Andrew J. May

Our Miniature Heaven: Forming Identities at Dr Graham's Homes

Abstract In 1908 Katherine Graham, wife of the Reverend Dr John Anderson Graham, wrote to her own children about the recent arrival of three girls who spoke Khasi with only a few words of English and Bengali, describing them as "quite different to the people here," but "an interesting addition" to the St Andrew's Colonial Homes at Kalimpong. "There is a great conglomeration of races and languages in the lace hostel at present," she noted. "A friend here calls it our miniature heaven."[1] Heaven or hell are, of course, relative terms. This discussion will consider the foundational and complex role of Dr Graham as a cultural and political broker and intermediary, who at the same time both reinforced and unsettled British ideas of race, education, morality and colonialism. Pratt's notion of contact zones, around which this volume coalesces (Pratt 1992), might lead us to inquire not simply into the literal and symbolic spaces between vastly different cultures and belief systems, but also between competing and transforming senses of what it meant to be British, Christian, white and modern.

1 K. Graham, 22 September 1908, Manuscripts Division, National Library of Scotland, Acc. 6039, Box 9.

Since the 1990s, a transnational historiography has been turning its attention to issues of the mixed-race progeny of the colonial encounter. Christopher Hawes's *Poor Relations* (1996) and Ann Laura Stoler's work on the Indische in the Dutch East Indies were early explorations of colonialism and mixed-race identity production. More recently, Damon Ieremia Salesa has explored the way in which mixed-race relationships could be constructed positively, as a strategy of improvement rather than a troublesome burden. "Race crossing" in the nineteenth century, argues Salesa (2011, 1), was considered something of a "serious and recurrent problem," though its meanings have varied significantly from one place to the next. Warwick Anderson (2002, 244), exploring whiteness as a fluid category in scientific discourse, examined colonial anxieties around racial degeneration and the manner in which "settlement and nationality would have a biological foundation." Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds (2008) have also historicised exclusionist racial policies in Australasia, North America and South Africa, while Satoshi Mizutani's important contribution (2011) has examined the concomitant meanings of whiteness in the domiciled community of British India. Mizutani has observed that, along with slum clearance, housing reform, and more stringent measures surrounding charitable relief, programs of collective removal and migration were instigated by British officials "as the most radical method of tackling the Eurasian question" (Mizutani 2011, 137). A chapter of Mizutani's book focuses appropriately on St Andrew's Colonial Homes in Kalimpong and the manner in which Graham's solution to the Eurasian problem was embedded in and drew legitimacy from much broader historical ideologies of child removal and rescue.

In her study of Anglo-Indian women's imaginative geographies, Alison Blunt notes that "Although metaphorical references to hybridity abound, material histories and geographies of mixed descent remain largely absent from postcolonial theorizing and diaspora studies" (Blunt 2005, 11). Remnant archives of Dr Graham's Homes might, therefore, reveal some of the paradoxes and contradictions of the children's lives as mixed-race imperial subjects. The ideological paternalism of a colonial orphanage can never be unhitched from the undeniably traumatic and harsh realities of child removal. Dr Graham's Homes and the discourses within which it was framed and constructed—through official publications as well as in private correspondence—also played a role in challenging the racial boundaries of the global colour line that were hardening in settler colonies like Australia. It is in the remnant archive of the early decades of the Homes—in the *Saint Andrew's Colonial Homes Magazine* as well as in the Homes archives in Kalimpong and in Edinburgh—that fleeting glimpses can be caught of these transforming notions of transcultural encounter.

Under the auspices of the Church of Scotland, the Reverend John Anderson Graham (1861–1942), together with his wife Katherine (Kate), had leased some land from the government on Deolo Hill to the east of Kalimpong where they established a non-sectarian orphanage to accommodate

Eurasian (now "Anglo-Indian") children.[2] A preliminary appeal was circulated amongst Graham's friends in February 1900, and a Board of Management formed in May. An application for the grant of land at Kalimpong was submitted to the government in August, and the first cottage opened on 24 September 1900. Early appeal literature characterised the poor white and Eurasian children as "nearly as degraded as the heathen":

> There the inmates, irrespective of creed, will receive a sound elementary English education, and such an industrial training in agriculture and various handicrafts as will equip them for earning an honest livelihood, and render them more likely to become good citizens of the Empire.[3]

