Dr and Mrs Graham, 1918

GRAHAM of KALIMPONG

James R. Minto

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD
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To Betty Sherriff and Bunty Odling
as a token of my appreciation
and love

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Any money that this book earns for me will be given to the Dr Graham's Homes, Kalimpong.

FOREWORD

by

The Very Rev. Ronald Selby Wright, CVO, DD, FRSE

A Life of Dr Graham of Kalimpong has been long overdue, but, as those who read this biography by Dr Minto will surely agree, it has been well worth waiting for.

Unlike so many other good and great Church leaders of their day who were ' honoured in their generation and were the glory of their times ' but whose memory is now either dimmed or forgotten, the name of Graham of Kalimpong still lives, and surely will continue to live, for his unforgettable and living memorial is to be found in the Homes which he and his wife founded and which now bear his name—a name honoured still in our generation and surely in generations yet to come.

I had a special interest in accepting Dr Minto's kind and gracious invitation to write this short Foreword, for it was made known to me that Dr Graham would have liked me to have succeeded him when he contemplated retiring in 1941—a kind and challenging suggestion which I could not (for various reasons) consider, but which, as often happens in one's life, left the question of ' what might have been ' had I done so. And so when thirty-one years later (as Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland) I was invited to attend the 25th Anniversary of the Church of South India in Madras in September 1972, I naturally had a longing to fly to North Bengal and at last be able to visit Kalimpong. There I stayed in Jubilee House as the guest of the present Principal, Mr Brooks, and at a most appropriate time, when Dr

Minto had returned for the Sports and Prizegiving and for the Annual Meeting of the Homes Committee. There I had the great pleasure of meeting so many people who continue Dr Graham's great work, including Mrs Pandit, Mr and Mrs David Little and the Rev. John Webster, and to witness how greatly welcomed back Dr Minto was by the Staff and children of the Homes. So was I privileged to see for myself the wonderful continuing work of this great and good Scotsman whose name surely, at least in Kalimpong and indeed in all India, as well as in his native Scotland, continues to be honoured. To come from the humid heat of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta to Badroga Airport and then along that long, steep and winding narrow mountain road for miles and miles into the cooler, clear air and into the heights of the land around Darjeeling and Kalimpong, with its glorious views of the snowy mountains, is an exhilarating and never-to-be-forgotten experience. But it is not just the surroundings but far more the people who make a country—and what lovely happy people they all are. Here ' by God's kindly grace are they not blest ' to live in such a countryside amid the green hills and white hills and rivers, streams and valleys, and to be encompassed about with so much care and loving kindness?

Surely I shall never forget the graciousness, happiness and kindness of the people there, and not least that address made to me by a Bhutanese boy of seventeen—himself a Buddhist:

> " Respected Sir,
>
> It is with feelings of utmost delight and very great gratitude that we . . . welcome you. . . . As you are representing the Church of Scotland we would like to let you know the naked fact that the people of Kalimpong and the surrounding places are greatly indebted to your Church. The pioneer missionaries of your Church, constrained by the love of Christ, came

to this place and engaged in humanitarian activities for over a hundred years among all sorts of people, irrespective of caste, creed, colour or nationality. We are indebted to the Church of Scotland . . . and Moderator, Sir, you have today had an opportunity of seeing with your own eyes. . . . We pray to God Almighty to keep you and guide you throughout your life and make you a channel of blessings to many. We sincerely wish you a very nice time in Kalimpong and wherever you go in this great land of India."

Well, I *had* " a very nice time in Kalimpong " and saw " with my own eyes " that love of Christ that Dr Graham had radiated to " all sorts of people, irrespective of caste, creed, colour or nationality "; and it is that love that shines there still.

' For me 'twas not the truth you taught,
To you so clear, to me so dim,
But when you came you straightway brought
A sense of Him.'

Such a man was Dr Graham.

And the author of this book—Dr James Minto? Born in St Boswells where his father was the minister, and, after school, serving in the Far East with the Royal Navy, he entered St Andrews University where he took an Honours degree in History and later an M.Ed. in Psychology and Education. After a period as a schoolmaster in Scotland and the U.S.A. he was appointed Headmaster of Dr Graham's Homes in 1959, becoming Principal in 1961. In 1971, the year after his retirement, loved and respected by all, he was awarded for his distinguished services the O.B.E. by H.M. the Queen, and in the same year he received his Ph.D. from St Andrews University. For the next three years he was Organising Secretary for Dr Graham's Homes, and in 1974 was appointed Principal of

Quarrier's Homes—the very Homes on which Dr Graham had modelled his own Homes in Kalimpong. Who, then, could be more suitable or more qualified to write this Life than he? How well worthwhile it has been to have waited for it those who have the pleasure of reading this book will for themselves find out.

Ronald Selby Wright

CHAPTER 1

Time of Preparation

There are men whose genius is prompted to fulfilment not by an inward urge or direction, but by their ready response to the calls which reach them and the needs which they encounter on their way through life. Of this order was Dr John Anderson Graham of Kalimpong. His career was due to his character. It was exceptional. He followed no beaten track. He was a romantic adventurer in the Livingstone mould. Graham's journeyings took him, however, not just into unexplored regions in Bhutan, Tibet and Nepal, but also across the frontiers of the other great world religions, searching for common ground.

The opportunities to which he responded were not made by himself. They met him. He accepted them as they occurred. 'Here am I, send me.'

His opportunities were taken by him not as a duty but as a delight. He took advantage of them in a free, joyous, original and inventive way so that he not only rose to the heights of them but carried them to heights that none but himself could have envisaged. They were found latterly and chiefly in Kalimpong. He found it a Himalayan site. He left it a Himalayan shrine. Thanks to Graham, the little sprawling frontier town of Kalimpong, perched dramatically on a ridge and ringed by the eternal snows, has become known to congregations throughout Scotland and far beyond. Graham of Kalimpong takes his place among the other missionary giants of the nineteenth century, like David Livingstone, Dr Laws of Livingstonia and Mary Slessor. He was a product of his age and yet such was the concern and the humanity

of the man that the rigid demarcations of the Victorian Age melted before his warmth.

John Anderson Graham was always rather ashamed of the fact that he had been born in London. It somehow appeared to him to be a drawback to have been born outside Scotland. The fact is, however, that he was born on 8th September 1861 in De Beauvoir Town in the district of West Hackney. His father's name was David Graham and he was a customs officer. His mother had been, before her marriage, Bridget Nolan and she was Irish. They had four sons, of whom John Graham was the second. The eldest, William, was a successful businessman who lived in Edinburgh, David died young in an accident, and James, who was to be very close to John all through his life, became a distinguished Edinburgh doctor.

The Graham family was a closely knit one. John was all his life to look upon the family unit as ' divine '. In later years he remembered his mother with affection and his father with respect. He was, as a youth, greatly moved by his mother's grief at his brother David's death. This was the first family crisis, and the depths of his mother's misery touched a responsive chord in him.

In 1862 David retired from the Customs Service and returned to Cardross in Dunbartonshire where the family came from originally. The family lived on a farm called Glenboig, which David ran. He had retired early from Government service and was able to stand up to the rigours of farming as it was in those days. It was a good farm, efficiently run, and the Graham boys grew up as country lads, running barefoot over the moors, revelling in the freedom of movement which they could enjoy on the farm. David was a strict father and from an early age the boys had to help on the farm, often being given the most menial of jobs. Young John loved the country, even the bracing winds of winter, and he grew up to be a healthy, sturdy youngster. He also developed an interest in agriculture, which was to stand him in good stead later.

David Graham died on 22nd January 1887, but his widow lived on to a fine old age. It was from his mother that John was to develop his sense of fun which was never to leave him. David was a stern husband and father but Bridget's Irish sense of fun and amusement at the ridiculous constantly bubbled over. She had twinkling eyes and smiled constantly. Graham inherited her eyes and her radiant smile.

So John Graham spent his early days in Cardross whose most distinguished resident was King Robert the Bruce. He attended the local parish school until he was thirteen. The parish school was the great strength of Scottish education—democratic to the extreme, where a sound grounding in the 3 Rs was imparted, often by gifted though severe dominies. The parish school was rarely a happy place of relaxed learning, but a sure foundation for further education was given, and the social mix in the classroom saved Scotland to a certain extent from the social stratifications which so adversely affected English education. The dominie at Cardross school, Mr Buchanan, was a dedicated teacher and respected by his pupils.

