’<sup>722</sup>

Prem Chand in 1928-32, was yet another old student. He looked back at the teachers of the College. According to Prem Chand (1928-32), K.C. Nag was a teacher of Economics. ‘He was a source of great inspiration to us both in studies and in our personal life.’<sup>723</sup> Prem Chand (1928-32) further pointed out that Mr Azhar Ali was a Persian teacher. ‘He was a delightful teacher and had a subtle sense of humour’<sup>724</sup> and

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<sup>719</sup>Ibid.p.14.

<sup>720</sup>Ibid.p.12.

<sup>721</sup>Ibid.p.13.

<sup>722</sup>Ibid.p.16.

<sup>723</sup>*The Stephanian*, Harish Trivedi(ed). Vol.XC, no.1 College Centenary Issue 1 February 1981, St. Stephen’s in Our Times,p.12, ‘Article by Prem Chand.p.18.

<sup>724</sup>Ibid.

Mr. F. F. Monk was an English teacher. Prem Chand (1928-32) remembered this fact about Monk that ‘the students who had been taught by him told me what a wonderful teacher he was.’<sup>725</sup> Moreover, ‘Mr. Monk was a remarkable person who combined great scholarship with a passion of sports.’<sup>726</sup> ‘Mr. C. B. Young, a great scholar in English from Oxford was a delightful person. His wife, Dr Mrs. Ruth Young, was the Principal of the Lady Hardinge Medical College for Women at New Delhi. He never taught me but I had several opportunities of coming close to him. He took a keen interest in Shakespeare plays and guided the actors in most of the rehearsals and acted as a prompter in the wings of the stage during the performance of the plays. He was a very kind and benevolent to his students and was most helpful in finding jobs for them,’ according to Prem Chand (1928-33).<sup>727</sup> Mr.T.G.P. Spear was ‘another teacher of great merit.’<sup>728</sup> Also, ‘he was an eminent historian and founded the Historical Society in the College.’<sup>729</sup> It may be remembered that in his book ‘India Remembered’ Percival Spear made some interesting observations made below. He was also a History teacher.

Madan Mohan Khanna, an old student during 1928-32 pointed out that Mukarji was good at names, he remembered his students by their respective names.<sup>730</sup> There were close relation between teachers and students in the College.<sup>731</sup> Additionally, he was a confidant to his students and maintained contact with them, even after they had passed out.<sup>732</sup>

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<sup>725</sup>Ibid.

<sup>726</sup>Ibid.

<sup>727</sup>Ibid.p.19.

<sup>728</sup>Ibid.p.18.

<sup>729</sup>Ibid.

<sup>730</sup>*The Stephanian*, Harish Trivedi (ed). Vol.XC no.1 College Centenary Issue 1 February 1981, St. Stephen’s in Our Times, p.27, ‘Article by Madan Mohan Khanna.’

<sup>731</sup>Ibid.p.28.

<sup>732</sup>Ibid.p.27.

Sardar Bahadur Saharya, an old student of 1928-32 argued that St. Stephen's College, Delhi was a selective college and established close teacher-student relations. College also consisted of a smaller population as it wanted to shape the character and personalities of the people(students).<sup>733</sup> It may be further argued that religion was an important subject according to Saharya(1981) as it was the basis of evangelisation.<sup>734</sup> There was the case of Monk who excused Saharya because the latter was found reading an extract on the Holy Quran, while Monk was teaching in class during religious instruction.<sup>735</sup> This showed that other religions also gave the College a sound foundation. A foundation where other religions were also respected with importance given to the one creator. Students had also a strong say in the making of the college. The Professors trusted the learners.<sup>736</sup>

Saharya (1928-32) pointed out that even teachers were good at the games.<sup>737</sup> S.N. Mukarji reprimanded the boys and asked them to behave even outside the College. Else the College would have to shut itself as it would not produce gentlemen.<sup>738</sup> Saharya (1938-32) further argued that the College was held in high esteem by the outsiders. Har Dayal and Asaf Ali were some names of the College alumni. They were apparently freedom fighters.<sup>739</sup> It was hoped that students would be the future of the country.<sup>740</sup>

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<sup>733</sup>*The Stephanian*, Harish Trivedi(ed). Vol.XC no.1 College Centenary Issue 1 February 1981, St. Stephen's in Our Times, p.28, 'Article by Sardar Bahadur Sahariya.'

<sup>734</sup>Ibid.p.29.

<sup>735</sup>Ibid.p. 29.

<sup>736</sup>Ibid.

<sup>737</sup>Ibid.p.30.

<sup>738</sup>Ibid.

<sup>739</sup>Ibid.p.31

<sup>740</sup>Ibid.

Sukhia was also considered a Stephanian because of the fact that he served at the Dhaba at St. Stephen's College, Delhi from the 1930s.<sup>741</sup> Health was not a chief concern it seems at the Dhaba because Stephanians took to pan consumption during this time. It may be argued that women who roamed the streets were judged according to him in the context of Co-Education as not very respectable. Further, it may be said that Sukhia was absorbed into the Stephanian family.<sup>742</sup>

Hardwari Lal, a second-year student in June 1930, wrote on Student and Politics. He wrote, 'parallel with the problem that follows from the fortunate or unfortunate aloofness of some of the Indian communities from the historic and remarkable civil disobedience movement initiated by Gandhiji, is the problem arising out of the question- what should be the attitude of Indian students towards this battle for freedom?'<sup>743</sup> The students of that era were in a dilemma. This has been elaborated by Hardwari Lal (1930) who raised certain questions. 'Should we plunge ourselves in the active field of battle or should we stand aloof and study the ups and downs of what is going on around us?' Furthermore, Lal (1930) inquired 'should we give our studies and prepare salt or should we pursue our studies as hard as ever and examine the significance of the preparation of salt and difficulties arising therefrom? The answer quite pure and simple, is – students as we are, we should study- study not only our textbooks but all the problems having a direct or indirect bearing upon our life.'<sup>744</sup>

E.N. Mangat Rai, a former student in the 1930-36 era, argued that Mukarji kept in touch with the parents and officials of the College.<sup>745</sup> Rai (1930-36) further put forth

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<sup>741</sup>Ibid.p.31.

<sup>742</sup>Ibid.p.32.

<sup>743</sup>*The St. Stephen's College Magazine*, Vol.XXIII, No.3,'Article by Hardwari Lal' entitled 'Student and Politics' June 1930, p.15

<sup>744</sup>Ibid.p.16.

<sup>745</sup>*The Stephanian*, Harish Trivedi(ed). Vol.XC no.1 College Centenary Issue 1 February 1981, St. Stephen's in Our Times, p.34'Article by E.N. Mangat Rai.'

about the teachers of the College. T.G.P. Spear was strict about getting work done among the teachers and J.A Lovejoy was a patient teacher. I.H. Qureshi was a ‘walking reference book’ in History.<sup>746</sup> S. F. Davenport was known for his individuality. Karuna Moi Sarkar died early. Some teachers it was argued were socially and instructionally educative. In other words, they taught themselves to associate with students socially and for instruction purposes.<sup>747</sup> Christians were in a minority according to Rai (1930-36). C. F. A i.e. Andrews visited the College often<sup>748</sup> (after retirement). Thus, every teacher was unique in his own way and this made the College diverse.

Sumat Prasad Jain, an old student of the College in 1930-36 argued that Kinship, Compassion and Character were the very environment of the College.<sup>749</sup> Even though Mukarji was strict he kept the outsiders at bay, concerning the national movement. The College also instilled good values in the students by teaching them to respect authority.<sup>750</sup>

Raj Chatterjee, an old student of 1930-35, reminisced that ‘there was Frank Monk, acting principal for a while, who once told us at assembly that -if any student wished to join a procession led by Gandhiji scheduled for that day, he was liberty to do so but he would be marked absent for the day. None of us went.’<sup>751</sup> There was some hesitation participating in the national movement under Monk according to Chatterjee (1930-35). Perhaps because Monk was more British than Indian. As far as Theatre

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<sup>746</sup>Ibid.

<sup>747</sup>Ibid.p.36.

<sup>748</sup>Ibid.p.37.

<sup>749</sup>*The Stephanian*, Harish Trivedi(ed). Vol.XC no.1 College Centenary Issue 1 February 1981, St. Stephen’s in Our Times,p.39, ‘Article by Sumat Prasad Jain.’

<sup>750</sup>Ibid.p.40.

<sup>751</sup>*The Stephanian*, Harish Trivedi(ed). Vol.XC no.1 College Centenary Issue 1 February 1981, St. Stephen’s in Our Times.,p.41, ‘Article byRaj Chatterjee.’

was concerned, the male students enacted the women's part.<sup>752</sup> As women were much in the background in the 1930s.

Ayodhya Prakash (1933-40), a former student in the above period, talked about the fact that the tutorial system drew the best in students, apart from bringing the teacher close to the students. He did admit that the Stephanians were considered elitist and yet the Stephanians lived as one big family on democratic lines.<sup>753</sup>

The teachers were not all praised by Prakash (1933-40). As Mr. Richardson was considered a dull teacher. He would bore the students to misbehaviour. The Head of the departments usually were very focussed on the first years to tap their talent through their first year classes.<sup>754</sup> The years in the College impacted one emotionally and mentally was the argument given by Ayodhya Prakash(1933-40). The idea of Stephanians meeting up was also fruitful because it transcended all kind of barriers of 'age, profession, station in life, etc.' 'It was like two old friends meeting.'<sup>755</sup> The 'Stephanians are found in important positions in the Civil Services, Army, Police, Business, Professions, etc. not only within the country but also in the world at large.'<sup>756</sup>

Nirmal Mukarji was an old student in 1935-41 in College.<sup>757</sup> He was the son of Principal Mukarji. Nirmal Mukarji (1935-41) recalled that his father S.N. Mukarji joined College in 1913 and became the Principal of the College in 1926 until he passed away in 1945. Nirmal Mukarji (1935-41) recalled that S.N. Mukarji 'was

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<sup>752</sup>Ibid.p.42.