Kalimpong's location at altitude had practical as well as symbolic resonance for Graham: the locale was contiguous with the large agricultural populations working across the headquarters of significant government estates in the Eastern Himalayas; like other hill-station sanitaria, it had a healthy disposition 700 feet or so above the village, itself 4,000 feet above sea level; and it was nestled above the conceits of European vice in a zone whose rarefied air lent some kind of spiritual energy to the enterprise. As R.A. Fleming noted more overtly in his Christian hagiography of Graham, climbers who stopped by Kalimpong on their way to Mount Everest saw in Graham someone "who has lifted up his eyes unto the hills whiter and holier still—and climbed them, and spoken with God upon their summit; descending again with a message of love, and freight of untold blessing, to the teeming multitudes below" (Fleming 1931, 90). The mountains always had a strange and ineluctable purchase on imagination, reinforcing the symbolic power of the place. The vista of Kanchenjunga from the Homes was an enduring leitmotif in the memories and recollections of old Homes girls and boys (known in the Homes community as OGBs). "I wonder," mused former Homes boy Larry in Bristol in 1949, "will God have mountains in heaven?"[4]

This sense of a clarified and hermetic social locus was significant, but Graham was also alert to the sensibilities of paying parents who would not wish their children to rub shoulders with more underprivileged inmates or, as the magazine-as-prospectus indicated, "be allowed to mix with those who might injure their manners or morals."[5] In some respects, however, this was a pragmatic response at the inception of an institution that was seeking to attract a broad and diverse clientele. Graham's ideological incli-

2 For Graham's early account, see Graham 1897, Chapter XIV.
3 Appeal on Behalf of St Andrew's Colonial Homes, Kalimpong and Nimbong, Glasgow, October 1900. Manuscripts Division, National Library of Scotland, Acc. 6039, Box 15, Packet 1, Miscellaneous papers, 1857, 1880–1925.
4 Larry J., Bristol to James Purdie, Kalimpong, 1 August 1949, Manuscripts Division, National Library of Scotland, Acc. 6039, Box 13, Packet 2.
5 *Saint Andrew's Colonial Homes Magazine*, February 1901, 3.

nation was more eclectic and blurry at the edges; it was no slip of the pen that the first edition of the *Magazine*, just as it set a welcoming agenda for mixed-race children, sought also to open a space for discussion of "every shade of thought."[6]

Graham modelled his concept of the Homes on William Quarrier's Orphan Homes of Scotland, which had been opened in 1876 and which Graham had visited in the 1890s. Graham was greatly influenced by the philosophies of applied Christianity espoused by the Reverend Professor W. Charteris in Scotland (Magnusson 2006, Minto 1974, Mainwaring 2000), and the origins of his Homes lay in the earlier work of Scottish missionary William Macfarlane of Darjeeling, who established an outpost of his mission there in the 1870s (Semple 2003, 125; Fleming 1931, 14f.). From the outset, the professed object of Dr Graham's Homes was to "plead the cause of those Indian children in whose veins runs British blood," and the *Magazine* became a critical mouthpiece of Graham's remedial agenda.

> To fitly educate and to provide suitable openings for the Eurasian and poor European children is one of India's most pressing problems. It is intended at St. Andrew's Colonial Hones to attempt a solution of the problem by giving such a course of training to suitable children as will fit them for emigration to the Colonies, or, failing that, will make them more robust for work in India.[7]

A skilled networker, Graham installed himself as "Honorary Superintendent" and was expert at applying moral pressure in order to glean broad scale official support from the highest quarters for an enterprise that was "the despair of Indian administrators, and the reproach of British Christianity" (Gordon 1912, 343). Sir John Woodburn, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, was the inaugural Honorary President of the Board of Management,[8] which was presided over by J.A. Bourdillon (Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal) and which counted as Honorary Vice-Presidents Sir Charles A. Elliott (late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal), the Very Reverend Professor Charteris of Edinburgh, Sir William Muir (late Lieutenant-Governor of the North West Provinces), Sir Allan Arthur (Calcutta merchant and administrator, erstwhile President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce), James Buckingham (author of *Tea-Garden Coolies in Assam*, manager of the Amgoorie Tea Estate, and one-time member of the Indian Imperial Legislative Council), and Calcutta High Court barrister L.P. Pugh. Other members of the Board included planters from tea estates in the Dooars and Darjeeling, Kalimpong merchants, and ministers of religion from Darjeeling, the Dooars and Kurseong (figure 1).

6 *Saint Andrew's Colonial Homes Magazine*, February 1901, 2.
7 *Saint Andrew's Colonial Homes Magazine*, February 1901, 3.
8 Woodburn, according to Jessie Robertson, was initially "much opposed" to Graham's scheme. Jessie Robertson to her mother, no date [November 1900], Manuscripts Division, National Library of Scotland, Acc. 6039, Box 9.

Figure 1: "Cutting the School site—Kinchinjunga in the back-ground."