The Graham family was reasonably well off, but John was withdrawn from school and sent to work at thirteen in order to help the family income. Also he had not really distinguished himself, except in arithmetic, where he had been well above average. Because of his aptitude for figures it was decided he should become a clerk. The decision entailed working in Glasgow. The parish minister of Cardross, the Rev. William Dunn, gave Graham the following piece of advice on hearing he was about to start work: " Aim high, John. If you don't get a bishop's mitre, you may get a tug at his gown."

He started at the bottom of the ladder as a junior clerk in the legal offices of Messrs Keydens Strang and Girvan. His salary was £10 a year and his main jobs were licking stamps and running messages. After six months, however, he was given a high desk of his own and a ledger to

keep. He also increased his salary by fetching the *Evening Standard* for one of the partners. After the freedom of the farm, he found the discipline and the restrictions of the dingy office frustrating in the extreme and began to regret his limited education which apparently sentenced him to a drab future in a drab office.

Anxious to add to his limited school education, he attended evening classes at The Andersonian where he took the unlikely combination of subjects of stenography and astronomy. During the summer months he travelled daily back and forward to Cardross, but in winter he stayed with a friend in Glasgow so that he could attend his night classes. The young Graham eventually grew tired of climbing up the hilly slope to Blythswood Square and decided that his only hope of escape from his high stool and dusty ledger was to return to school and complete his schooling.

In 1875 he started at the High School of Glasgow, travelling daily to and from Cardross. A classmate remembered young Graham as 'a healthy, happy, exemplary lad, eminently likeable and sociable, with a great relish for life and a good appetite for more of it than had been hitherto open to him'.

The school was proud of itself as an historic institution and proud of the ideals enshrined in its ancient tradition. Many rival schools had by that time sprung up—some called into being by social differentiations, others by the rise of new ideas and by an increasing interest in education —but to Glasgow at the end of the century the High School was still the Summa Schola, the Schola Grammatica. It had stood for centuries on the same plane as its great neighbours, the Cathedral and the College, as a guardian of interests more vital to the city than any other —the interests of knowledge and spiritual enlightenment.

Graham responded ardently to his new environment. The parish school and the law office had by their nature

dampened his spirit, but in the High School his personality blossomed. He was fiercely proud of his school. The teachers of the High School were a highly selected group, chosen not only for their academic qualifications, but also for their width of outlook. Perhaps the most distinguished teacher there and the one who influenced Graham most was the senior mathematics teacher, Mr Muir, who later became a power in South African education and was subsequently knighted for his services in that sphere. Dr Hutchison, who later became Rector, was also fondly remembered by Graham as a dedicated scholar.

Academically Graham did well without being brilliant. Throughout his life he always regretted that he was not better read and he felt that there were great gaps in his knowledge. His knowledge of Latin and Greek, for example, was sketchy. Mathematics, his best subject, was still considered the poor relation of the classics.

His love of tradition, fair play and sportsmanship obviously stemmed from the happy days he spent at Glasgow High School. He gained in confidence, and he acquired an easy manner with people of all ages and walks of life.

He has written of his school days:

> 'I was flabbergasted lately to hear from a chum that he had two remembrances of me—one of my being top of the arithmetic class, and the other that I was the organiser of the penny Derby Sweepstakes when Freddy Archer won on Petrarch.'

He was to remain only two years at the High School. The two years, however, were important, as the High School made him aware of his potential. He was urged by a friend, at the end of his second year, to go in for the Civil Service Boy Clerkship Examination. This would appear as if he was, once more, returning to the drab office routine from which he had so recently escaped. He saw, however, a post in the Civil Service, as a reasonably

well-paid clerk, as a stepping-stone to a career in law. He had decided that he would like to become a lawyer.

The result was that when he was just sixteen, he became clerk to the General Board of Lunacy, Edinburgh, and for the next fourteen years Edinburgh was to be his home. Promotion came quite rapidly as he became a Lower Division Clerk in the Exchequer and then a Higher Division Clerk in the Inland Revenue Solicitors' office, and in this post he was able to start taking classes for a law degree. This was a period of preparation. He met people of all walks of life and this helped him to gain insight into human character; he was learning to appreciate the possibilities and the needs of his fellow-men.

He loved Edinburgh passionately. The romantic in him responded to its beauty, its historic traditions, and its Scottishness. He felt a little guilty that his feelings for Glasgow were never quite so warm. Edinburgh was to be the place, however, where Graham was to discover his true vocation in life, where his personality was to develop and where he was to find his life's partner. Small wonder that the capital city captivated him.

During this period in Edinburgh he was actively engaged in Church affairs as a member of St Bernard's Parish Church. The minister was the Rev. John McMurtrie, whom Graham has called 'a true Saint'. McMurtrie was aware immediately of the great potential and vitality in the young Graham, who was Secretary of his Young Men's Fellowship Association (this group was the forerunner of the Young Men's Guild). Graham's flair for interesting men in the Association and for organising meetings, plus his tactful handling of occasional sticky situations involving personality clashes, convinced McMurtrie that Graham was admirably suited for the ministry. McMurtrie's appointment to the Convenership of the Foreign Missions Committee on 28th May 1885 directed not only his thoughts but also Graham's to the needs of the Church overseas. Graham remembered Dr McMurtrie with great

affection as the first of the early significant influences in his life.

On his twenty-first birthday Graham noted in his diary certain resolutions he intended to strive to keep:

'(1) To strive to have more command over myself.
(2) To fight against my besetting sins. To be thoroughly honest and truthful and to battle with evil thoughts and to refrain from all appearances of lust and try to live a pure life.
(3) To strive to be a true Christian.
(4) To be industrious and persevering.
(5) To keep a cash book after this month.'

The last resolution is so delightfully mundane after the other loftier ones, but is yet so typical of the practical streak in Graham's nature.

Through his complete involvement in Church affairs Graham more and more became disenchanted with the dull grind of office routine, and his law classes, too, seemed to have little relevance to people and their problems. Actively encouraged by John McMurtrie, Graham decided to resign from Government service and prepare for the ministry by studying at Edinburgh University for an M.A. degree and then proceeding to the Divinity Hall after graduating. It was a brave step to take, because, as has been indicated, his education to date had been sketchy and interrupted, and not planned with a university degree in view. However, he had the incentive of preparing himself for his true vocation.

He graduated M.A. in 1885 and proceeded to the Divinity Hall for three years. It was during this period that he established contact with one of the giants of the Kirk, the Very Rev. Professor W. Charteris. Charteris, shrewd and experienced, saw in the young student, Graham, something that set him apart. It was not his intellectual prowess that attracted Charteris, but rather a bursting enthusiasm, a light in his eyes, a deep concern

for people which was highly developed in one so young.

Professor Charteris had a brilliant scholastic career. He was minister of a mining village parish at twenty-two, of a beautiful agricultural parish at twenty-three, and of the coveted pulpit in a leading city church at twenty-eight. At thirty-three he was appointed Professor of Biblical Criticism in Edinburgh University. The tremendous strain of study and work and the wear and tear of public life left their mark on him, and the later years of his career were punctuated by frequent bouts of illness.

Charteris was a great believer in what might be called 'Applied Christianity' and he never ceased to proclaim that every worshipper of God should be a worker as well as a worshipper. Charteris, convinced of the power of the Press as an influential auxiliary to the living voice of the pulpit, obtained the General Assembly's approval to establish a magazine for general parochial circulation. During the first year of its existence the circulation of *The Christian Life and Work* was a staggering 76,000.

Mr W. P. Paterson,[1] Secretary of the Young Men's Fellowship Association, was so impressed by the enthusiasm and imagination that Graham showed in his work for St Bernard's that he recommended him to Professor Charteris as an eminently suitable person, despite his youth, to be Clerk to *The Christian Life and Work* Committee. During his six years at Edinburgh University, Graham also undertook this exacting but rewarding task. Early on he learned the power of propaganda, and of disseminating information.

Professor Charteris was also the Father of the Young Men's Guild. The aim of the Guild was to seek the Kingdom of God by uniting the young men of the Church in a fellowship of prayer, study and service. Charteris so appreciated Graham's wholehearted endeavours on

[1] Dr W. P. Paterson became Principal of Edinburgh Divinity Hall.

behalf of the *Life and Work* Committee that when a paid secretary was being sought for the Young Men's Guild, Graham was appointed. So began his connection with the Guild which was eventually to send him as their representative thousands of miles away to the far Himalayas.