<sup>753</sup>*The Stephanian*, Harish Trivedi(ed). Vol.XC no.1 College Centenary Issue 1 February 1981, St. Stephen's in Our Times, p.45'Article by Ayodhya Prakash.'

<sup>754</sup>Ibid.

<sup>755</sup>Ibid.p.46.

<sup>756</sup>Ibid.

<sup>757</sup>Aparna Basu (ed). *Down Memory Lane*, The Platinum Year, 1922-1997, University of Delhi Feb. 2000,p.24, 'Article by Nirmal Mukarji' titled 'St. Stephen's College and Delhi University.'



extremely interested in the promotion of sports and games of all kinds.’<sup>758</sup> Furthermore, Nirmal (1935-41) argued that his father S.N. Mukarji favoured sportspersons more than scholars because of his close association with co- curriculars of the College.<sup>759</sup> Additionally, it was put forth by Nirmal (1935-1941), that even if there was any distraction during the assembly time, S.N. Mukarji, as the Principal would call out the chattering student by name. Such was his memory. Also, S.N.Mukarji ’knew a very large number of families of the students. He knew their parents. Many of them were old students of the college.’ Nirmal (1935-41) further emphasized that this created a friendly ambience.<sup>760</sup>

Akhileshwar Dayal Mithal (1939-47), another old student wrote on College as being ‘exciting, amusing and even, on occasion, instructive. Friendships formed at that time have lasted and the attitudes developed have survived.’<sup>761</sup> Mithal (1939-47) argued that the Library at St. Stephen’s College, Delhi was a treasure house. ’Beautiful big books in which Sanskrit texts had been translated into English-the Elizabethan poets and each and everyone of the plays of Shakespeare. Above all the smell of books rich and mysterious. One read and read till the eyes could take no more and rest on the front lawn was essential,’<sup>762</sup> according to Mithal (1939-47).

Mithal(1939-47) also pointed out that ‘studies were interrupted by the outbreak of the 1942 movement.’<sup>763</sup> He further argued that ‘the students were outside the hall and on the front lawns of the new building. A crowd from Hindu College was shouting

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<sup>758</sup>Ibid.

<sup>759</sup>Ibid.

<sup>760</sup>Ibid.

<sup>761</sup>Aparna Basu(ed). *Down Memory Lane*, The Platinum Year 1922-1997, University of Delhi, ‘Nostalgia’ by Akhileshwar Dayal Mithal,p.30.

<sup>762</sup>Ibid.p.31.

<sup>763</sup>Ibid.

slogans through the closed-wrought iron gates.’<sup>764</sup> Furthermore, Mithal (1939-47) has put forth that ‘we wanted to join them but Principal Mukarji was there. He was a dynamo trying to get the Hindu College boys to go away, his own flock to go into Assembly.’<sup>765</sup> Mithal (1939-47), explained ‘having closed the gates to prevent entry and exit he remonstrated, exhorted, shouted and finally pushed the last few of us physically into the Hall. A few ultras escaped from the side doors and joined the crowd on Imperial Avenue. Mukarji had succeeded in restraining his students from getting involved in active politics.’<sup>766</sup>

Mithal(1939-47) recollected another incident in which Mukarji spoke at the assembly hall during his Principalship. He ‘spoke with rare emotion and great feelings about the Mahatma-about his visits to the College-his relationship with the late Principal Rudra and of his moving and genuine faith in God.’<sup>767</sup> Moreover, Mukarji used to pray that Gandhi would complete the tough job he was assigned.<sup>768</sup>

## **Part II- Teacher Contributions and Recollections about the College, Principals and College Social Life**

Reverend S. A. C. Ghose, B.A. (Student 1887-91: Professor,1898-1918) argued that ‘the biggest mistake which St. Stephen’s made in those days was to have failed to acquire all the land buildings to the South which were then going for something under Rs2/-per square yard and were haunted by owls and pariah dogs.’<sup>769</sup> It was further argued by Ghose that in the late nineteenth century, ‘we used to chase wild pigs in the

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<sup>764</sup>Ibid.

<sup>765</sup>Ibid.

<sup>766</sup>Ibid.

<sup>767</sup>Ibid.

<sup>768</sup>Ibid.p.32.

<sup>769</sup>*The St. Stephen’s College Magazine*, Jubilee Supplement, December1931, ‘Forty Years’ Recollections’ By Rev. S.A.C. Ghose, p.19.

ravine opposite the present Cambridge Mission House, in the Kudsia Gardens and even in our new playground outside the Kashmere Gate.<sup>770</sup>

Reverend S. A. C. Ghose, B.A. (Student 1887-91: Professor, 1898-1918) further observed that ‘political life was unknown.’<sup>771</sup> He seemed to have questioned the moderate politics and argued that ‘political thought was non-existent in the College.’<sup>772</sup> Ghose appeared to be making his analysis for the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. As this trend had shifted in favour of nationalism during the Principalship of Rudra (1907-1923) as discussed earlier. Furthermore, Ghose has pointed out that during his forty years in College, 1887-91, 1898-1918, ‘there was no communal question inside or outside the College.’<sup>773</sup> Only the lack of Civil Services Examination in India may have led to some discontent. He also argued that there was no bitterness against the foreign rule initially. Additionally, there was no educational institution for girls in Delhi.<sup>774</sup>

James Allan Lovejoy, a lecturer in History and English, 1933-35, also pointed out that there was a mix of people in the College in the 1930s and 1940s around Principal Mukarji.<sup>775</sup> Lovejoy (1933-35) was also the Vice-Principal in 1940-42. S.N. Mukarji also believed in the tutorial system.<sup>776</sup> He strongly enforced this that knitted the college community closely.

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<sup>770</sup>Ibid.

<sup>771</sup>Ibid.

<sup>772</sup>Ibid.p.20.

<sup>773</sup>Ibid.

<sup>774</sup>Ibid.

<sup>775</sup>*The Stephanian*, Harish Trivedi(ed). Vol.XC no.1 College Centenary Issue 1 February 1981, St. Stephen's in Our Times, p.34‘Article by James Allan Lovejoy’.p.44.

<sup>776</sup>Ibid.



**Plate 5.1, I.H. Qureshi, Ram Behari, C.J.G. Robinson, K.C. Nag, T.G.P. Spear, C.B. Young, Mukarji and others**

Percival Spear joined the College in 1924 as a Lecturer and stayed in Delhi till 1944.<sup>777</sup> Percival Spear and Margaret Spear, his wife(2010) in their autobiography made observations in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s about their time in India. Women in India during this time were either invisible or cloaked in Purdah.<sup>778</sup> He noticed a friction between the Brotherhood and the College people.<sup>779</sup> He also observed close relations between the faculty and students at the College.<sup>780</sup> The teachers treated the students as equals. Moreover, the tutorial system was very beneficial as it established intimacy with the teachers.

<sup>777</sup>Percival Spear and Margaret Spear, *India Remembered*, New Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2010,backcover.

<sup>778</sup>Ibid.p.5.

<sup>779</sup>Ibid.p.8.

<sup>780</sup>Ibid.p.10.

Spear (2010) also argued that Andrews was considered as the creator of the College before the World War I.<sup>781</sup> During the religious period Christian faith was taught by the staff members of the College. The afternoons were spent in games and Sports.<sup>782</sup> St. Stephen's College therefore had a holistic environment where we notice the students being developed spiritually, emotionally, mentally, and physically. This kind of exposure enabled the students to become alert and sound in health. The evenings saw the buzz of College Societies of different types.<sup>783</sup> Further, the College encouraged students to study their faith along with Christianity. 'Every year a 'Gita' class was started but it was rarely heard after Christmas.'<sup>784</sup> The religious period even for the M.A. students was between 6:30 and 7:10 am as observed on 14 June 1929, sanctioned by Principal Mukarji.<sup>785</sup> This was the time when the mind was fresh and alert to receive new ideas.

Spear (2010) some students in their twenties would take leave and get Ghee.<sup>786</sup> The Jats were particularly faithful to their homeland.<sup>787</sup> The hostels were unusually cosmopolitan, even for India, because of the diverse elements which made up the official class in New Delhi and the middle class in the city and the Punjab. There were city and Punjabi Muslims, a Bengali group from New Delhi, men from Uttar Pradesh, Marathas from Bombay, southerners from Madras, a hillman or two and an occasional Rajput. These were divided between two messes, vegetarian and non-vegetarian. However, there were petty disputes.<sup>788</sup>

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<sup>781</sup>Ibid.p.19.

<sup>782</sup>Ibid.p.20.

<sup>783</sup>Ibid.p. 21.

<sup>784</sup>Ibid.p.21.

<sup>785</sup>File Edu Admin, 1922-1938,1945, Administration, Subject-Timetable for teaching/Examination, Date-1922-1945, Contents as above,6.6.1929.