The first Homes cottage for twenty children had been a hired bungalow, and the foundation stone of the inaugural cottage (named Woodburn after the Lieutenant-Governor) was laid in November 1900. Subsequent cottages and other elements of the campus were thereafter named after key benefactors (including Elliott Cottage, opened 1902; Bourdillon School, opened in 1903; and Campbell Cottage, named after Dr J.A. Campbell M.P. of Stracathro). Strachan Cottage was inaugurated in 1904 by Sir Robert Laidlaw of Whiteaway, Laidlaw & Co., who had extensive interests in tea and rubber, and who on his death left money to the Homes.[9] As Cindy L. Perry cogently observes, Graham "functioned as a virtual intermediary" for the British government in its negotiations with neighbouring Bhutan (Perry 2004). The Homes patroness, Her Majesty Queen Mary, was later succeeded in that role in 1955 by Countess Mountbatten of Burma. Graham himself received the Kaisar-i-Hind Medal of the First Class from His Majesty the King-Emperor of India (1903), the Companion of the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire at the coronation durbar of George V (1911), and was elected a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society (1928), as well as of the Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce (1936).

Jessie Robertson was the sister of a Dooars tea planter and had come to work at the Homes in 1900. For Robertson, the enterprise was something of an adventure. On the morning of 1 November, she observed a hundred "coolies" labouring to level the site for Woodburn Cottage. "Most of them," she noted, "had most ridiculous little [kodalies] little better than toys. I took one out of a man's hand when Mr G's back was turned & had a shot [...] the coolies laughed libre to split to see me howking away [...] not a bit

9 *The West Australian*, 21 January 1916, 5.

hard work."[10] A few days later she was anticipating with some excitement the arrival of the first two girls, and the Homes register notes the arrival of fifteen-year-old Eurasian Mabel Clarke on 12 November.

By the end of 1906 there were 187 children in residence. Dr Graham was soon known as "Daddy Graham" to his charges, and while symbolically representing the paternal authority of the state, the Homes were practically modelled on ideal conceptions of family life through domestic organisation structured around a cottage system.[11] The Homes complex was rather like a self-sufficient village housing 305 children at the time of its tenth anniversary in 1910, and over 600 residents by the mid-1920s, when it featured a chapel, infirmary and school, together with an experimental farm, gymnasium, and industrial training workshops. The Homes children themselves (boys as well as girls), along with the lady workers, comprised the domestic labour force in the operation, and there was a deliberate policy of not having any native servants. Aside from an assertion of "Protestant principles," religious training was non-denominational. A "housemother" was in charge of each of the cottages housing twenty-six children, and housemothers were generally recruited from Britain, Australia, and later from the United States. The ideal housemother, in the view of Jessie Robertson, was "a 'purpose like' woman. [...] So many lassies wd like to go thinking more of the 'romance' than of the stern reality."[12] Graham thus gathered around him a number of staff with previous institutional experience. James Purdie arrived at Kalimpong in 1908 following a career working in prisons in Glasgow, and new worker Miss Pyle who arrived in 1908 had been working at Quarrier's Homes. Housemother Miss Hunter, the daughter of an Aberdeenshire farmer, was recruited from Barnardo's Girls Village Home at Ilford in Essex. Miss Hunter had been in charge of Myrtle, the first cottage dating from 1876, and in her application for employment at Dr Grahams gave a description of the daily routine of life there, where she was "mother" to sixteen children (figure 2).[13]

The Homes *Magazine* commenced publication just five months after operations began, and its pages betray the middle-class Evangelical tropes of charity, rescue, and paternalism. In the February 1901 issue of the *Magazine*, G.W. Christison, late of Tukvar, Darjeeling, gave a view on the philanthropic scheme "From a Tea Planter's and Agriculturalist's Standpoint." Having spent over two decades in the region, Christison's vision splendid of the potential of Kalimpong as "a model Native Colony" under the benign influence of British occupation fell well short of his expectations in terms of its industrial and agricultural capacity. Board of Management member

10 Jessie Robertson, Kalimpong 1 November 1900 to [her brother] George, Manuscripts Division, National Library of Scotland, Acc. 6039, Box 9.
11 See also Jacobs 2009, 281.
12 Jessie Robertson, Edinburgh to the Rev. Graham, 30 May 1901, Manuscripts Division, National Library of Scotland, Acc. 6039, Box. 9.
13 M. Hunter to Miss Robertson, 22 April 1901, Manuscripts Division, National Library of Scotland, Acc. 6039, Box. 9.