Inevitably, with all his outside Church life, his studies must have suffered. His busy, fulfilling life in Edinburgh, however, was to be the pattern of his work habits for the rest of his life. He was happiest when he was stretched both physically and mentally.

An innovation Graham made in 1886 was the publication of the *Church of Scotland Year Book.* The first edition contained parochial lists, names of ministers, population, number of communicants, and statistics of Christian Liberality.

On the occasion of the Jubilee of the *Year Book* Graham wrote:

> 'I edited the first three numbers. While it meant a big grind, I loved the task, and while it, with the other secretarial duties, made some of my professors shake their heads, I now realise that, for the sphere to which I was called, these were not the least valuable elements in my educational equipment.'

In 1886 he went to Dresden in Germany for a period of study. There, in August of that year, he underwent a religious experience which had a profound effect on him. He recounts in his diary how he felt the full guilt of sin when he discovered in his pocket a letter which his aunt had given him containing a dying request from James Graham, his uncle, to his brother William in Australia. John Graham knew William through corresponding with him—hence the request that John should send it on. He writes: 'The enormity of my guilt in delaying the sending of it so long flashed upon me, and worse still the consciousness that I had told my father an untruth about it.'

He wrestled with the problem and found no peace.

> 'I prayed earnestly that God would pardon me, I had clasped my hands in entreaty once but all at once I felt I could not do so again, but that I was pardoned. I then knew that God had answered my petition. My anguish gave way to joy. I felt happier than I had ever done. At least the happiness was of a different sort. At the joy of feeling I was a son of God—that I was really pardoned and would work for Christ with my whole heart.'

This very deep and personal experience he shared with Professor Charteris, and a few weeks later he again wrote to the Professor informing him that he was considering offering himself for service as a missionary. The seeds for this offer had been sown in 1885. Three young men had gathered after the closing meeting of a Guild Conference in the lodgings of one of them in West Preston Street, Edinburgh. They were James Dunlop of Hamilton, John W. Douglas of Glasgow, and John Graham. They discussed a motion made in the conference that day by James Dunlop, that the Guild should enter upon some definite field of Foreign Mission Work. As the discussion proceeded, one of them said: "Let's pray about it," and they all knelt down and prayed. From that hour their minds were made up. They had entered into the vision of God, and in one heart there had been stirred the sense of call. The Dresden experience was to clinch it. Graham felt the call of God.

On 1st December 1886 Professor Charteris wrote to Graham:

> 'My heart goes out to you very much in this crisis of your life. I can imagine no harder time coming to you. You are considering whether to cut yourself off from Home and Scotland and for His sake whose reward you are, to go away to heathendom to raise the flag of

peace. I envy you the decision and the choice. I think the Foreign Mission a higher thing than the Home Ministry.

'You would like to go with a band of brothers as Livingstone wanted it to be. God has given you a talent of organisation and invention which you must not throw away. To be a solitary worker with your own pickaxe, or to build on another man's foundation is not for you in my thinking. How would it do to take the attitude of a man willing to go or to stay as God may clearly lead? That ought to be the attitude of every Divinity student, as of a young soldier. It is very rare.

'If you go, you will break many a bright bubble I have been blowing of future work done by you for the Church. If you stay I should like you to take my place and let me go away and be still. Whether you go or stay you carry my warm affection and my fond hopes.

'I think your offer is your thanks to the Lord for what He did in Dresden.'

Despite his natural preoccupation with the call of the mission field, Graham still found time to be responsible for the amalgamation of *Christian Life and Work* and a Guild magazine called *Guild Life and Work.*

At the Glasgow Conference in 1886, the Guild first discussed the possibility of sending its own missionary into an as yet unspecified field.

It was not surprising that the Guild, which at this time was at its peak as regards membership and enthusiasm, should wish to become involved in missionary enterprise.

The Empire was stretching into every corner of the world. It 'bestrode the world like a colossus' and Victorian Britain, apart from the financial benefits it reaped, felt it had a duty to free the natives from the superstitions and fears of the religions they had practised for centuries.

Enlightenment must be brought to the natives. They must be made worthy of their heritage as part of the greatest Empire the world had seen. All Africa and India were waiting. It was an exciting time for missionary committees, and many ministers, doctors, teachers and nurses felt the call to go to serve in ' faraway places with strange-sounding names '. The Church of Scotland never had any difficulty in recruiting missionaries in those days. In the nineteenth century Scots emigrated in their thousands for economic and social reasons. The Scot by nature of his Celtic ancestry has an adventurous streak in him, and the challenge and attraction of foreign parts have always enticed him away, even from the land for which he has such a passionate attachment.

To Graham, the self-confessed romantic, the mission field with its freedom of action, with its chance to explore new environments, with its place in the vanguard of Empire building, would unquestionably appeal. Graham, a realist too, perhaps saw the chance of more exceptional service overseas than in the ordinary, humdrum life of a country parish minister. The missionaries were the shock troops of a thriving church reaching out the hand of Christian brotherhood to the conquered. It was a spectacular vocation, particularly in Victorian Britain when there was much ignorance of conditions in both Africa and India. There was an element of danger in living in darkest Africa or in the mysterious East, which added spice and excitement to the job.

Livingstone gave a new dimension to mission work. His romantic adventures in the heart of Africa were followed in the Press by thousands of Scots who saw in this unusual missionary a kind of crusading hero taking the gospel into the most uncivilised regions. His martyr's death, too, heightened their respect and admiration. This was no narrow, dogmatic Calvinist, but a man of the people, whose dramatic journeyings were done in God's name and against the vast intriguing backcloth of Central

Africa. Scotland, so long famed for producing preachers of learned sermons, had provided a man of action, and it provided others as well, perhaps not quite of the same stature as Livingstone, but men and women who were of similar mould. Most of them, like Mary Slessor, were to find their fulfilment in Africa.

There was then, in the Church at the end of the nineteenth century, a tremendous interest in missionary enterprise. Church attendance at that time was also at its peak. Victorian rectitude demanded regular church-going as a prerequisite for good living. There was in most congregations the zeal to win over the black, the brown, and the yellow citizens of the Empire to Christ. Exploitation and conversion went on simultaneously in Africa and India. It is not suprising that Graham should be caught up in the challenge of missionary expansion.

The Guild formed a Sub-committee to find out from all Guilds how a missionary could be maintained.

The second problem was a more complex one—the selection of a suitable field for mission work. Initially, Blantyre in Africa was selected, for it had connections with Livingstone and was well known and would, as a result, have a definite appeal.

The Guild Sub-committee then submitted its proposals to the Foreign Missions Committee. The latter, concerned about the state of their funds, suggested that instead of starting a new station the Guild should relieve them of the financial burden of running an existing station. They said that they would more than welcome the assistance and co-operation of the Guild in the Kalimpong division of the very successful Darjeeling Mission.

The Guild Committee agreed to this suggestion provided that there was such an individuality in the Mission as would let it be known as the Guild Mission, and the field should be such that the Guild could send a man and not merely contribute to the support of one already there.

It was at this stage in the negotiations that the Guild

Committee announced that ' their efficient and industrious Secretary ', Mr John A. Graham, M.A., had volunteered his services.

At the Guild Conference held at Galashiels on 25th October 1887, the Committee submitted a full report of their negotiations with the Foreign Missions Committee and after a lengthy discussion the following motion was carried by 94 to 54 votes:

> ' Adopt the report, approve the Guild engaging in Foreign Mission work on the lines proposed, rejoice at Mr Graham's offer, and remit to the Committee of Management to mature the scheme with a view to a definite acceptance of Mr Graham's offer, if found practicable after communication with all the branches.'

Despite the relatively close voting, Graham was overjoyed at the findings of the Conference. He began openly to canvass support for the final hurdle, the Kirkcaldy meeting. Graham circulated all the Guilds asking for their support and enclosing a description of the Kalimpong field. At the Kirkcaldy meeting all the opposition which had previously existed melted away, and amid scenes of great enthusiasm and excitement the following resolution was passed:

> ' The members of the Guild in solemnly and prayerfully taking this step trust that God may accept this offering of the Guild, and using it for His Glory, make it a source of blessing to the Mission Field, to Mr Graham, and to the whole Guild.'