<sup>786</sup>Percival Spear and Margaret Spear, India Remembered, New Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2010,p.22.

<sup>787</sup>Ibid.p.23

<sup>788</sup>Ibid.p.22.

The Jains were careful about eating.<sup>789</sup> They were strict about the kinds of foods they ate in addition to the timing of their meals. They avoided onions and beetroots and had food before Sunset. Monthly College dinner was a success in India because Indians love social gatherings. But the Jain community generally were absent on these occasions.<sup>790</sup>

Food gave sense of fellowship to the community. It was an occasion where people overcame their differences by humbling themselves for a common cause. Students, staff and teachers came together in a spirit of Camaraderie dissolving their differences. This was also a time period when Principal Mukarji insisted on attendance during these College dinners. It may be argued that the mess helped regulate the life in College along with a sense of unity for the College itself. It was a place where perhaps the National Movement was debated upon. It was also where teachers and students-built intimacy by eating together. Food also developed the culture through a healthy exchange of recipes between the East and the West.

Spear (2010) argued that where there was any indiscipline in class, the Principal would come and sit and observe the class. This would stop the indiscipline.<sup>791</sup> This goes to show that the Principal offered a degree of personal touch to the learners. Therefore, Principal Mukarji offered respite and support to struggling teachers. Also, ‘inspite of these diversities of race, community, and temperament the staff in general got on well together.’<sup>792</sup> Spear (2010) has argued that further the different groups of people in College had their own traits. Muslims were part of the playing fields, Bengalis were a cultural group and were clannish. The Punjabis were seen as barbaric,

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<sup>789</sup>Ibid.p.23.

<sup>790</sup>Ibid.p.24.

<sup>791</sup>Ibid.p.25.

<sup>792</sup>Ibid.p.26.

the Kayasthas were a flexible group, the bania an intelligent group and the Rajputs not intellectuals but shrewd and proud.<sup>793</sup> The Southerners were a knowledgeable group known for their strange accent.<sup>794</sup> Sikhs were more monied than mannered and the Marathas tried to escape summer heat.<sup>795</sup> The above descriptions give us an insight into life as it was for the communities with their own peculiarities. This showed that every group had their own ways of doing things even within the College. Although some understandings may sound a little too critical. But they are nonetheless interesting because they are the observations of an Englishman, Percival Spear.

Spear (2010) also looked at how the College established close ties with the City. Furthermore, Nationalism was the cry of the age.<sup>796</sup> Moreover clubs were meant for reading and talking.<sup>797</sup> But, it may be said that ‘internal factions were more important than National issues.’<sup>798</sup> ‘The rivalries in Delhi persisted between communities. The communities were more communal rather than national in feeling.’<sup>799</sup> In 1924, within six months, there was loss of life due to communal riots. Moreover, the Students courted arrests and were incarcerated, Spear (2010) in the 1930s further wrote as a teacher, ‘we would attend their trials and supply them(students) with books.’ The most exciting was the participation of Hindu women who took to the Streets, picketing liquor and foreign items shops, participated in meetings and demonstrations.<sup>800</sup> This kind of atmosphere obviously ignited the nationalism in the College. Afterall, the College was very much a part of the City.

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<sup>793</sup>Ibid.p.29.

<sup>794</sup>Ibid.p.30.

<sup>795</sup>Ibid.

<sup>796</sup>Ibid.p.37.

<sup>797</sup>Ibid.p.44.

<sup>798</sup>Ibid.p.46.

<sup>799</sup>Ibid.p.46.

<sup>800</sup>Ibid.p.49.

According to Spear (2010) education was all about sowing a seed.<sup>801</sup> The teachers impacted the Alumni in different settings.<sup>802</sup> There were Christians in minority constituting only 2 percent of the total population.<sup>803</sup> Self-preservation was more important than evangelisation. Some of the people converted because opportunities and posts were given to people who were considered bright.<sup>804</sup>

The ambience in the College has been such that it has given the freedom to the learners to enjoy different careers given the different range of subjects. The teachers were also usually high on quality. The students were openly interested in discussing with the teachers and peers their ideas. One reason why the quality improved was because of the different societies and clubs. These were hotbeds of rigorous training and discussion where even Nationalist ideas were also being formed. Therefore, David Baker called Stephanians moderate nationalists. This was because radicalism to a large extent was curbed by the government grants that the College received. Most teachers were revered.

In summary, the Chapter has given us a brief overview on how the College fared, the Principals and the College Society at large. We also get insights on many contemporary topics in Pre- Independent India. This helps us situate the College in its relevant context, in the light of the national movement and its various struggles. This gives us a holistic view of the College.

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<sup>801</sup>Ibid.p.52.

<sup>802</sup>Ibid.

<sup>803</sup>Ibid.

<sup>804</sup>Ibid.p.60.



## Chapter Six

### Summary and Conclusion

The Chapter presents a summary of the study. It may be recalled that St. Stephen's College, Delhi had acquired a reputation of excellence based on the all-round development of the learner, which was a cherished value along with a democratic tradition of close teacher-student relationships. Moreover, the national movement further created an ambience of enthusiasm and hope amongst the members of the College. Gradually, women students also joined the institution usually excelling at College, despite their limited numbers, but St. Stephen's College, Delhi continued to be called an elitist organization. Nonetheless, it was a College with a conscience.

Chapter one traced the reasons behind studying institutional histories like the History of St. Stephen's College, Delhi. St. Stephen's College, Delhi started as a missionary organization and transformed into a more secular and democratic entity because of its tradition of excellence, its humanitarian views and its political ideas. Additionally, the role of the College Principals also played a great role in changing the College. Besides, the review, rationale, objectives, research questions, sources of data, research methodology and chapterization were also discussed.

Chapter two has thrown light on the inception of the College under Allnutt and his successors. The College began as an elitist and religious organization. But because it could not win too many converts as argued by Ashok Jaitly (2006), it acquired a moral tone in the later years. The College was about attending the morning assembly and holding discussions in the various clubs and societies. The issues were based on religion and the nation and much more. As people from St. Stephen's College, Delhi

were from different religious backgrounds like the Delhi College. F.F. Monk has shown that the St. Stephen's College was a successor of the Government College.<sup>805</sup> Both these institutions merged the eastern and western values to create an interesting amalgamation of ideas.

J. B. Dunlem (1881) has put forth that the Cambridge Mission to Delhi was evangelistic in nature. Only sacrificial and service minded persons were called to join the mission.<sup>806</sup> Allnutt was one such missionary. He became a prominent educationist in Delhi who tirelessly worked for the welfare of all kinds of people. Additionally, he was passionate about Sanskrit. Therefore, he invited scholars from Benaras to promote the learning of Sanskrit in College. Furthermore, M.A. Sanskrit classes were initiated in College, by him.<sup>807</sup> This goes to display that in order to transform the College, missionaries like Allnutt were occidental and oriental in their approach. The Cambridge missionaries were blending the Eastern and Western values to establish excellence and creating a dialogue between the teacher and students.

Allnutt was the first Principal of St. Stephen's College. Three things stood out in his era, as reported by David Baker. Firstly, his excitement regarding the reception in the College in Chandni Chowk. Secondly, his flexibility, regarding the appointment of Principal Rudra. Thirdly, Allnutt's defense of the accused Amir Chand, a Stephanian, in the Delhi Conspiracy Case of 1913. This concerned the Bomb Attack against the Viceroy Hardinge.<sup>808</sup> This showed that Allnutt was enthusiastic, flexible and responsible. Likewise, St. Stephen's College, Delhi also acquired similar virtues.

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<sup>805</sup>F. F. Monk, *A History of St. Stephen's College*, Delhi, 1935, p.14.

<sup>806</sup>J. B. Dunlem, 'The Cambridge Mission to Delhi Reprinted from Cambridge Review November 23, 1881,' *New Building for St. Stephen's College, Delhi*, 1889-91, p.1

<sup>807</sup>*St. Stephen's College Magazine*, Feb. 1921 to Dec.1922, p.5.

<sup>808</sup>David Baker, 'St. Stephen's College, Delhi, 1881-1997,' 1998, p.74.

Additionally, Allnutt was a democrat according to C.H. Martin, as most students were non-Christians.<sup>809</sup> Also, the staff was made responsible in the process of governance. The social composition of the students even in 1881 showed that there was not a single Christian at the inception of the College.<sup>810</sup> There was also a dialogue between the East and the West in the Cambridge Mission. There were close teacher-student relations<sup>811</sup> that existed thanks to the practice of smaller classes, tutorial system and the residence. A democratic culture therefore, developed consisting of the above-mentioned elements which made the College more secular. The College was no longer favouring Christianity only and the subsequent evangelization like before. The primary goal was preparation for Government service<sup>812</sup> which continued to make the College elitist. Moreover, racism existed even among the missionaries. As there was a difference in pay among the English and Indian teachers as David Baker (1998) has pointed out. Education was additionally holistic focusing on academics and games.

It may be argued that the College also supported the marginalized. The case of a blind student Chanda Singh who did well despite his blindness helped one look at love for the differently abled. During Allnutt's era there were efforts to free oneself of the rigid control of the Delhi Mission which led to a greater level of democracy in College. During Allnutt's era there were efforts towards an inclusive education including the rich and the poor alike, towards the latter part of his era. During Principal Wright's era the Hindu College came up which was lower in fees and easier on discipline, attracting the masses.