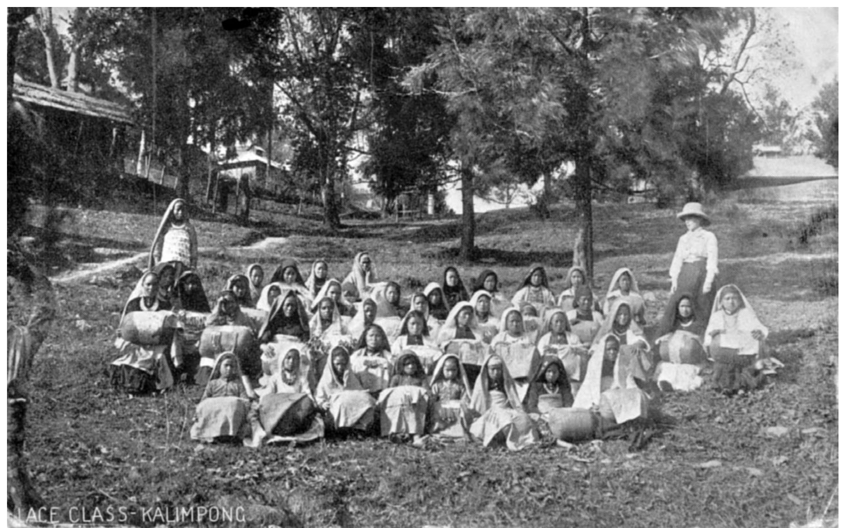


Figure 2: Lace Class, Kalimpong, postcard dated 1908.

L.P. Pugh, former President of the Imperial Anglo-Indian Association, was more directly sanguine about the Anglo-Indian Problem in "A Barrister's Stand-Point"; whatever the cause of the obdurate problem of mixed-raced offspring, Pugh advanced, "a better day has dawned," and the Homes promised to be a practical solution to a wicked problem that had been an intractable concern for government. Other Christian commentators were more direct in attributing moral blame as the cause of mixed-race offspring—"It was always a blunder; it was usually a sin" (Fleming 1931, 34)—though Mainwaring notes that the young British planters of the era were rarely rebuked for their sexual liaisons, indeed perhaps even "unofficially encouraged" by their companies (Mainwaring 2000, 5).

By 1903, the inauguration of the Homes and the reception of the first children on 25 September 1900 was celebrated as "Foundation Day," and article headlines and image captions in the *Magazine* quickly constructed an institutional tradition based around domestic ideology: "Our First Temporary Home," "The Beginnings of our family," "Our Increasing Family." The opening page of the original intake register—housed in a Museum at the Homes in Kalimpong when I first visited in 2004—records the names of domiciled European children Gwenllian, Llewellyn, Glyn and Margaret Cattell-Jones as the first admissions on 24 September 1900, alongside eight-year-old James Roxburgh Lees (Scottish father, Bengali mother) and seven-year-old James Brown (English father, Indian mother).[14] The Cattell-Jones's mother Jean, daughter of Welsh missionaries, became the

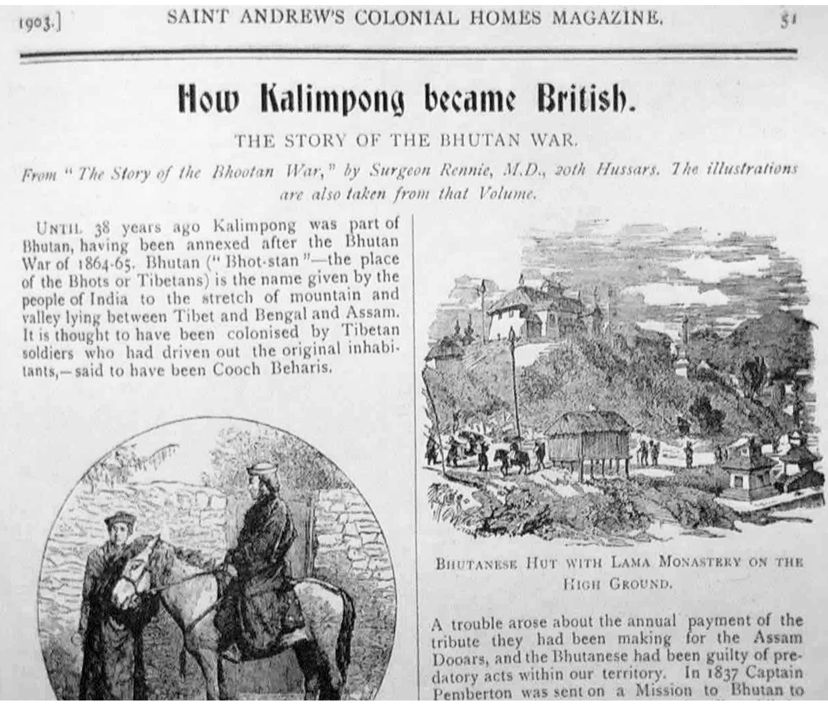
14 Lees was killed during World War I, when his ship, the *Dido*, was blown up in the Humber.