Not the least important event of this remarkable conference was the announcement that 164 branches of the Guild had pledged their financial support to the extent of £364 per annum.

There followed almost immediately one of the most moving ordination services in the history of the Church of Scotland. On Sunday, 13th January 1889 in St George's

Church, Edinburgh, one thousand young guildsmen from all over Scotland gathered to witness the ordination of the popular young minister who was going out as a Crusader in God's name, and in their name, to do battle with the forces of darkness. St George's Parish Magazine describes the emotional service:

> 'The spectacle which met us as we passed into the Church to begin the service was such as to fill one with an emotion almost overpowering. We shall never forget that sea of fresh young faces, or that burst of melody which surged and swelled in volume like the sound of many waters as it bore upwards our adoration at the grand old words—" Thou hast, O Lord most glorious, ascended up on high."
>
> 'One unusual aspect of this unusual ordination service was that although Mr Graham was presented to the Edinburgh Presbytery by the Foreign Missions Committee he was presented by the Young Men's Guild as an agent who would be totally supported by the Guild, although working under the direction of the Foreign Missions Committee.
>
> 'Having answered the customary questions, Dr Norman McLeod descended from the pulpit and surrounded by the ministers present, by prayer and the laying on of hands, ordained John Graham to the Ministry.
>
> 'Dr McLeod in his address said " that the service had no parallel in the history of the Church of Scotland. In the history of the Church many missionaries had been ordained, but no missionary ordination had ever been witnessed as that had been—by a band of young men, probably approaching a thousand in number, drawn from all parts of Scotland, each one of them feeling that he had a personal interest in the solemn act which had brought them together." '

Those who were present found the service deeply

moving. Graham in writing to Dr Charteris felt very acutely the burden of his responsibility. He was very much the Guild's champion—going out to an unknown environment. The Himalayas had a mystic sound about them—the very name 'Kalimpong' was intriguingly exotic and had a strangeness which was a little frightening. On the other hand, he was encouraged and strengthened by the support which was so evident.

But he was not going alone to the land of the eternal snows; two days after his ordination service in St George's he was married to Miss Katherine McConachie. The decision to marry was not a sudden one, as they had known each other for a year before becoming engaged in June 1887. They met because of a common interest in child welfare work in the city. The slums of Edinburgh round the Grassmarket and the Royal Mile were quite horrific at that time, and they met at a centre, started by the churches, which fed the children and washed and clothed them. Graham had an astonishing way with children even at this early stage. The shyest and most withdrawn child's reserve melted before the twinkling blue eyes. Many a child later was to carry the memory of these very special blue eyes through life.

This was a love match. Their relationship was of the tenderest throughout their marriage. They needed each other, and in their need their marriage was a complete fulfilment for both of them.

Katherine, or Katie as she was known to her family, was the eldest daughter of John and Margaret McConachie of Edinburgh. John was a native of Rothes and Margaret was born at Cottinch in Duffus, Morayshire. Prior to her marriage Margaret had been Joseph Lister's favourite nurse in the Royal Infirmary, Edinburgh, during his famous experiments in antiseptic surgery. Lister pressed her to go with him when he left for London, but she refused and, after her husband died, she opened a small nursing home in Hailes Street. The family consisted of

three girls and two sons. All the girls went to a girls' school, St George's, in Melville Street. Katie inherited her mother's interest in nursing, although she took no formal training.

On 20th January 1889 Graham preached a farewell sermon to members of the Guild at St George's Church. He told them that there was no need for sadness at his going, because they would all be more closely associated in God's work.

He was, therefore, ordained on 13th January, married on the 15th and preached his farewell sermon on the 20th. The close proximity of these important dates shows his eagerness to be on his way to his exciting new parish.

In a typical burst of physical effort, before leaving Scotland, he did his utmost to visit as many Guilds as possible. He covered almost the whole country. It was an incredible visitation, telescoped into a very short period, but it made the Guilds aware of their responsibility towards him. He was now not merely a name to them. The Guilds he visited could not but be affected by his enthusiasm and pledged their full-hearted support. Graham was exhausted by his efforts but he felt a great elation, too, at the enthusiasm he had evoked.

So Graham and his bride left Scotland and set out for Kalimpong via Switzerland, Austria and Italy. The young couple stayed with Professor and Mrs Charteris at Meran in the Austrian Tyrol. The Grahams received a warm welcome and it somehow seemed fitting that at the beginning of the greatest adventure of his life Graham should go out of his way to meet the man who, more than anyone else, was responsible for his departure and mission to the distant Himalayas.

The Grahams sailed from Venice, changed ships at Suez and finally reached Calcutta on 21st March 1889. On the 22nd Graham preached his first sermon in India, in the Scots Kirk, Dalhousie Square, Calcutta. The Grahams spent a week in Calcutta making purchases,

but their stay in the city was saddened by the sudden death of their hostess, Mrs Smith. The Smiths were missionary friends who were doing good work in the city. Mrs Smith was buried on 2nd April, and Mr Smith who wished to get away from Calcutta for some time, decided to accompany the Grahams to Darjeeling.

On 5th and 6th April they made their way to Darjeeling via the ugly, sprawling townships of Jalpaiguri and Siliguri, which lie, hot and dusty, below the foothills of the Himalayas.

Then, on ponies, the little party began to climb up through the luscious forests, leaving the steaming plains behind them, up through the tea gardens until Darjeeling was reached. Darjeeling, dramatically perched at 7,000 feet on a great semicircular ridge and dominated by the most awe-inspiring mountain in the world—Kanchenjunga. Kanchenjunga rears its 28,160 feet skywards, and its snow-capped peak seems to be suspended in the air above Darjeeling. It is small wonder that many of the local tribes believe that the mountain is the home of the gods. When the morning mists clear and its grandeur is suddenly revealed, it is one of the finest sights in the world. Breathtakingly beautiful and somehow humbling in its staggering size, it seems to mock at the physical weakness of puny man.

Graham fell in love with the mountain at first sight. He was never to tire of its beauty. He loved its changeable moods—its calm serenity at dawn and sunset, when its snow tinged with a delicate coral pink looked like a gigantic iced cake, or in its more violent mood with a fierce cold blast blowing the snow in a great plume off the sharp summit. Under the shadow of the artistic frieze of Kanchenjunga, Graham's romanticism was to take root and flower.

After a night's stop in Darjeeling they began the last stage of the journey, which had already taken seven weeks. In some ways the last stage must have been the most

exciting, not just because they were nearing their destination but because the ponies, as they gingerly descended from Darjeeling's 7,000 feet to the Teesta River only 500 feet above sea level, passed through some of the most dramatic scenery in the world. How the Grahams must have revelled in the blending of the neat tea bushes, the profusion of wild flowers, the neat mud-and-thatched *bustees* and always in the background the great silent white sentinel, Kanchenjunga. They reached the Teesta, green with glacial dust in suspension, still fast flowing and dangerous even before the onset of the monsoon. A few monsoon downpours and the river becomes a raging torrent. Then the last nine miles of climbing from the River Teesta up through the forests and past the paddy-fields until, in the twilight, as the smoke from the villagers' evening fires was beginning to make the atmosphere hazy, suddenly they rounded a corner and there, at a higher level, was Kalimpong—in 1889 a straggling collection of huts gathered on a ridge, not very impressive. As the Grahams nudged their tired ponies down the street towards the Mission the curious villagers little realised that the new Sahib, whose glasses were the cause of immediate amusement, was going to turn this obscure little frontier town into a place whose name would become a household word in every Scottish town from the Pentland Firth to the Solway.

The Rev. W. S. Sutherland was the missionary in charge and he had come part of the way down to the Teesta to meet his new colleague. The members of the small congregation also came to pay their humble respects to the new missionary and his wife.

On their first night, as the Grahams looked out over the tiny sleeping village from their home in the Mission, and listened to the shrill cry of the cicadas and the weird howling of the scavenging jackals, Edinburgh, the ordination service, their friends must have seemed very far away. However, they had arrived safely, the surroundings were

exotically beautiful, and the people with their Mongoloid features looked friendly despite the *kukris* tucked carelessly into their waist belts. His job was to be faithful to his sponsors and spread the news of Christ through the beautiful valleys he had seen from his pony. The challenge was there. Graham felt confident he could meet it and meet it successfully.