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<sup>809</sup>Cecil H. Martin, *Allnutt of Delhi*, 1922,p.77.

<sup>810</sup>File No. AD 1, Students, Social Background, Subject: Lists Students Social Information, 1881-1906, Contents: List of Students by Class /year, Caste/ Community, Address, School.

<sup>811</sup>Hayden Bellenoit' Education , Missionaries and the Indian Nation c. 1880-1920,' 2014, p.179.

<sup>812</sup>F.F. Monk, *A History of St. Stephen's College, Delhi*, 1935,p.30.

Chapter three was divided into Part A and Part B. Part A talked about the biographical sketch of Rudra and Andrews. It also highlighted their respective personalities and their influences. Part B examined the making of Rudra as the first Indian Principal of the College and the drafting of the College Constitution in 1913. Also, we observe the national movement that stirred the College. Additionally, there was a liberal campus culture which developed consequently. There was moreover, a democratic tradition and equality in the College. Like Andrews the College became nationalistic and less missionary.

Even Gandhi saw Rudra supporting the extremists.<sup>813</sup> Rudra had ties with Har Dayal and others. Rudra was a nationalist at heart. He supported education amongst the youth and continued to maintain ties with the nationalist leaders. He invited some of the nationalist leaders like Tagore and Gandhi to College. He inspired Andrews to change his views concerning India.

Additionally, Andrews also had ties with the nationalists of the day.. According to T.G.P. Spear (1940) Andrews three main concerns were racism, nationalism and poverty. Andrews also wrote on many current issues.<sup>814</sup> He felt a need for social reform and integration not independence and violence.<sup>815</sup> He can be called the unsung hero of India's national movement inspiring the youth to think and discuss many issues of the day. M. Asaf Ali, the freedom fighter and former student of St. Stephen's College remembered Andrews as an outstanding teacher.<sup>816</sup>

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<sup>813</sup>Ibid.

<sup>814</sup>S.R. Bakshi, 'C. F. Andrews: A true Gandhian : A Study of His Work for Indian Nationalism,' 1990, p.455.

<sup>815</sup>Ibid.

<sup>816</sup>G.N.S. Raghavan, *M. Asaf Ali's Memoirs*, Delhi: Ajanta Publications, 1994,p.57.

Andrews was also politically active, supporting Gandhi's fast and stood against the Hindu -Muslim riots.<sup>817</sup> Both Gandhi and Andrews loved the marginalized. They were also spiritually similar.<sup>818</sup> The College continued to become humanitarian with an emphasis on the Rudra Dinner for workers. and social work undertaken by Andrews. The College's Social Service League was also noteworthy in helping the needy.

Part B of the Chapter discussed how Rudra was made the Principal amidst heated debates. Concerning the National Movement, it may be recalled that Susan Visvanathan (2002) had put forth that Har Dayal and his revolutionary activities were supported by Rudra according to Ajit Rudra, his younger son. St. Stephen's College took part in the Swadeshi Movement which followed the partition of Bengal. Amir Chand and Awadh Behari also were accused of being in the Delhi Conspiracy case in 1913. In 1907, the Risley Circular came about which forced the Government and Government Aided Colleges not to discuss political issues. But St. Stephen's College did not obey these orders. As a result Andrews was spied on.<sup>819</sup> Nevertheless Andrews acted as a bridge between the Indians and British. He was supported by Rudra. Rudra loved India but he wanted the students of the College not to give up their studies.

The drafting of the College Constitution by Rudra and Andrews came about due to a few reasons. C.B.C. Young a Baptist was appointed as the Pastor in the men's boarding house. The S.P.G. was not happy about this development. The Cambridge Committee and S.P.G. complained to Bishop Lefroy and Allnutt about these acts. By May 1911, the Constitution was drafted by Rudra sent to the Cambridge Committee,

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<sup>817</sup>K.L.Seshagiri Rao, *Mahatma Gandhi and C.F.Andrews, A Study in Hindu Christian Dialogue*, 1969,p.8.

<sup>818</sup>C.F.Andrews, *What I Owe To Christ*, 1932,p.165.

<sup>819</sup>C.M. Millington, *A History of the Cambridge/ Delhi Brotherhood*, 1999, p.102.

The Constitution tried to Indianize the College. It gave power to the non-Christians. The Principal and Vice Principal were not to be strictly Christians. The instruction allowed non-Christians to hold posts in the Managing Committee. Rudra and Andrews wanted to increase the Indian staff members of the College. Both had partially won.<sup>820</sup>

Creating a liberal culture Andrews wanted India to move away from idolatry and superstitions. But the country remembered motherhood. He also laboured for untouchables. He believed in equality and democratic tradition. Clubs and Societies were an important component of College. The Tutorial System brought the teachers and students closer. Andrews appreciated Indian education for its Brahmachari Ashram ideal.<sup>821</sup> He supported National Education. Poverty and Renunciation as important ideals of the Indian Education System. Additionally, Andrews appreciated the Indian women. So, the College also became a Co-Ed in 1928 as Ashok Jaitly (2006) has pointed out. Thus, Rudra's time period was about all-round development of the pupil and a heterogeneous composition of the student body.<sup>822</sup> Rudra also helped in setting up the Delhi University in 1922, bridging together different religious groups and overcoming racism. Also, during Rudra's era students were involved in the social service league in a big way. The College Constitution gave an Indianized character to the college, making it more secular.

Chapter four informed us that the College became a centre of elitism and excellence by Mukarji's era from 1926 to 1945 because of the increasing bureaucratic culture. Not only were the children of civil servants admitted into College,<sup>823</sup> but the students

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<sup>820</sup>Nandini Chatterjee, *The Making of Indian Secularism*, 2011, p.124.

<sup>821</sup>C.F.Andrews, *To the Students*, Madras: S. Ganesan Publisher, 1921, p.38.

<sup>822</sup>David Baker, 'St. Stephen's College,' 1998, p.83.

<sup>823</sup>Ibid.

usually aspired to become bureaucrats.<sup>824</sup> First, the concept of Nationalism was discussed. Nationalism according to Partha Chatterjee(1993)who perceived Nationalism as a derivative discourse from the West. Furthermore, Nationalism according to Partha Chatterjee (1993) saw two realms. The first realm consisted of the spiritual realm where nationalism reigned. The outer realm where the material realm reigned, dominated by the Colonial Government.<sup>825</sup> The reason why we were looking at Nationalism as a political ideology was because ideology cannot be divorced from institutions.

Mukarji was part of several committees in Delhi University. He played a significant role in the Lindsay Commission as well which was recruiting Indian Christian staff who were properly qualified with a sense of vocation about their work. But the whole idea was not just to recruit Christian staff but a strong Indian staff who would be taken in alongside the staff from universities abroad.<sup>826</sup>

Lindsay Commission also believed in extension which was about delivery of lectures on popular topics of History and Politics. Work had to be carried out with YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association) Research also remained an important component of the Commission on issues revolving around cultural interaction, communal problem and racial prejudice. Social service by staff and students was another concern.<sup>827</sup>

Mukarji was a secular leader. On the personal front he married Chandu Lall's daughter, a Punjabi. Also, the inter-dining at College broke the barriers of caste,

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<sup>824</sup>*The Stephanian*, Vol.CVIII, No.1, April 2000, 'Interview with Mr. Bipin Bihari Lall' by Venkat Ramanujam Ramani, Daniel Mathew, Dr.Harsh Kumar,p.31.

<sup>825</sup>Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition*, Delhi: Orient Longman, 2004, p.189.

<sup>826</sup>File No. E. Chev, 1931-32 regarding Lindsay Report EGI Education, Subject: Christian Higher Education-India: NA (1930s)1931-32, Contents:Report of the Sub- Committee of SSC on the Lindsay Commission and other related material,p.1.

<sup>827</sup>*Ibid*.p.2.

community and race. This was stated by C.B. Young(1945), later by David Baker (1998). Chaman Behari Lal Saxena, an old student writing in 1930 also emphasized the importance of a common college dinner as it would break the differences between people and unite them as fellow-beings in a spirit of democracy.<sup>828</sup>

There appeared a debate whether Mukarji was a nationalist or not. C.J. G. Robinson branded Mukarji a Nationalist because he wanted India free.<sup>829</sup> Also, he called certain nationalist leaders to College as noted by Jaitly. But, Monk has explained that the students preferred a game of cricket to politics, as mentioned earlier. David Baker(1998) pointed out that Mukarji was active on the New Delhi party scene showing that he was close to the British government. But I H Qureshi revealed that Mukarji would admit students despite their political affiliations.<sup>830</sup> Akhileshwar Dayal Mithal, an old student recalled how Mukarji also prayed for Gandhi's success.<sup>831</sup>

Additionally, Mukarji was a strong advocate of Women's Education. He allowed the A. I.W.C. (All India Women's Conference) to perform in College. Women were performing well in College and emerging out of the Purdah. Perhaps the shift to University Enclave made more room for the women students. But after his death the College shut its doors to women students in 1949 with the establishment of Miranda House.<sup>832</sup> The women students generally fared well at the College as exemplified by students like Roma Sarkar and Sucheta Kriplani as pointed out by Ashok Jaitly (2006) and Sucheta Kriplani(1940s).

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<sup>828</sup>*The St. Stephen's College Magazine*, Vol.XXIII, No. 1, February 1930,'College Chronicle' by Chaman Behari Lal Saxena,p.26.