housemother of the first cottage, Kiernander Cottage, named after John Zachariah Kiernander (1710–1799), the first Protestant missionary in Bengal. Lees and Brown were the very first mixed race children to enter the Homes. By 1902 other children had already been received in the Homes from Chittagong, Quetta, Calcutta, Bombay, Darjeeling, Dibrugarh, Cachar, Ghaziabad, the Dooars and Bangalore, with others expected from Sylhet, Central Provinces, Madras, Secunderabad and the Punjab. Fees in 1903 were Rs. 20 per month, and while parents or guardians were expected to bear the cost of their child's support, the Board of Management could apply a subsidy in the case of distress. Some children came to the Homes with little or no familial connection whatsoever; not only outcasts from tea estates liaisons, but a European Jewish foundling from the streets of Calcutta, and a white child of unknown parentage who had been left after the death of his "coolie" guardian. The Homes received some support by way of government grants and fees, but in 1906 needed Rs. 30,000 in public subscriptions in order to maintain its services.

That Kalimpong was "British" was self-evident to the intended audience of the Homes *Magazine*; Kalimpong "became British" by virtue of the circumstances of the Bhutan War, and extracts from David Field Rennie's *Bhotan and the Story of the Dooar War* (1866) were extracted in the journal (figure 3). Kalimpong village was, moreover, constructed in the pages of the *Magazine* as something of a hybrid space. While the hilltop Church and iron-roofed shops "suggest the Occident rather than the Orient," the bazaar as a centre of trade and exchange, with its daily throng of 5,000 denizens, represented a place of diverse and interwoven cultures. Here the Hindu, Buddhist and Muslim could all be encountered; teashops catered to travellers from China, Bhutan, Tibet or Sikkim; Nepali and Gurkha traders and tradesmen hawked their wares; the Lepcha rubbed shoulders with the Marwari merchant from the Bombay Presidency; and Muslims from the plains sat with their hill wives. And in the midst of it all, a bust of the late Queen Victoria, carved by Tibetan Lamas.[15]

The classic tropes of Victorian-era child rescue and environmental determinism were vividly reproduced in the *Magazine*. An article on Quarrier's Homes in 1902 even included side-by-side genre pieces of before and after rescue: "As received" children, barefoot and dressed in rags, the "And After" version appropriately scrubbed and clothed. As a particular proponent of child removal, it seems paradoxical that Graham himself appears in his private correspondence to be a devoted family man. Graham was often away from his wife and five children, fund-raising or visiting tea plantations across the region (figure 4). Writing to his children David, Jack, Peggie, Isobel and Bunty from the Phaskowa in the Dooars in 1898, he writes "daddy is wearying to see you. I wish you had been with me yesterday on the elephant, such a big one it is. [...] It took me over deep rivers and

15 *Saint Andrew's Colonial Homes Magazine*, January 1902, 33–38.



1903.] SAINT ANDREW'S COLONIAL HOMES MAGAZINE. 51

How Kalimpong became British.

THE STORY OF THE BHUTAN WAR.

From "The Story of the Bhootan War," by Surgeon Rennie, M.D., 20th Hussars. The illustrations are also taken from that Volume.

UNTIL 38 years ago Kalimpong was part of Bhutan, having been annexed after the Bhutan War of 1864-65. Bhutan ("Bhot-stan"—the place of the Bhots or Tibetans) is the name given by the people of India to the stretch of mountain and valley lying between Tibet and Bengal and Assam. It is thought to have been colonised by Tibetan soldiers who had driven out the original inhabitants,—said to have been Cooch Beharis.

BHUTANESE HUT WITH LAMA MONASTERY ON THE HIGH GROUND.

A trouble arose about the annual payment of the tribute they had been making for the Assam Dooars, and the Bhutanese had been guilty of predatory acts within our territory. In 1837 Captain Pemberton was sent on a Mission to Bhutan to

Figure 3: "How Kalimpong became British."

through great forests."[16] Graham's wife Kate wrote most affectionately to "My own darling Ian" and "My own love"; whenever he was absent, she felt his absence keenly: "storm on Tuesday night and then at 4.30, there was a sharp shock of earthquake (these things always happen when you are away!)"[17] Jessie Robertson, writing to her own "dear Motherie," expressed the deep bond between mother and child: "I got your letter with doyley enclosed yesterday. I nearly grat [wept] when I saw the doyley & read of your having wrought it with your own hands."[18]

Protection, to be sure, as the Canadian Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples so aptly noted, is "the leading edge of domination" (1996, Chapter 1, 7). While in many respects the emotional experiences of colonised and coloniser are incomparable, they are nevertheless at times strangely imbricated as well as analogous; absence and the recombinant formulations of family and identity were in the DNA of both. As already noted, one of the foundational objectives of the Homes was to train boys and girls

16 Graham to his children, 12 February 1898, Manuscripts Division, National Library of Scotland, Acc. 6039, Box 1, Packet 3.