CHAPTER 2

The Challenge

Kalimpong and Darjeeling, at the time of the Grahams' arrival, were in what was known as British Sikkim—a tract of country wedged between Nepal in the west and Bhutan in the east. To the north was independent Sikkim. Kalimpong is set on a ridge at 4,000 feet between two larger hills. In 1889 there were three main tribes resident in the district—the Lepchas, the Bhutias and the Nepalese.

Of the three races, the Lepchas were the original inhabitants. They are a Mongoloid people living in the Himalayas on the southern and eastern slopes of Kanchanjunga. They were and still are very few. They were originally nomadic, clearing the jungle and cultivating it only as long as it yielded early return for their labour.

For the Lepchas the mother of the tribe is Kongchen, known to the outside world as Mount Kanchenjunga—Mother Kongchen is the guardian deity of their tribe and their country, for the Lepchas live in the lap, as it were, of their great 'mother'. They believe that the Lepcha soul comes from a place up in the dizzy mountain heights and that when they die the soul must be directed back to be reunited with the souls of their ancestors. They not only worship this towering mountain but seek its blessing in marriage and in their daily lives. Protected by impenetrable forests, inaccessible mountain valleys and with little contact with the outside world, the Lepchas lived in isolation evolving a primitive but happy society. The religion practised by them was complicated—a mixture of an old nameless religion designed to ward off misfortune and illnesses caused by devils and which took

the form of animal sacrifice and direct communication with the supernatural, and Lamaism brought to them by the Bhutia invaders in the sixteenth century.

The Bhutias came from Tibet—a tribe of mainly intelligent and adventurous invaders. There were in Graham's time four main groups of Bhutias—Sikkimese Bhutias, a mixed race descended from Tibetans who settled in Sikkim and intermarried with Lepchas; Sherpa Bhutias or Bhutias of Nepal who came from Eastern or North East Nepal; Drukpa Bhutias or Bhutias of Bhutan; and Bhutias of Tibet or Tibetans. The Bhutias were relatively small in number, following at that time a rather primitive form of Buddhism.

The most important race of the Eastern Himalayas region in Graham's time, and still today, were the Nepalese, some of whom came from their kingdom on the invitation of the British officials and tea planters who required cheap labour for work on the tea gardens in the area. The immigrations were on a very large scale. In the Darjeeling census of 1891 eighty-eight thousand persons then living in the area were recorded as being born in Nepal.

The Nepalese belonged to different tribal groups drawn from various areas of Nepal. The Tamangs, Sherpas and Yolmos settled in the Kalimpong area in large groups, as did the Jimdais and the Limbus. The Limbus, like the Gurungs from Western Nepal, were renowned for their fighting qualities. The Pradhans, once a ruling tribe in Nepal, also came in large numbers and were to play a dominant part in the future development of the area. The Khas tribe, which had adopted the surname Chetri, was also significant. There were many other tribes, some, for example, taking the names of the occupations of their respective classes; thus the Kamis are smiths, Damais are tailors, Sarkis are cobblers, Badis are musical instrument makers. Most of the tribes had dialects of their own, but they all spoke the Nepali language which is the lingua franca of Nepal.

In Graham's early days in Kalimpong it was difficult to decide which Nepalese tribes were Hindu and which were Buddhist. When the immigrants from Nepal settled in the area, Hinduism appeared to spread at the expense of Buddhism. The Nepalese were vigorous, sometimes warlike, intelligent, hard working, and without any great difficulty became the dominant hill race in the Kalimpong area. The Bhutias were too small in number to offer any challenge to their supremacy, and the Lepchas only asked to be left in peace and isolation. Very often the Buddhist Nepali, cut off from his home, simply adopted the religion of his Hindu neighbours, particularly if there were no Buddhist priests in the neighbourhood.

The Kalimpong the Grahams came to was an ideal site for mission work, as it was the meeting place of mule caravans from Sikkim and, indirectly, Bhutan and Tibet.

The first mention of Kalimpong in official records is the impression recorded by Sir Ashley Eden on his way to Bhutan in 1864:

> 'About two o'clock we reached a few huts constituting the hamlet of Kalimpong, at an elevation of between three and four thousand feet. . . . The population of the hamlet consisted of two or three families. . . . The huts were supported on piles about four feet from the ground.'

By 1889 the bazaar had grown considerably and was, of course, by that time, the centre of a pioneer mission work.

The foundation of the Kalimpong Mission was the direct result of the visit to India of the Rev. Dr McLeod and the Rev. Dr Watson. These two gentlemen toured the existing mission stations and suggested that in the Eastern Himalayas a new station should be opened among aboriginal tribes. They did not specify where. The Rev. William Macfarlane, a St Andrews graduate who was looking after an orphanage at Gaya (on the plain to the

west of Calcutta), had some hill boys from the Darjeeling area in his home. He was so struck by their sturdiness and independence of character that he visited their home area. As a result of his visit, he strongly recommended opening a mission, and in 1870 he was transferred to Darjeeling as its head.

Macfarlane was a typical example of the pioneer missionary of that age—quiet, studious, full of a granite-like determination and a rock-like faith to match it. In 1870 he wrote from Darjeeling:

> 'Over there is the place for planting another branch of the Mission to operate chiefly among the Lepchas. I reached a spot called Kalimpong, four miles from the Teesta that will do admirably for a mission station.'

From the early days the Kalimpong Mission was to be looked on as a mission with its sights set on the closed Buddhist countries of Sikkim, Nepal, Bhutan and Tibet. It was hoped that some day those countries, which at that time pursued a policy of complete isolation, would open their doors to missionary endeavours, and the Kalimpong Mission, right on the doorstep of each of them, would be the springboard from which the entry could best be launched.

Because of this forward-looking aim, Macfarlane had placed the Rev. W. S. Sutherland in the Kalimpong Mission in 1880 and he himself, sponsored by the Scottish Universities Missionary Associations which he had interested in his work during a three-year leave period, became supervisor of an area adjacent to Darjeeling and Kalimpong. The task Macfarlane set himself was to evangelise Independent Sikkim and to train and establish catechists in a school at Kalimpong who would be prepared for pioneer mission work and be ready to move into the other closed lands if necessary.

At the time of Macfarlane's death in 1886 there were 446 baptised Christians in the area on the roll of the Church

at Kalimpong. 94 had been baptised the previous year. It was an expanding mission and one that gave great hopes for the future.

The Mission compound consisted of 16 acres and the rent for this sizeable piece of ground was a nominal Rs 11. The compound was triangular in shape with the base at the northern side and the apex at the north-western end of the Kalimpong bazaar. The highway to Tibet was the south-eastern boundary, although the term ' highway ' is a trifle misleading as two mules found it difficult to pass at certain places. West of the East Ridge Mr Sutherland built the new Universities Mission House. Behind it was the burial-ground which contained the Rev. Macfarlane's grave. Below the University Mission House were two buildings which were long and narrow. One became the Guild Mission House and the other the new Training School for Catechists. On the east slope there were two rows of one-roomed houses (eighteen in all) which were for teachers and students at the Training School.

These were the surroundings of the Mission which stood on a ridge overlooking the struggling, untidy bazaar. Kalimpong in those days had an impermanent look. There were no ' pukka ' buildings—it took the rapid expansion of the wool trade with Tibet, and the subsequent arrival of Marwari traders from Rajasthan, to change the bazaar into a bustling, prosperous frontier town with the muscular, wild-looking Tibetans looking for a good time, in a way similar to the cowpokes who swamped the small towns of Abilene and Dodge City in the heyday of the Western folk heroes. That was in the future, however.

From the day of his arrival Graham plunged wholeheartedly into the work which Sutherland, as the senior missionary, gave him. Graham was to be in charge of the Christian Church in the area, not just in Kalimpong but in the surrounding valleys. Sutherland himself looked after the school and the general administration of the Mission.

Two days after their arrival the Grahams started to learn Nepali and Hindi from a pundit. They were both apt pupils and because there were so few English speakers in the area, it was important that they should learn the vernacular languages as quickly as possible.

The first impression that Graham had of the Mission was favourable, but there was one disappointment and that was the absence of a church. Services were held in the school hall, but such was the growth of the congregation that each service had to be held in two shifts. Sutherland and Graham both felt that the construction of a church should be given priority. Interestingly enough, the construction of a simple place of worship of local design which would blend into the natural environment was never considered. A church had to be as large and as imposing and as similar to churches in Western Europe as was humanly possible. The more Gothic it looked, the more acceptable it would be. To build such a grand edifice in Kalimpong would require considerable finance. Certainly the local peasant congregation could not raise enough money to pay for one of the windows, never mind a building designed to hold over five hundred people.