<sup>829</sup>*The Stephanian*, Mukarji Memorial Number, October 1945, p.32. Address by Rev. Canon C.J.G. Robinson.

<sup>830</sup>*The Stephanian*, Harish Trivedi (ed). Vol.XC No.1.College Centenary Issue, 1 February 1981,'Article by I.H. Qureshi,'p.9.

<sup>831</sup> Aparna Basu(ed).*Down Memory Lane*, The Platinum Year 1922-1997, University of Delhi,'Nostalgia' by Akhileshwar Dayal Mithal, February 2000,p.32.

<sup>832</sup> Ashok Jaitly, *St. Stephen's College, A History*, New Delhi : Roli Books, 2006,p.55.



David Baker (1998) has also debated that the staff- student nexus weakened under Mukarji perhaps because he was bureaucratic and strict. But, the Stephanian showed that Mukarji was hospitable to students, particular about his morning tutorials and College inter- dining. These practices may have strengthened the staff and student ties. So, the above point seemed debatable.

Chapter five has examined the view of Alumni and teachers concerning the College and matters pertaining to Education. Har Dayal was one such alumnus of the College. Har Dayal wrote on education. According to Har Dayal the purpose of education was to serve humanity. His basic purpose in life was knowledge coupled with service and selflessness.<sup>833</sup>

Har Dayal (1929) critiqued the present Education system as it prolonged subservience to the British rule. He gave a lot of importance to Dharma or duty.<sup>834</sup> Har Dayal also critiqued the education system established by the British government, finding it unsound. He felt that the current education system was being led by alien people.<sup>835</sup>

Har Dayal (1929) revealed that the chief motive behind the British Education was consolidation of the British rule.<sup>836</sup> Har Dayal (1929) was critical of those who relied on the English language, particularly the upper classes. He was apprehensive of the decline of Sanskrit. Thus, Har Dayal (1929) was a product of St. Stephen's College, Delhi who learnt to look at educational institutions critically. He learnt from the West and used it to instil confidence to one's own culture. The British Educational System widened the gap between the classes and the masses and disrespecting Indian heroes

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<sup>833</sup>Emily C. Brown, *Har Dayal, Hindu Revolutionary and Rationalist*, New Delhi: Manohar, 1957,p.300.

<sup>834</sup>Har Dayal, *Our Educational Problem*, Madras: Tagore and Company, 1929,p.6.

<sup>835</sup>Ibid.p.16.

<sup>836</sup>Ibid.p.22.

and political aspirations.<sup>837</sup> But some of his views were very traditional, almost Xenophobic.

According to Har Dayal, the British Educational System led to denationalization and demoralization.<sup>838</sup> Additionally, Har Dayal also critiqued the university Education which made the young men take up no useful profession as such. This would lead to poverty and economic enslavement of the race.<sup>839</sup>

Har Dayal gave a lot of importance to Sanskrit. This was similar to Allnutt who patronized Sanskrit. Har Dayal believed that there was denationalization in Government Colleges.<sup>840</sup> Har Dayal was perhaps disillusioned by the Western Culture in St. Stephen's College, Delhi and found the people mostly anglicized. Sucheta Kriplani also has thrown light on her times in the College. She seemed to have adjusted to the College even though women students were a minority then.

Alumni accounts are replete with illustrations of close- teacher relations, the personality and policy of the Principals and Nationalistic accounts, etc. The account of Percival Spear and Margaret Spear for instance, throw light on teacher-student relations that were built on closeness.<sup>841</sup> Moreover, inter-dining also helped bring students, staff and teachers close, despite petty disputes.<sup>842</sup> Students courted arrests and were imprisoned. In the 1930s teachers would attend trials and supply students with books. Women's participation was high during this time.<sup>843</sup>

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<sup>837</sup>Ibid.p.73.

<sup>838</sup>Ibid.p.76.

<sup>839</sup>Ibid.p.83.

<sup>840</sup>Ibid.p.93.

<sup>841</sup>Percival Spear and Margaret Spear, *India Remembered*, New Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2010,p.10.

<sup>842</sup>Ibid.p.22.

<sup>843</sup>Ibid.p.49.

This chapter has examined Chapters one, two, three, four and five in its summary aspects along with the main themes that emerged in course of our research. The main themes that arose have dealt with the foundation of the College based on democratic traditions and all-round development, close teacher- student relationships, issue of elitism, issue of nationalism, the concept of education, the evolution of the College, the role of the College Principals and Nationalists, the Women's Question, and a College with a Conscience.

### **I Foundation of the College based on democratic traditions and all -round development and evolution of the College**

The College was founded on the ideal of interaction. It was believed that the faith that came about was as a result of interaction between the East and the West. Even though the West was supposed to be progressive, it did not look down on the East. Thus, the founding fathers of St. Stephen's College, Delhi based their foundation on the aspect of a meaningful dialogue between the East and the West. One such legend was Brooke Foss Westcott of the Cambridge tradition who inspired C.F. Andrews and others to think on similar lines.

The Cambridge Brotherhood established itself based on a dialogue between the West and the East. It was not based on faith that was imposed, but faith that drew the strengths of the East and debated with the West and tapped on Western resources as well. Charles Freer Andrews, a Cambridge brother, teaching in St. Stephen's College, also was appreciative of Macaulay's Minutes, 1835. At the same time, did not look down the Indian Education for its austere qualities of poverty, renunciation and nationalization of education.<sup>844</sup> The base laid out by Westcott and others guided the

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<sup>844</sup>C.F. Andrews, *To The Students*, Madras: S. Ganesan Publisher, 1921,p.41.

works of the Principals of St. Stephen's College, Delhi. These were primarily, Allnutt, Rudra and Mukarji. Allnutt, was a democrat, Rudra encouraged Indo- European values and Mukarji was highly supportive of bureaucratic culture.<sup>845</sup>

Moreover, the College was committed to excellence. Valsan Thampu(2017) has also argued that the College was committed to the poor.<sup>846</sup> The College emphasized the need for academic rigour and participation in games and co- curriculars so that there could be an overall development of the learner. The stress was on a well- rounded personality. Furthermore, the College started out as an evangelistic organization. But, in course of time it evolved into a secular institution because of the low level of conversions as reported by Ashok Jaitly. It may be recalled that religious education given to the pupils was not about only College Assembly based on the Bible teaching. It was also about teachers of other faiths discussing their ideas on their respective religions.<sup>847</sup>

The College was a spiritual entity based on good moral values. The College Motto was *To The Glory of God*. The College paid a lot of importance to the College Assembly. The moral values of the students were also important as reported by the Alumni. Khushwant Singh, an Alumni of the College got acquainted with the Bible, here at the College. He described it as a great literary work.<sup>848</sup> Influences like these shaped Singh into a great writer of all times. Singh had become secular and democratic in his approach with his reading of the Bible mixed with his own faith.

Initially the College had focused itself on winning Indians to Christ. But later this was not too viable so there was an emphasis on moral values, is the argument given by

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<sup>845</sup>David Baker, 'St. Stephen's College', 1998, p.83.

<sup>846</sup>Valsan Thampu, *On a Stormy Course*,2017,p.22.

<sup>847</sup>File No. CAI SC 1, College Government, Subject: Supreme Council, Date: 1913-1924, Contents: Supreme Council Reports on Teaching, Religious Instruction, etc., 27 April 1923.

<sup>848</sup>Lola Chatterji and Aditya Bhattacharjea(ed).*The Fiction of St. Stephen's*,2000,p.Vii.

Ashok Jaitly (2006). Allnutt cared for all sections of the society as shown by his obituary. He remained single and committed to the College. He shifted the College to Kashmere Gate in 1891 as he wanted perhaps a larger premises for the College.

Under Rudra, things reached a new high. His very appointment as the first Indian Principal of the College gave a filip to the National Movement in College. There were participants in the Non- Cooperation Movement from College. Rudra and Andrews were a remarkable team. They helped in giving an Indian character to the College not just by drafting the Constitution but also through lectures by non-Christian faculty on their respective religions as pointed out by Nandini Chatterjee. Rudra also tried to bring parity in pay of teachers from abroad with the Indian teachers. The struggle was long but he won in 1909. This goes to show that there was inherent racism even in the Missionary circles as well.

The admission policy of students under Mukarji showed that there was a great deal of heterogeneity among students. This was confirmed by David Baker (1998). Under Mukarji, the students were the children of Civil Servants. David Baker (1998) has demonstrated that Mukarji attended the New Delhi parties and was active in the political circles. However, Mukarji despite his strict temperament-built bridges through his hospitable nature, College dinners, etc. He also encouraged the women students. But, his un-timely death brought things to a standstill.