17 Kate Graham, Kalimpong to Ian Graham, 17 July 1902, Manuscripts Division, National Library of Scotland, Acc. 6039, Box 3, Packet 2.

18 Jessie Robertson to her mother, 4 November 1900, Manuscripts Division, National Library of Scotland, Acc. 6039, Box 9.

Figure 4: "Our increasing family" (detail). Left, Alice Jones (daughter of Welsh missionary the Rev. Thomas Jones 2); right-centre, her sister and first house-mother at Dr Graham's, Jean Margaret Cattell-Jones.

in agricultural and domestic service in order that they might find useful prospects in Australasia and Canada. In the first issue of the *Magazine* in February 1901, a correspondent ("A Scottish Planter" who can be identified as Richard Davison) argued the benefits of "An Overseas Eurasia," perhaps in northwest Australia, where mixed-race children might enjoy life "free from the incubus of mere race prejudice." In the following years the *Magazine* reported regularly on the possibilities, for example, of Queensland as a field for emigration; on the success of one of the boys in finding farm work in British East Africa; and growing requests for boys and girls to be sent to New Zealand.

In 1906, Sir Allan Arthur unsuccessfully sought to gain admission for Eurasian children to Australia. On the suggestion of the Reverend James Ponder, Presbyterian Minister at Waitahuna who had Indian connections, Graham sent the first batch of Homes children (Leonard and Sydney Williams) to New Zealand in 1907, and Graham sent children there on an annual basis, interrupted only during the war years and the depression.

Partly to recover his health, Graham undertook a trip to Australasia in 1909, visiting four Homes boys now working on a dairy farm in Otago and on a station in Hawkes Bay District. In Australia, however, where he observed a huge continent with the capacity to accommodate many more than its current population, the racially exclusive White Australia Policy struck Graham as the result of "ignorance and misunderstanding."[19] The largest contingent to date of Homes children (six boys and six girls) was farewelled to New Zealand in October 1912, but in the same year the Minister for External Affairs of the Commonwealth of Australia confirmed the country's exclusionist policies: "The practice generally followed is to admit children of English Fathers and Eurasian Mothers without restriction and to prohibit the admission of half-castes, *i.e.* children of English Fathers and Indian Mothers."[20] Needless to say, the children bound for New Zealand were not allowed onshore at some of the Australian ports *en route*.

In 1931, Graham addressed a meeting at Chatham House on "The Eurasian problem in India," and in 1934 lectured at the Royal Society of Arts in London on "The education of the Anglo-Indian child." In 1937, the septuagenarian Dr Graham again visited Australia and New Zealand as part of a broader itinerary that also took in Canada and the United States, meeting up with former Homes children, preaching, delivering radio broadcasts, and petitioning politicians and other opinion makers on the Anglo-Indian question. In Australia, in particular, he railed against the Immigration Restriction Act, which still barred non-whites, and in interviews with Attorney-General Robert Menzies and Minister of the Interior Thomas Paterson, Graham argued against the selfishness of the White Australia Policy and pleaded for a relaxation of the colour bar.

> I recalled my interviews of 1909 with W. Groom (then Minister of External Affairs) & his secretary & of their opinion that if the Eurasians applying for admission had over 50% of European blood, they might if suitable, be admitted, & then of a subsequent enquiry we made some years later & were told that the percentage had been raised to 75. Mr Menzies added:—it is now 100%!![21]

Graham cautioned the Australian government to avoid giving offence to their imperial brethren, and in so doing opened a window onto his increasingly pan-religious and pan-ethnic worldview:

> [...] it would weaken the power of her example to others for, notwithstanding all our faults, we were the biggest federation the world has ever seen of creeds & races & civilisations, and it could

19 "Australia and New Zealand: Notes and Impressions," *Saint Andrew's Colonial Homes Magazine*, October 1909.

20 *Saint Andrew's Colonial Homes Magazine*, October 1912, 60.

21 Diary "Pour les intimes" of visit to Australia, New Zealand and Canada 1937, Manuscripts Division, National Library of Scotland, Acc. 6039, Box 7.