A magnificent site had been selected by Sutherland—a site where the church would be visible from the five valleys which radiated out from Kalimpong. The church would be a symbol of Christ's power, of the success of the Mission, the pride of the Christian community, and on a Sunday its bell would call the faithful to service.

In the project, Sutherland directed the construction work while Graham handled the appeals and the correspondence. He appealed for money not only from Scotland but from India as well. Agents were appointed in Calcutta, Bombay, Bangalore and Darjeeling to collect for the Kalimpong Church. In his first year in Kalimpong, he set out to interest people both in and beyond India in his projects. Through his experience with *Life and Work* he had the ability to ' sell ' mission work by skilful propaganda and

by the personal approach. All through his life he was to use advertising techniques to spread interest. People were kept informed of his work. Through monthly newsletters sent to *Life and Work*, people in Scotland were kept in touch with the strivings of young Graham and his adventures in the foothills of the Himalayas. People identified themselves with him, and rejoiced at his successes and shared his problems. To many he was like a crusading knight, fighting for 'the cause' against the forces of ignorance, evil and superstition. It was a role that Graham liked and fostered by seeing that his supporters were well fed with the statistics which at that time were the concrete signs of a missionary's successful impact on the enemy's ranks. From the inception of his first major project, Graham realised that money could be raised more quickly for God's work by gaining the interest of the influential and the wealthy. Throughout his life he felt that it was Christian to give people the opportunity to be generous and helpful, and very often, for his various projects, help both financial and otherwise came from the most unlikely sources. Too often in its history the Church has sought help from only the committed and from within the confines of a narrow denomination. Many a non-Church person in India was to be astonished at the satisfaction gained in helping Graham with some project dear to his heart.

The plans of the new church— which was impressively neo-Gothic and would have looked completely at home amid the rolling scenery of Angus or the lush green fields of Galloway—was designed by a Mr Hardy of Edinburgh. Inside it was to be completely Scottish in its austerity. It was large, able to seat four to five hundred. The future increase in the congregation was taken into account.

Of the three tribes in the area Christianity had least impact on the Bhutias. They were Buddhists and, never having been a subject race, they considered their religion to be sufficient for their needs. Their religion was colour-

ful, full of pageantry, and to them satisfying as it covered most aspects of their lives. The Bhutias particularly liked the social organisation of their religion which was not stringent like the caste system. The layman's duty was to support the lama and, by abstaining from sin, he might become a lama himself in his next incarnation. It was a gentle religion, inextricably mixed up with culture and customs, with nature and folklore. It was a religion which somehow was in keeping with the majestic grandeur of the surroundings.

The attitude of the Buddhist rulers of the mountain states, Sikkim, Bhutan and Nepal, was generally antagonistic, and with the exception of Sikkim their lands remained closed to missionary enterprise throughout Graham's time in Kalimpong. No figures are available for the number of Bhutia Christians then in the area. In 1947, however, there were only 172 in the Kalimpong area and 341 in the whole of the Darjeeling subdivision.

The impact made on the various Nepalese tribes settled in the area was surprisingly little. In Nepal the caste had been rigid and Christian missionaries were unknown. The caste Hindu was particularly suspicious of the dietary habits of the European missionary. Converts there were, however, and these tended to come from the non-Hindu Nepalese, the Rais, Limbus and Tamangs. Considering that the Nepalese so outnumbered the Lepchas—probably four times as many—the impact was negligible. With one or two exceptions, the converts were from the lower classes, and it was a number of years before the Church obtained leaders from the Nepalese community.

Most of the early conversions, therefore, were from the Lepcha community. The missionaries, including Graham, soon realised that contact was more easily made with those gentle folk. The Rev. William Macfarlane, for example, found the caste system and orthodoxy of the Hindu Nepalese a stumbling block to his work in Darjeeling, so

when he came to Kalimpong he set to work to convert the Lepchas.

The Lepchas enjoyed a classless society with no established autonomy like the Bhutias and no caste system like the Hindus. Many of their social customs were not dissimilar from the Christian's. The words and thoughts of elders were respected and obeyed. In Lepcha society the elders were infallible and called for unchallenged obedience. The Presbyterian type of Church government introduced in Kalimpong fitted in well with the position of Lepcha elders in their society. The elders, if converted, became the leaders and patriarchs of the Church.

In 1890 the Lepchas were a diminishing tribe and even then were in danger of losing their identity and language. Already there was much intermarriage with the Nepalese and Nepali was becoming their language. By becoming Christian they kept their identity in a different way. They became leaders in the organisation of the Church. They were the missionaries' favourites and therefore won for themselves a kind of protection in the district and, being simple people, were easy to manage. They had no taboos as regards food. Many of their legends were markedly similar to the Old Testament; they had, for example, their Adam and Eve (Fudong Thing and Nazong Nyu); they too were banished from their mountain home; the Tower of Babel (Tallom Parton) and the Deluge (Tendong Chyu) were familiar to them. When the Lepcha became a convert he had nothing to lose, unlike the Buddhist and the Hindu who, as often as not, became an outcast. The Lepchas, too, because of their nature and their circumstances as a diminishing tribe, tended to keep to themselves.

Sutherland and Graham really understood the Lepchas and their problems. Economically the Lepchas were a very poor community and Graham strove all his life to help their economic situation.

In his writings Graham rarely differentiated between

Nepalese and Lepchas. Yet in his early days the word Christian was synonymous with the word Lepcha, and doing anything good for a Christian meant doing good for a Lepcha.

Graham loved the Lepchas and had a close *rapport* with them. He was almost protective towards them. He did his best to prevent them from joining military service. Later he was to prevent the Government conferring awards and honours on them, nor would he allow them to join Government service. This was peculiar behaviour towards a favourite tribe. Perhaps he wanted the tribe he loved so much to remain simple, plain and artless.

Graham loved his work in the district churches. He had a restless energy and he found a ready outlet in travelling round his extensive parish. On his pony, he became a familiar sight in the hamlets surrounding Kalimpong. He was soon able to communicate not only in Hindi and Nepalese, but also in the rather difficult Lepcha tongue as well.

He introduced a system of Church government which he compared to the system John Knox desired to establish in Scotland. The main unit was the congregational *panchayat* consisting of the heads of all the families. There were catechists, elders, deacons and evangelists. The great event was the *Burra Panchayat* which was a quarterly meeting at the Grahams' house of representatives from all the district churches in Kalimpong. Graham presided at the meetings after a curry and rice ' love feast ' which was served to all participants on the veranda of the Guild Mission house. This was a very friendly gathering with much fun and leg-pulling. The breakfast was always preceded by morning prayers in the church.

The parish was eventually divided into fifteen subdivisions. Graham was far-sighted enough to insist that one of the prime duties of a missionary was to train locals for posts of responsibility within the Church. The subsequent efficiency of the Kalimpong Mission owed a great

deal to the organisation of Church government, where promising men were trained for responsibility.

It is interesting that the village churches, in marked contrast to the newly built Macfarlane Church, were simple in design, made of the same basic materials as the villagers' homes—mud and thatch.

In his district work, Graham revelled in his freedom of movement. He was his own boss in this field and could get away from the narrow confines of the Mission in Kalimpong and travel through the valleys and paddy-fields on his pony. Even the leeches and the torrential monsoon rains and floods did not deter him from constant supervision of his flock. Streams swollen by rain were an additional hazard, but even in the midst of the noisiest thunderstorm he found a strange, awesome beauty as the thunder reverberated from the giant peaks. His early days on the heath around Cardross had given him an affinity with nature in all its moods. Kalimpong, the Himalayas and India had claimed yet another devotee. The astonishing beauty of the place, the ethereal quality of glorious sunrises and even more glorious sunsets, the haunting scent of frangipani, the hillsides splashed with scarlet poinsettias in winter, the clear blue skies—all this and more he absorbed and loved. The filth and the smell of the open drains in Kalimpong village, the *bustees* acrid with the grime of years from the charcoal fires, the narrow filthy lanes, the emaciated pariah dogs and the holy cows and pigs scavenging among the accumulated garbage were accepted by him as part of a scene which always had glimpses of interest and which challenged him to suggest improvement. For him the interest was in people. It was always to be this way for him. He loved meeting people and talking to them and listening. Here was no reticent, dour Scots missionary, inarticulate and frightened of expressing anything which smacked of friendship or emotion. He had an openness and frankness to which people warmed and which overcame shyness.