## **II. Close teacher- student relationships**

St. Stephen's College, Delhi from day one understood the benefits of a small class. As intimate teacher- student relations went a long way into moulding students into responsible adults. Some students forged life-long ties with their teachers and senior members of the College. Amir Chand for instance, were defended by Canon Allnutt in

the Delhi Conspiracy Case of 1912-1913.<sup>849</sup> Additionally, the Alumni accounts also speak volumes of the close teacher- student relations. Another consequence of the proximity between the teachers and students can be seen in the character of the pupils. This was true of residence students who considered the College as their home. Principal Rudra built close ties between the teachers and students as reported by David Baker (1998). Principal Mukarji according to Baker (1998) did not build a close network between the students and the staff.<sup>850</sup> But, research has shown that Mukarji also built bridges with his students through early morning tutorial meetings. His wife Mary Mukarji was also very hospitable to the students. Mary and her children were warm and prayerful and kept the guests comfortable.<sup>851</sup> The Mukarjis kept their home open to the learners at College. Mary Mukarji was very popular amongst the women students of the College as well. The Women students it seemed were inspired by Mary Mukarji. She was exceptionally warm and welcoming. Additionally, Mukarji gave money to the needy students. No wonder Mukarji lasted as the Principal of the College for several years. Mukarji may have been a disciplinarian. But, he did what he could to build the College. Mukarji was associated with St. Stephen's College, Delhi for thirty-two years.<sup>852</sup>

### **III. Issue of Elitism**

The College has been perceived as Elitist by some quarters of the media. Shashi Tharoor (2007) put forth that the College did not discriminate on the basis of Caste, Religion or Region. However, there was a difference in the way day scholars for instance, were perceived from residential students. Ashok Jaitly has looked at how the

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<sup>849</sup> David Baker, 'St. Stephen's College,' 1998, p.74.

<sup>850</sup> Ibid, p.84.

<sup>851</sup> The Stephanian, Mukarji Memorial Number, October 1945, p.14, 'Article by Hilda M. Gould.'

<sup>852</sup> The Stephanian, Mukarji Memorial Number, October 1845, p.10, 'Article by Ram Kishore.'

College was into evangelization in the initial period till it learnt the ground realities of how it was difficult to convert people. Moreover, earlier the Christian teachers were taken in under Allnutt as per policy. Later, this too may have become difficult because teachers in India were from all faiths. So, one could not become elitist as far as Christian faith was concerned or even insular. The College also gave financial assistance to its learners as noted by F.F. Monk (1935). There were Scholarships also in place to aid the learners. Ashok Jaitly(2006) has talked about the son of a gardener who also made it to the College.

Moreover, Principal Rudra tried to look after the workers of the College, by setting aside money for the Rudra dinner which exclusively gave food to the workers of the College on one particular day of the year. Also, the Social Service League set up in College worked for the welfare of the society at large, it may be argued that teachers like Charles Freer Andrews were compassionate towards the marginalized sections. He was given the title Deenbandhu or Friend of the Poor by Gandhi. Also, Andrews wanted to stay among the poor to help them. But, his personal health did not allow him. Although he inspired his students to follow this act. His sense of education was based on poverty and renunciation.<sup>853</sup> S.S. Rao also defined quality education as looking after the marginalized.<sup>854</sup> Social justice and merit should go hand- in-hand.

According to some, this elitism could be attributed to the medium of instruction and communication, which was English. St. Stephen's College, Delhi had a Colonial heritage which was due to its Cambridge antecedents. Also, as mentioned the teachers were usually, foreign returned, especially, in the initial years. The students have also ended up carving a niche for themselves in society. Many of the former students were

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<sup>853</sup>C.F. Andrews, *To the Students*, Madras: S. Ganesan Publisher, 1921,p.41.

<sup>854</sup>S. Srinivasa Rao, 'Dalits in Education and Workforce,' *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.37, No. 29(July 20-26, 2002),p. 2999.

found in important positions in society and the list is rather long. Therefore, the alumni has imparted a special status to their College in our society. Being a Stephanian, has added the brand value to its students. The College became bureaucratic under Mukarji (Baker, 1998). Students in the College aspired to become usually Civil Servants. (Behari Lall,2000).

#### **IV. Issue of Nationalism**

Allnutt in his days tried to save Amir Chand who was a Stephanian.<sup>855</sup> But, the courts hung him on charges of attacking the Viceroy Hardinge in 1912-13. This showed that Allnutt although English tried to come to the defense of certain Indians. Rudra on the other hand, did not support mass movements but he was otherwise a Nationalist to a moderate extent. Rudra just wanted the students to listen to their own convictions vis-à-vis the National Movement. At the same time he did not want to compromise on the high standards set by the College with regard to academics. It may also be argued that Rudra helped Stephanians like Har Dayal by funding him and helping Har Dayal escape. Additionally, Rudra stood by Andrews and together they tried to Indianize the College by drafting a Constitution by 1913. Further, it may be argued that very appointment of Rudra as the Principal of the College was the turning point in the History of the College. As Rudra was the first Indian Principal of the College.<sup>856</sup>

From the very beginning there were efforts to free the College from foreign Missionary control. Allnutt tried to shift the College from Chandni Chowk to Kashmere Gate keeping this purpose in mind. Andrews and Rudra also tried to reduce the authority of the Cambridge Mission by drafting the Constitution. Moreover, Rudra invited Gandhi to stay at his home. But when the missionary authorities reprimanded

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<sup>855</sup> David Baker, 'St. Stephen's College, '1998,p.74.

<sup>856</sup> Ibid.p.76.



him Rudra admitted that it was difficult to refuse a friend who came calling on him. During Rudra's time period as the Principal, we see the keen interest of the College in Nationalist politics of the time. This is because C.F. Andrews, the close associate of Gandhi and Tagore had been greatly influenced by Rudra's idea of Nationalism. Gandhi and Tagore also visited College around for this reason. Respect for the National leaders shaped the way Rudra and Andrews thought. According to Andrews, Gandhi was an ambassador of 'love, unity and peace.'<sup>857</sup>

Andrews too was under strict surveillance of the Missionary authorities abroad. So much so that he was spied upon because he encouraged his students to discuss nationalist issues despite the Risley Circular.<sup>858</sup> The Risley Circular (1907) of the government forbade discussion on Nationalism in Colleges. But, the College flouted these orders, as mentioned earlier. In addition, when Lajpat Rai was released from prison, the College was decorated, but the government was not happy about this. There was a constant threat of the Government withdrawing its grants to the College. Mukarji was mindful of this consistently. Gandhi accused him that Mukarji would avoid calling him to College. There are others who debate that Mukarji wanted to see the College free. But, he never openly supported the National Movement. This goes to show that the College on the whole was a moderate nationalist as per David Baker. Our evidence also pointed to the above.

Andrews was perhaps the only nationalist who helped the cause of Indian Nationalism in the latter part of his life, very openly. He kept in touch with the Congress, Gandhi and Tagore. In fact, one of the reasons he eventually quit College was because he wanted to focus on the National Movement. After his retirement, Andrews worked on

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<sup>857</sup>C.F. Andrews, 'The influence of Mahatma Gandhi,<https://www.gandhiashram.org/Gandhi-articles/influence-of-mahatma-gandhi.php> Accessed on 07-10-2020.

<sup>858</sup>Benarsidas Chaturvedi and Marjorie Sykes, *Charles Freer Andrews, A Narrative*, 1949,p.53.

Education with Tagore. He appreciated the Indian Education for its principles of renunciation and poverty that gave it character. Further, he critiqued Macaulay for overlooking the strengths of Indian Education. It appeared that Andrews wanted a synthesis between Indian and Western Education. Assimilation was required not substitution.<sup>859</sup>

Andrews also wrote extensively in support of the Indian Women. It seemed that he was sensitive to the sufferings of women. Women were to be educated as this was linked to the progress of the nation. The writings of Andrews it may be argued inspired the College to open its doors to women students. After all, Andrews kept in touch with the College in Rudra's time and the Mukarji era. Rudra in his annual report wanted the students of the College to help Andrews in Fiji to free the Indian indentured labour.<sup>860</sup> Also, after retirement Andrews laid the foundation stone of the College when it shifted to the University Enclave in 1939.

## **V. Concept of Education**

The College acquired liberal values interacting with the West, but the overall development of the person was the core of education. Even teachers were active at the games. Be it Andrews, or Mukarji. Therefore, the students were expected to perform well at the academics and co-curriculars. In 1930s a game of cricket was preferred to the national movement activities in College, as mentioned earlier.

Tagore's philosophy of education and that of Gandhi would have exercised a great influence on the life of the College. Gandhi believed in vocationalization of education. This may have inspired the desire of Stephanians to crack the Civil

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<sup>859</sup>C.F. Andrews, *The Renaissance in India*, 1912, p.34.

<sup>860</sup>File No. E-PR 1920, Education Annual Report, Subject : Principal's Report(S.K.Report), Date:1920-21, Contents: Copy of Principal's Annual Report.

Services. Many of the Civil Servants were Stephanians. Also, Gandhi talked about the overall development of the pupil.<sup>861</sup> This would have certainly inspired the College. The College would have inspired Gandhi to come up with his philosophy on education because Gandhi interacted with educationists like Rudra and Andrews and students of the College. ‘Major General A.A. Rudra, the son of Principal Rudra wrote Andrews had met Tagore and once in the U.K. and often he came to stay at my father’s house. He was greatly attracted by his personality and left St. Stephen’s College to work at Shantiniketan and with Gandhiji.’<sup>862</sup>

Tagore’s philosophy on education may have inspired the students towards the ideal of joy. Joy was seen in the College dinners, in the discussions and the clubs and societies in College. Tagore held an international view on education. St. Stephen’s College also hired scholars from abroad to teach and administer in College. Primarily, in the initial years the College had teachers and Principals from abroad. Tagore himself may have been motivated towards a universal perspective on Education when he interacted with the likes of Andrews and Rudra.

It may be argued that the national leaders cum educationists were transformed because of St. Stephen’s College and also changed this institution with their educational values. Education became a site of debate and interaction. The College kept evolving under different Principals with its unique policies. The historical events at the time also shaped the College. The College it may be argued was a product of its times.