> perhaps put back the federation of the world, which we all yearned for, for ages to come.

He had a better reception in New Zealand, where of course he had sent OGBs for nearly three decades. In a Radio Broadcast in Wellington, Graham thanked New Zealand for accepting 119 boys and girls from the Homes over that period. Here too Graham's vision of a racially diverse and interconnected world found full expression. Though idealising the reality of interracial relationships between Maori and Pakeha, Graham saw them as "full brothers and sisters," indeed blood relations descended from common ancestors. In this vision, "Maoris are blood relations too with those Tibetans who live on the roof of the world, and among whom we at Kalimpong are in daily contact."[22] In this formulation, in which "India and Tibet then rejoice that the Maoris and Indians and Tibetans are one," Kalimpong was inscribed at the centre of a global contact zone.

Finally, in New York, he sensed the possibilities of a modernist international order. Despite its "hustle & jangle," America to Graham had the potential to lead the world in the exemplification of education, technology, architecture, and above all, in inclusive racial citizenship:

> There are at the [heart] of the unrest many great souls & clear thinkers who do lead the world—notwithstanding the racketeers & tall talkers of whom daily papers give particulars. One can only wonder there are not more of them when we remember the multitudes of races & civilisations included in its citizenship—a multitude which has never before been brought together under one political unit.

By the end of his life, Graham was unequivocal on the subject of "Mixed Races" and what he saw as the "social sickness" of colour prejudice. Miscegenation and hybridity he took to be a strength rather than a weakness:

> There is no such thing as a pure race, and each of the races adds an element of its own, got from its varied environment. India has absorbed many different bloods and cultures in the past and it has been made the richer by them. So has Britain. Each has its own gifts and is responsible for their exercise.[23]

Graham's idealism for a colour-blind world was belied by the actualities of the lives of many OGBs as they made their way in post-Independence India, and in their particular struggles for identity papers in the wake of the British Nationality Act of 1948. The archives reveal a stream of

---

22 Dr Graham, Wellington Broadcast, "The Call of India," 4 July 1937, Manuscripts Division, National Library of Scotland, Acc. 6039, Box 8, Packet 2.

23 Dr Graham, Typescript history, no date [c. 1940], Manuscripts Division, National Library of Scotland, Acc. 6039, Box 15, Packet 1, Miscellaneous papers.

correspondence addressed to James Purdie, administrator at the Kalimpong Homes, requesting certifications in order to emigrate to Australia or to otherwise put an emphasis on their European rather than Indian parentage. In the general absence of their manifold voices in the archives, it is well to hear them speak.

> My old Granny told us before she died some years back that both our grand fathers were Englishman [sic] & that my father's mother was a domiciled European, but not knowing where they were born is a great handicap. So will you please let me know how to go about filling in these passport forms or better still please give me a letter of recommendation stating that I am of European origin & a Kalimpong girl with a good record (as I hope I earned one when in school).[24]
>
> I shall be most grateful if you can give me a letter to the Australian Trade Commissioner, in Calcutta just stating that I was left an orphan and that my father was an English Tea Planter, & my mother an Indian lady. This question & answer will vitally affect the Emigration Papers for my daughter whom I am sending to Australia. […] All I have to prove is my European parentage.[25]
>
> I know my father was a Scotsman but could you possible put my mother down as an Anglo-Indian instead of an Indian. This will be a great help to me & I'm sure you will understand.[26]
>
> As a child I was brought up in the Nepalese language. I am wondering whether my dear mother was herself a national of that and, and if this could be established, could I apply for and claim Nepalese citizenship if I so desired?[27]
>
> If I can get my fathers Birth Certificate, like many have done, I may be able to "WANGLE" a British Passport. How do you like a British Pass-port in one pocket, an Indian Pass-port in another and a Burma pass-port in the watch-pocket.???[28]
>
> They only want to know and satisfy that our fathers were British. After all it's no fault of ours what sins our parents committed and yet we have to face the world and suffer nasty remarks.[29]

---

24 Barbara E., Jamshedpur, 4 August 1948, Manuscripts Division, National Library of Scotland, Acc. 6039, Box 13, Packet 2, Letters to James Purdie, Cargill, Dr Graham's Homes, Kalimpong 1942–9.

25 Helen E., Calcutta, no date [c.1949], Manuscripts Division, National Library of Scotland, Acc. 6039, Box 13, Packet 2, Letters to James Purdie, Cargill, Dr Graham's Homes, Kalimpong 1942–9.

26 A.S., 3 July 1951, Middlesex to James Purdie, Kalimpong, Manuscripts Division, National Library of Scotland, Acc. 6039, Box 14, Packet 2.