The bazaar folk fascinated him—the sturdy, shaggy maverick warrior resting from his nomadic struggle amid the forlorn fringes of Tibet, the squat, swaggering Bhutanese down from the *dzongs* of Bhutan, curious and suspicious, the Nepalese, and the gentle Lepchas smiling and self-effacing at the presence in the bazaar of warrior-like hillmen who revered courage and strength and the manly sports. This haphazard collection of huts on a hillside was and still is a watershed of many cultures. Graham, the romantic, fitted into the picture effortlessly. He felt at home. There were many of the Scottish virtues of independence, sturdiness and toughness among these people. They walked the hillsides of their mountain states with a quiet dignity, unlike the cringing hopelessness the Indian plainsmen so often betray. From his early days in Kalimpong Graham showed a warmth and compassion which spilled over and through the narrow path to salvation which was the normal approach of nineteenth-century missionaries to their flocks. But he had an awareness of God's all-encompassing love for all men. The soil of Kalimpong, so fruitful for all kinds of flowers, was also fertile enough to develop Graham into a man of infinite compassion—a man with mission in life which was God-inspired.

Graham was not the founder of Kalimpong but he exerted such an influence in the town and on its inhabitants that he is considered the founding father. Kalimpong today is still a romantic place. Even the most blasé traveller, the man or woman who has seen everything and has the coloured transparencies to prove it, feels something different in Kalimpong. It is perhaps the blending of the beauties of nature and the blending of races and cultures in this quaint corner of North Eastern India which make the seasoned traveller pause and contemplate. Not that modern Kalimpong is in any way perfect—far from it. Human weaknesses and faults are just as evident in Kalimpong as anywhere else, but Kalimpong has a

timelessness which is charming. Travellers find peace of mind, a strange detachment from the problems which normally worry them. There is no industry there, no television, no railway, no airfield. Life is peaceful and sedate. The hill peoples with their courteous behaviour have a quiet pride which is in keeping with the even tenor of their lives. The variety of clothes, the colourful weaves, the mixture of attractive features, from the strong-boned Tibetan faces to the rounder, softer Nepalese faces, all help to make the Kalimpong bazaar colourful and different. The experienced European or American tourist in India, jaded by a surfeit of Hindu temples with erotic carvings and by none-too-clean Buddhist monasteries and the austere orderliness of mosques, finds his flagging interest reawakened in Kalimpong, not by the relics of a past culture but by the striking beauty of faces, the colour and variety of costumes and all this surrounded by a panoramic sweep, breathtaking in its magnificence. The remembered beauty of this scene causes an almost physical pain for those separated from it. On an October or November day when the monsoon clouds have finally scudded away and the air washed clean is like champagne and visibility seems endless, Kanchenjunga stands towering above the town with an ethereal quality that perhaps only Fujiyama can equal.

Graham's influence in Kalimpong in its formative years was profound and touched on the lives of all classes of the community. It is significant that it is not only in missionary circles that he is called Graham of Kalimpong —the two names cannot be separated. Kalimpong, without fifty-two years of Graham's presence, would still have grown, but it would not perhaps have grown in such an orderly way. It would still, without Graham, have had its beautiful setting, but the spirit of the place would have been vastly different. There is today a tolerance in Kalimpong, a width of vision among the responsible citizens that transcends community prejudice, religious differences

and caste superiorities. On Independence Day, 15th August, Kalimpong celebrates with more gusto and exuberance than does Delhi or Calcutta. The people of Kalimpong like doing things together as a group because to most of them it is more than just a place in which to live, to do business, to bring up a family. This feeling for the town is obviously not all because of Graham, but unquestionably he helped to mould its character. Just as a well-disciplined, well-mannered child tends to grow up into a successful and courteous man, so has Kalimpong developed into a town with responsible citizens, too much in love with their town to see it rent by the factions and frictions which have destroyed so many Indian towns and villages. Militant Communism, for example, makes no impact on the town because of the divisive nature of its appeal.

His wife, too, came under Kalimpong's magnetic spell. Their relationship was compassionate. She alone called him 'Ian'. They shared all their hopes and expectations. Whenever he was parted from Katie they wrote to each other every day—a practice which continued until Katie's death. No scheme of his was undertaken without a discussion with Katie whose practical mind often saw flaws or difficulties which the burning enthusiasm of Graham had overlooked or glossed over.

Mrs Betty Sherriff, their youngest daughter, in a letter written in 1949 to her sister Bunty, recalls:

> 'I remember that when you went through Mother's possessions after she died she had practically nothing. She just never bought anything for herself and yet she always looked so nice, so fresh. Can't you picture her coming up at tiffen time from the local school with her white blouse and skirt (always the same cross-over shaped blouse with a little vest and a place inside the blouse where she carried her fountain pen) and her big brimmed topee with a white scarf round it, slowly coming up through the garden and always with some

flower in her hand, which she loved, sniffing as she came along?

'Our training and education from Mother was all so wholesome and thorough. How wise Mother was to keep us in the plainest, most practical clothes—lace on our knickers would never have stood the strain of tree-climbing and expeditions up the precipitous ladders of the Old Church tower. Our food too was plain but so wholesome—oatmeal from Dalkeith, milk and vegetables from our own cows and garden—good home-made jam, scones and pancakes.

'Mother taught us English, French and history in addition to her other multifarious activities. She was above all thorough and organised.

'Do you remember how she gave us four annas for every Scottish song we learned the words off by heart?

'How understanding and fond Mother was of all sorts of young people. She had a great gift of making friends. I remember Miss Cathie McIntosh, one of the teachers in the Girls' High School, telling me that over Christmas in Kalimpong she was feeling homesick for Scotland when a bunch of exquisite violets arrived from Mother and how this simple but beautiful gift immediately dispelled the blues.'

When the children were old enough to understand, they too were included in the Grahams' plans. On his return from a trip Graham would recount in detail all that he had accomplished and describe the people he had met to his intent audience of Katie and eventually six children, David, Jack, Peggy, Isa, Bunty and Betty. Katie was never at ease when he was away from Kalimpong, even just in the district, and she used to look eagerly to the bend in the road round which the familiar figure on the pony would in due course appear, and listen for his special " coo-eee ". If he was returning from Calcutta

his luggage would be examined particularly carefully by the children to see if he had remembered to bring them the little brass animals which they collected. For Katie there was usually a bottle of eau-de-Cologne.

The Mission now had a splendid church but lacked a hospital. Katie had started a little dispensary in the Mission grounds, but she was aware of the limitations of the clinic as well as her own deficiencies. There was a high incidence of serious illness in the sub-division. Diseases like dysentry, tuberculosis and hepatitis were rife, and it became increasingly obvious that a Cottage Hospital was essential.

Katie wrote home to the Woman's Guild about the need for the hospital, and in his monthly letter to *Life and Work* Graham also stressed the lack of hospital facilities. It was the Woman's Guild which accepted the challenge, and with some help from the Government, the Charteris Hospital, named after Professor Charteris, was opened in 1893. It was a substantial building, containing to begin with twenty-five beds. Later an addition was built on a higher position on the ridge commanding a superlative view of the River Teesta, snaking through its forested valley, of the Darjeeling ridge and, above, of the track which eventually became a road winding precariously through the tea bushes until it arrives at the Queen of the Hill Stations, Darjeeling.

Dr Poynder came to be the first doctor and he was eventually joined by his sister. The Government was only too happy to permit the Charteris Hospital to be completely responsible for all medical care in the district. Apart from caring for the sick and expanding rapidly through the years to be able to cope with the demand, compounders were trained and, after 1912, nurses too. Promising hill lads were eventually selected and sent to Patna University to qualify as the first doctors for the hill area.

The Mission now had its church, a busy hospital, and a congregation whose annual growth was spectacular.

Village schools were mushrooming as were village churches. The Mission was certainly prospering.

As Graham travelled through his parish, he became aware of the appalling ignorance and poverty of the people —a poverty accepted with all the stoicism of the Indian peasant. The people were wholly dependent on agriculture, but it was obvious that they were following antiquated methods which would never improve their meagre crops. The law of inheritance which Hindu families followed decreed that on the death of the father the land was divided among the sons. This meant that large portions of arable land were very uncommon, and on his few terraces the crofter scraped an existence. Often due to large dowries having to be provided for the daughters, or to gambling or drink, the crofters were in debt all their lives. The money-lender was a hated but very necessary member of the community.