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<sup>861</sup>J.C.Aggarwal,*Basic Ideas in Education*, Delhi: Shipra Publications,2001,p.151.

<sup>862</sup>Aparna Basu(ed). *University of Delhi, 1922-1997*,Delhi,1998,p.8.

## **VI. The Role of The College Principals**

Allnutt the foremost Principal of the College had an inclusive approach to education. He attracted the rich and poor alike. He was initially religious later he made the College more moral according to Ashok Jaitly (2006). He was a scholar of Sanskrit that enabled the College to appreciate Indian Culture. A tradition of clubs and societies came up under him.

Rudra his predecessor, was an Indian intellectual who was educated in India. He did not necessarily have a fancy background. But, he was sincere in his faith for the College. Consequently, he was supported by the likes of Andrews. Rudra opened his home for leaders like Gandhi as Susan Visvanathan 2002, has shown in her article. This can be linked to the more or less democratic values that St. Stephen's College, Delhi acquired during Rudra's Principalship. Furthermore, the Constitution of the College and the persistent struggle against racism only strengthened the foundation of the College as national institution of value.

However, under Mukarji things took a different turn, with his open allegiance to the British Raj. He ended up alienating leaders like Gandhi from the College according to Gandhi. But, the influence of Andrews seemed to have even motivated the policies of Mukarji. Andrews continued to visit St. Stephen's College, despite his voluntary retirement in 1914. Further, Andrews went around reconciling people. Andrews returned to Anglican Priesthood after was 22 years and followed no particular method in real theological terms. Andrews was downright practical. He advocated a focus on experience, morality and 'theologically minimal faith.' Despite, being an Evangelist of foreign origin, he was a faithful servant to our country. This may have led Mukarji to also continue constructing strong communities within the College. For

instance, Mukarji laid a lot of emphasis on inter-dining. This explained the fact that St. Stephen's continued to operate as a community network with a strong alumni nexus. It may be argued that St. Stephen's College, Delhi because of its vast residential accommodation and inter-dining also promoted a sense of togetherness and unity, despite the difference among the students and staff members. It became a family, away from home, as the College shifted its premises in Ridge Area in the 1940s.<sup>863</sup>

## VII. The Women's Question

One issue that concerned the nation was the treatment meted out to women. St. Stephen's College on its part tried to accommodate the women students, whenever it could. In 1928, Women students were first admitted at the M.A. level according to Arvind Vepa and Sujit Vishwanathan. Vepa and Vishwanathan, further mention that in 1943, Women students were admitted within St. Stephen's College at the undergraduate level.<sup>864</sup> Mohammad Amin (2000) has also argued that in 1948, women students were no longer given admission into St. Stephen's College, Delhi because of the presence of Miranda House. Miranda House was reportedly, named after Maurice Gwyer's daughter Miranda. The latter college was aimed at educating the women students. Amin(2000) also recalled the name of Sucheta Kriplani, a former student of St. Stephen's College, Delhi. She later went on to become the Chief Minister of one of the States in India.<sup>865</sup> This was Uttar Pradesh.

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<sup>863</sup> Ashok Jaitly, *St. Stephen's College, A History*, 2006, p.36.

<sup>864</sup> Arvind Vepa and Sujit Viswanathan (compiled), *St. Stephen's College, Delhi, India, History*, <https://ase.tufts.edu/chemistry/kumar/ssc/html/sschis.html>, Accessed on 19 October 2020.

<sup>865</sup> The Stephanian, Vol. CVIII No.1 April 2000, St. Stephen's College, Delhi, 'Interview with Mr. Mohammad Amin' by Dhariti Bhattacharya, Pallavi Mansingh, Swaji Rath and Dr. Rohit Wanchoo, p.20.

Sucheta Kriplani was in fact, the first woman Chief Minister of India argued Ruchira Ghosh (2018).<sup>866</sup> Ghosh (2018) further pointed that Kriplani also completed her post-graduation from St. Stephen's College, Delhi, after graduating from Indraprastha College, Delhi. She was a Gandhian supporter who made a unique contribution to the Quit India Movement of 1942.<sup>867</sup> This is another instance how some of the national leaders in India shaped the attitudes of the Stephanians within their influence.

Aditi Shah (2019) has put forth that Sucheta Kriplani was the founder of the Women's wing within the Congress Party. In her work, 'An Unfinished Autobiography,' Sucheta Kriplani recalled that her childhood at the age of 10 years. This was when she was absolutely disgusted with the Jallianwallah Bagh tragedy, coming to know of it, through her father and his associates. So, an enraged Sucheta Kriplani, while playing with her Anglo- Indian friends ended up, attacking these peers, calling them names, as a result of the Jallianwallah Bagh incident.<sup>868</sup>

Later in life, Sucheta Kriplani did her Masters in History from St. Stephen's College, Delhi as mentioned by Aditi Shah (2019). It is evident that St. Stephen's College may have further fed her Nationalist ideas. So, she joined the Benaras Hindu University as a faculty member because BHU participated in 'anti- colonial demonstrations' even though the pay scale was low. She had got another job offer from a college at Lahore with a better pay scale. But she preferred BHU.<sup>869</sup> This goes to show that Stephanians wanted to make a relevant difference in their nation. They were not just empty talkers. They were people with a mission. Also, St. Stephen's College, Delhi despite being a

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<sup>866</sup>Ruchira Ghosh, 'Sucheta Kriplani: India's First Woman Chief Minister, India Women in History,' March 5 2018, <https://feminismindia.com/2018/03/05/sucheta-kriplani-first-woman-chief-minister/Accessed> on 20 October, 2020.

<sup>867</sup>Ibid.

<sup>868</sup>Aditi Shah, 'Sucheta Kriplani and the fight for Freedom,' January 08, 2019, <https://livehistoryindia.com/herstory/2019/01/08/Sucheta-kriplani-crying-freedom>, Accessed on 20 October 2020.

<sup>869</sup>Ibid.

Christian institute attracted people from all communities because of its excellence. Excellence, in terms of Academics and even Sports. It had in addition a strong network of societies and clubs which inspired the learners to think on pressing issues, clouding the nation. Moreover, students also were in touch with their social conscience. They aspired to join the government service, or politics or the other fields, after completing their studies at St. Stephen's College, Delhi. The students at St. Stephen's College were mostly, pragmatists who did not want spend their energies or youth in meaningless pursuits or student-violence. Thus, morality and high ideals of St. Stephen's College really moulded the character of the Stephanians. So, even after leaving the corridors of St. Stephen's College, Delhi, the students carried the presence and essence of St. Stephen's College, Delhi. This also one of the reasons why the Alumni at St. Stephen's College, Delhi in addition, to the likes of C. F. Andrews, the past Principals have exerted a strong influence in the College's policy- making.

### **VIII. Student Composition and Teacher Recruitment**

It may be argued that St. Stephen's College, Delhi started out at its inception to inculcate values of loyalty towards the British Raj. This has been corroborated by Stephanians like Shashi Tharoor(2007). Tharoor (2007) also pointed out that the Cambridge Mission sought to create subjects who would serve Her Majesty.<sup>870</sup> This aim was largely met because the College did have a Colonial legacy as argued by Tharoor(2007). Moreover, most students at St. Stephen's College, Delhi opted for the Government Services, under F.F. Monk and S.N.Mukarji. David Baker (2016) too has explained that interest among Stephanians in the Government Services which

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<sup>870</sup>Shashi Tharoor, 'Memories of Stephanian,' *India International Centre Quarterly*, Volume 34, Numbers 3/4, Beyond Degrees (Winter 2007 Spring 2008), Published by India International Centre, p.199.

continued till this day.<sup>871</sup> However, David Baker (2016) has put forth that St. Stephen's College, Delhi was established primarily because the Delhi Government had been closed and so there was an opening for a missionary institution. The chief motives of the Cambridge Missions were working with Indians and also learning from Indians in the context of the spread of Christianity. In fact, the Cambridge Mission was largely invited by the Government itself.<sup>872</sup>

David Baker (2016) and Ashok Jaitly (2006) also did explain St. Stephen's College, Delhi's main purpose which was centred around Christianity. Religion did give the College its morality and its high standing ideals. But, Baker (2016) and Jaitley (2006) have revealed that religious conversions were not viable. So, this aim of St. Stephen's College, Delhi was ultimately dropped in favour of secularism under the subsequent Principals. David Baker (2016) has further added that Cambridge Mission sought to convert the 'Higher Classes' of India under Allnutt.<sup>873</sup> But under Principal Wright things changed. This was the 'turning point' because the concept of education expanded.

The College transitioned into the National Movement with Principal Rudra. The partnership of Rudra and Andrews helped shape the evolving values of the College. David Baker (2016) has also supported the above view. Baker (2016) has agreed that prior to the Rudra-Andrews partnership, there were 'negative attitudes' that prevailed against Rudra for being an Indian candidate for Principalship. He was backed by Andrews. In fact, Andrews also threatened to resign from the College, if Rudra's Principalship would have been rejected. So, the strong bond shared between Rudra

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<sup>871</sup>Sahapedia, 'St. Stephen's College :In conversation with David Baker,' an interview by Aditya Pratap Deo, Delhi, 2016, <https://youtu.be/a53qLvQoEsU>, Accessed on 19 October, 2020.

<sup>872</sup>Ibid.