27 Allan S., Manuscripts Division, National Library of Scotland, Acc. 6039, Box 14, Packet 1, Letters to James Purdie, Cargill, Dr Graham's Homes, Kalimpong 1950

28 Tom C., 2 March 1950, Manuscripts Division, National Library of Scotland, Acc. 6039, Box 14, Packet 1.

29 Eliza and Dick F., Manuscripts Division, National Library of Scotland, Acc. 6039, Box 14, Packet 1, Letters to James Purdie, Cargill, Dr Graham's Homes, Kalimpong 1950.

Basil A., writing to Purdie from Bombay in 1949 in thanks for his sending baptismal and other personal certificates, quoted from the *Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam* to encapsulate the feelings of many OGBs about their lack of control over their destiny in the new landscape of imperial citizenship: "But helpless pieces of the game He plays / Upon this chequer-board of nights and days."[30] Others were more brutally sanguine; in 1947 Donald K. saw his mixed-blood legacy as "a mistake from the start":

> […] it would have been far better if I had been killed at birth than to have been brought up to suffer a life spell of mental torture […]. We cannot claim anything legally, wherever we go, dirty and callous remarks are directed against us […]. The passage in the Bible which says that the "Sins of the father shall be visited on their children" probably clears their conscience of any outrage they may have committed against us.[31]

Kate Graham took a particular shine to Droptimon, Hendrimai and Elisibon—the three girls who had arrived from the Khasi Hills in September 1908. Knowing no Hindi, they would join Graham's wife for evening prayers in the quietude of her room: "I just love having them there. Hendrimai seems to have a wonderful gift of prayer. They are all such dear lassies."[32] Through the work of Dr Graham, and the diaspora of OGBs, Kalimpong existed as a contact zone on local, regional, and transnational scales. The legacies of institutional child removal have been deeply traumatic for generations of subjected peoples, but utilising very fragmentary archival sources, I have sought to narrate a more complex understanding of the meanings and spaces of contact and entanglement in the shape of Dr Graham's social project.

Figures

Fig. 1: *Saint Andrew's Colonial Homes Magazine* 1902.
Fig. 2: Author's possession.
Fig. 3: *Saint Andrew's Colonial Homes Magazine* 1903.
Fig. 4: *Saint Andrew's Colonial Homes Magazine* 1901.

30 Basil A., 8 July 1949, Manuscripts Division, National Library of Scotland, Acc. 6039, Box 13, Packet 2.
31 Donald K., 10 October 1947, Manuscripts Division, National Library of Scotland, Acc. 6039, Box 13, Packet 2.
32 K. Graham to Roddie, Kalimpong, 15 October 1908, Manuscripts Division, National Library of Scotland, Acc. 6039, Box 9.

References

Anderson, Warwick. 2002. *The Cultivation of Whiteness: Science, Health and Racial Destiny in Australia*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

Blunt, Alison. 2005. *Domicile and Diaspora: Anglo-Indian Women and the Spatial Politics of Home*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Fleming, R.A. 1931. *The Rev. John A. Graham, C.I.E., D.D. of Kalimpong*. Edinburgh: Church of Scotland Foreign Mission Committee.

Gordon, Arthur. 1912. *The Life of Archibald Hamilton Charteris*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

Graham, John Anderson. 1897. *On the Threshold of Three Closed Lands: The Guild Outpost in the Eastern Himalayas*. Edinburgh: R. & R. Clark.

Jacobs, Margaret D. 2009. *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880–1940*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Lake, Marilyn, and Henry Reynolds. 2008. *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the Question of Racial Equality*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

Magnusson, Anna. 2006. *The Quarriers Story*. Edinburgh: Birlinn.

Mainwaring, Simon. 2000. *A Century of Children*. Kalimpong: Dr Graham's Homes.

Minto, James. 1974. *Graham of Kalimpong*. Edinburgh: Blackwood.

Mizutani, Satoshi. 2011. *The Meaning of White: Race, Class, and the 'Domiciled Community' in British India 1858–1930*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Perry, Cindy L. 2004. "Graham, John Anderson (1861–1942)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33503, accessed 31 January 2017.

Pratt, Mary Louise. 1992. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London: Routledge.

Rennie, David Field, 1866. *Bhotan and the Story of the Dooar War*. London: J. Murray.

Royal Commission on Aboriginal People. 1996. *Highlights from the Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples: People to People, Nation to Nation*. Minister of Supply and Services.

Salesa, Damon Ieremia. 2011. *Racial Crossings: Race, Intermarriage, and the Victorian British Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Semple, Rhonda Anne. 2003. *Missionary Women: Gender, Professionalism and the Victorian Idea of Christian Mission*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.