<sup>873</sup>Sahapedia, 'St. Stephen's College: In conversation with David Baker,' an interview by Aditya Pratap Deo, Delhi, 2016, <https://youtu.be/a53qLvQoEsU>, Accessed on 19 October, 2020.



and Andrews transformed the prevailing ‘atmosphere’ in College.<sup>874</sup> It also gave St. Stephen’s College, Delhi its Constitution which according to Baker (2016) was about ‘Self- Government and Autonomy.’ There was a move to free the College ‘from foreign control.’<sup>875</sup> David Baker (2016) pointed out that it was Andrews who introduced Rudra to these National leaders like Gandhi. Furthermore, it was Rudra who allowed Gandhi to board at his official residence, which invited the ‘wrath of the Chief Commissioner.’ To this Rudra replied that he could not turn down a friend, if he knocked at his door.<sup>876</sup>

It may be further argued that the Rudra- Andrews also helped overcome barriers of racism. Additionally, it also charted the course of the College on a Nationalist path. Andrews was clearly evolving as a nationalist with associations with Gandhi and Tagore. It may be also put forth that Tagore, and to a limited extent, Gandhi may have shaped the nature of the College. As both Tagore and Gandhi were educationists as well as National leaders.

Talking about the student composition of St. Stephen’s College, Delhi, it was put forth by Baker (1998) that there was a heterogeneous batch of students from privileged sections and students who were not as privileged from the rural settings. But under Mukarji the students groups became homogeneous Later, Baker (2016) asserted that most of the students in St. Stephen’s College, Delhi were from North India. There were ‘lots’ of them from Delhi. Children from bureaucrats were admitted, ‘migrants’, ‘Bengalees’, ‘moneyed’ sections. In fact, students from all sections of the society. In fact, the poor and minorities were also offered admission

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<sup>874</sup> Sahapedia, ‘St. Stephen’s College: In conversation with David Baker,’ an interview by Aditya Pratap Deo, Delhi, 2016, <https://youtu.be/a53qLvQoEsU>, Accessed on 19 October, 2020.

<sup>875</sup> Ibid.

<sup>876</sup> Ibid.

within St. Stephen's College, Delhi. Also, in the early years, there was also financial help given to the needy students.<sup>877</sup>

Regarding, teacher recruitment, it may be inferred that teachers with an overseas education may have been encouraged to join this prestigious institution because Mukarji was also a Cambridge man. But, unlike Allnutt's period the teachers were not expected to belong to the Christian faith. This trend was already seen under Rudra and Andrews, who encouraged the teachers from other faiths to address the ritualistic morning assemblies as shown by Nandini Chatterjee(2011). Therefore, there was a departure from the strict Christian policies of Allnutt. There is a lot of data available on teacher recruitment in Mukarji's period. It was observed that teachers were expected to be at least a high second division<sup>878</sup> with good character during the recruitment process.<sup>879</sup> Mukarji also motivated the teachers to take a study leave.<sup>880</sup> The teachers were asked to contribute to the overall life of the College including the Co- Curriculars; Sharp, for instance took special efforts to build the Social Service League.<sup>881</sup>

### **IX. College with a Conscience**

Ashok Jaitly (2006) calls St. Stephen's College, Delhi, a college with a Conscience. As far as the Society's relations with St. Stephen's College, Delhi has been concerned, the College has been viewed as the Cambridge of the East. A College known for its strict attendance policy, its high grade academics and vibrant co-curriculars, its notable alumni, its morning assemblies, its residence. However, David

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<sup>877</sup>Ibid.

<sup>878</sup>Substitute for Dr. Spear's place, 17, no. 674, 18 June 1937, Delhi

<sup>879</sup>Substitute for Lecturer in place of Mr. Anand, Correspondence with Mr. Fredlen, re- Mr. Datta, no. 727, 17, 6 February 1932, Delhi.

<sup>880</sup>K.M. Sarkar Esqr, Study leave File, 17, 6 February 1932, Delhi.

<sup>881</sup>File No. EPR 1926, Education Annual Report, Subject: Principal's Report (S.N.Mukarji), 1926-1927, Contents: Principal's Annual Report at Dismissal.

Baker (2016) has argued that the College has made a unique contribution to Delhi because of its raised cut-offs, close network shared between teachers and students, life at Residence like the Block-teas.<sup>882</sup>

It may be argued that St. Stephen's College, Delhi provides a secure life to its learners. It may be called a home away from home, especially with close bonds shared between the Block Tutor and resident students. Some critique it and call it a mini-school. The 'social profile' of the students from 'Mayo Ajmer School and Doon Schools' according to Baker (2016) has compelled the term elitist. But, Baker (2016) has shown over – time the social profile of the pupils has certainly widened.

Yet, the popular media has branded the College as elitist. Shashi Tharoor (2007) has also noted that the Stephanians have been perceived by the Outside World as being elitist and Anglophiles. The Stephanian Culture has been 'transmitted' through in-house magazines like Spice and Kooler talk. Additionally, there was the Stephanian ethos 'meritocracy'. But, Tharoor (2007), agreed that there was some level elitism in the College. But, that was not all.<sup>883</sup> It may be argued that the College had a history of admitting 'minorities and the poor.' This was advocated by David Baker(2016).<sup>884</sup> Baker (2016) has also lauded the efforts of the Social Service League.

Further, Allnutt was remembered at his funeral as one who helped people from all walks of Life. Just as God's nature has been all –loving and He has not been a respecter of persons. These Godly values have continued. Moreover, one of the important back –bones of the College, Andrews was also called Deen Bandhu for his love for the poor. This has shaped the heart of St. Stephen's College. Rudra too

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<sup>882</sup>Ibid.

<sup>883</sup>Ibid.p.199.

<sup>884</sup>Sahapedia,'St. Stephen's College :In conversation with David Baker,' an interview by Aditya Pratap Deo, Delhi,2016, <https://youtu.be/a53qLvQoEsU>,Accessed on 19 October, 2020.

worked tirelessly for marginalized. Therefore, the Rudra dinner was instituted in his memory to feed the Karamcharis (workers) of the College.

The College has also been criticized in the Media for its evangelization and Christianisation. Also, the Policy of taking in 50 per cent of Christian students has come in for a controversy. David Baker(2016) has defended this more recent Policy on grounds that it was in line with the recommendation of the Supreme Court's ruling, back in 1991.<sup>885</sup> It may further be added that St. Stephen's College, Delhi has so far been a minority institution and it has every right to preserve its Christian character. At the same time, this does not stop other communities from making a bee-line for the College. This was also stated by Swaminathan S. Anklesaria Aiyar (2020), who further has argued that Christians have produced 'institutions of excellence,' instead of solely relying on Government funds, despite being a minority population. One such illustration has been the St. Stephen's College, Delhi.<sup>886</sup>

Finally, it may be summed up, that St. Stephen's College has continued to be in the limelight for good and not- so popular reasons. But, it has stood the test of time and has a strong History making it the oldest College in Delhi, after the Government College, which was later shut down. Its luminaries have contributed to India by making it free and yet some its colonial legacy has lived on, like its architecture. The Alumni of the College and the Principals of this institution and Andrews have shaped it today for what it is today, 'the Mecca of Learning'<sup>887</sup> with strong educational ethos. It has unique blend of Stephanian tradition that makes it an outstanding institution.

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<sup>885</sup>Ibid.

<sup>886</sup>Sunday Times of India, 'Education for Muslims needs a little self -help,' by Swaminathan S. Anklesaria Aiyer New Delhi, August 30, 2020.

<sup>887</sup>Valsan Thampu, On a Stormy Course, 2017, p.8.

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# **History of St. Stephen's College, Delhi: A Study of Institutional Leadership and Transformation (1881-1945)**

**Priyanka Mathew**

## **Abstract**

The study is an institutional history of St. Stephen's College, Delhi. One reason why we are studying the College is because it is the oldest College in Delhi University. The objective of the study is to examine the origins and evolution of St. Stephen's College, Delhi from 1881 to 1945, to also understand the transformation of the College from a missionary, a nationalistic institution to an elite centre of learning. It also involves the study of the role of institutional leadership, that is the Principals of the College. Finally, to research the Alumni and teacher contributions and recollections of institutional culture. The research questions also revolve around how did the idea of St. Stephen's College, emerge from 1881 to 1945, what was the role of Allnutt, how did the College undergo a change and become a moderate nationalist College under Rudra, how did it become elitist under Mukarji and how did the teachers and alumni perceive the College.

The Historical Method was followed which involved looking at newspapers, journals, College Magazines, letters, original writings and documents along with secondary material. The findings show that there were democratic relations within College, alongside close teacher-student relations, with some level of elitism, the College was a moderate nationalist, also all-round development was the core of the education policy in the College, the role of the Principals was significant. There was also Women's participation in the College, the student composition was more or less heterogeneous The teachers were encouraged to go on a study leave under Principal Mukarji, they were to contribute to the overall life of the College. The College had a conscience caring for the poor and marginalized with the Social Service League carrying out reform work.



Date: 23 Aug 2022.

**DECLARATION**

I hereby declare that the thesis entitled 'History of St. Stephen's College, Delhi: A Study of Institutional Leadership and Transformation (1881-1945)' submitted by me for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. This thesis has not been submitted for any other degree of this university or any other university.


*Priyanka Mathew*  
**Priyanka Mathew**

**CERTIFICATE**

We recommend that this thesis may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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