Graham realised that one way of improving standards of cultivation was to create a feeling of healthy rivalry among the cultivators. Remembering the excitement and benefits which came from local agricultural shows in Scotland, Graham started the Kalimpong Mela. This created wide interest, not only in the Kalimpong area, but in Sikkim, Bhutan and the Darjeeling area. The Mela, a fair first held in 1891, grew out of a Christian Gathering which Graham had arranged in 1889 to coincide with the big Hindu festival known as *Kali Pujah.*

The Mela grew spectacularly. The crofters exhibited their vegetables, dairy produce, livestock of all kinds, handicrafts and arts, and the Government departments also displayed their exhibits. The crofters, seeing the exhibits of others, were encouraged to try new methods. In addition, with archery contests, football matches and sideshows, it was a time of excitement and interest which helped to brighten the seemingly drab lives of the farmers.

From the very first Mela, Europeans, Government Officers and tea planters were encouraged to give their

support and to act as judges in the various contests. Mrs Graham ran a camp for all the visitors who attended. The prizes, sensibly, were of good breeds of poultry and settings of eggs.

Graham, in an attempt to free the crofters from the clutches of the money-lenders, approved the start of a Co-operative Credit Society in Kalimpong and was appointed the honorary organiser of the Co-operative Bank. He became the friend and adviser of the growing business community. Many of the latter, even the shrewd Marwaris, owed their success to his sound advice and help. One does not usually associate missionaries with banking or credit societies. Graham, however, saw this as yet another avenue of service which was essentially practical. He was able to demonstrate honesty to a section of the community with which he might not otherwise have had contact. Graham was determined that there would be no gap between Mission and town. His Mission was, like his faith, earthed in every sense of that term.

Graham also encouraged experiments with silkworms and saw this industry as a possible profitable one for the town. In 1890 he was convener of a Silk Committee.

The industry flourished for a time, but the crofters did not take enough care and, because results were not quickly obtained, they lost interest. The Government later renewed interest in the experiments and today there is a thriving sericulture farm on the outskirts of Kalimpong.

Although his main interest in those early years in the field was in the development of district work, Graham also interested himself in education. Dr Sutherland was in charge of the schools and, although eventually rather overshadowed by Graham, Sutherland's pioneer work should not be overlooked. A big powerful man, Sutherland never spared himself, and his school in Kalimpong was often quoted as a model by school inspectors. He was an excellent headmaster and turned out first-class material.

The Training School produced efficient teachers, all of

whom were Christians, because Sutherland foresaw a day when the missionary from Scotland would be eliminated from the scheme of things.

An Anglo-Hindi school was opened in 1902. To begin with it worked with the Training School, but in 1905 it passed into the hands of the Scottish Universities Mission and was housed in its more handsome building, becoming merged into the Training Institute.

In 1889, in a small wooden building, the Girls' School, later to become Kalimpong Academy, was started by Mrs Graham. The school was a real innovation as it was generally thought to be a waste of time to educate girls. However, once started, the numbers increased dramatically. This increase was not unconnected with the fact that a literate, educated girl could make a better marriage. For five years the Girls' School was held in a building just below the Macfarlane Church. The school eventually moved into the old Training School when it, in turn, moved into its new building.

The first six years of his life in Kalimpong saw Graham immersed in the work of the Mission in all its aspects. Already his administrative ability could be seen. If he had been in the Indian Civil Service he would undoubtedly have left his mark with his vision and his capacity for work. He was fortunate enough to be in a developing Mission where there was great scope for his plans and dreams. He was continually planning, constantly trying new ideas and full of enthusiasm and drive.

As has been said already, Graham's influence on Kalimpong in the formative years was profound and touched on all classes of the community. This popularity in the town, particularly with the Lepchas, brought its own problems.

It is strange that mission stations all over the world have often been the settings for petty jealousy, bitter quarrels and downright unhappiness. Any mission station which escapes these results of human failings can be considered very fortunate. The mission situation is an

extraordinary one. By its nature it attracts people with an almost compulsive desire to serve God and their fellowmen, and so often the missionary sets himself or herself an impossible standard of either work habits or commitment to the job, and when the inevitable shortfall of work or attainment results, frustration, jealousy of others, depression are usually the outcome. Equally, a young missionary, brimming with enthusiasm and new ideas, coming into an established situation, can often be resented by his senior colleagues who find it difficult to change the accepted, time-worn pattern. Again, jealousy and frustration result.

Graham was fortunate to be in a developing mission where there was scope for not only his plans and dreams, but also for his overflowing energy and vigour. In some ways he could not have been the easiest of colleagues, as his mind was bursting with new ideas for expansion and development. He was the junior missionary and the mission field was no exception to most other areas of Victorian society in that it was strictly stratified according to seniority. The result was that his relations with the senior missionary, the Rev. W. S. Sutherland, were far from cordial and they had many bitter differences of opinion.

Sutherland felt, probably correctly, that this young missionary constantly overstepped his position. In the full flush of a new idea Graham would act on his own without consulting the senior missionary. Later, this relationship further deteriorated, particularly because of the influence Graham exercised over the Lepchas. To the Lepchas Graham assumed almost God-like qualities. It is interesting that one so young could have quickly established such *rapport* with people of a different culture. The Lepchas were attracted by his warm nature, his obvious enjoyment of their company, and his patience in listening to their problems. There was a simplicity and innocence in their nature which struck a responsive chord in Graham.

There was nothing devious or complicated about him, and his childlike enjoyment in playing with the *bustee* children was as refreshing as it was natural. All these qualities attracted the Lepchas. Sutherland they respected and liked as children respect and like a strict headmaster —but Graham they loved. The Lepchas who had, before Graham's arrival, always sought Sutherland's advice now turned to Graham Sahib, and Sutherland felt that Graham was further encroaching on his sphere of influence.

The breach between them grew wider later on when Graham became interested in the Anglo-Indian problem. Sutherland felt very strongly that he and Graham had been commissioned to preach mainly to the 'natives', and when he found Graham showing special interest in 'his own blood' he deplored the division of interest in Graham's work. The quarrel was unfortunate, as all mission quarrels are. The clash of two such different personalities was probably sadly inevitable.

An older Graham would perhaps have been able to cope with the situation better. He was probably still a bit brittle, a bit impatient that status should matter in a situation where both were aiming at common goals. Sutherland, without Graham's charm and warmth, was always at a disadvantage in competing for loyalties. That was the crux of the matter.

Ironically, when Graham eventually became a senior missionary himself, so great was his standing in the Mission that junior colleagues tended to feel overshadowed by his reputation. Like all great men he could at times be difficult to get along with, and sometimes his priorities did not agree with those of junior colleagues.

Throughout his fifty-two years of service in the Mission, Graham was fortunate to have as colleagues a succession of dedicated people, many of whom spent the greater part of their lives in Kalimpong serving Christ as doctors, nurses or educationists. Among the long-serving missionaries were Miss Edith Smith, Miss Cathie McIntosh, the Rev.

Kenny Scott, Dr McKaig, Dr Macdonald Smith,[1] the Rev. George Mill, Dr Albert Craig, Nurse Campbell and Sister Tomory.

In his first six years in the Mission Graham was outwardly a typical missionary of his day. He was, above all, aware of his responsibility to his sponsors, the Guild, and the monthly reports in *Life and Work* were full of enthusiastic statistics about converts and plans for the future.

There is nothing in his writings in *Life and Work* or in his personal letters to suggest that he was in any way different from any other young missionary facing the challenges of a new environment. He had come to bring light and salvation to the heathen. With the Empire at the zenith of its power, there was the tendency in people's minds to equate British standards with Christian standards. There seems on the surface to be no compromise at that time in Graham's approach to the Lepchas and the Nepalese. The Buddhism of the Bhutanese he describes simply as 'demon worship', and the Hinduism of the Nepalese he criticises freely as 'idolatry'.

In his preachings in the districts, however, he was not quite so rigid, and he appears to have used an approach which some of his catechists and supporters thought was peculiar. Often, when he prayed with and preached to Hindus and non-Christians, he omitted mentioning Christ's name and tried to embrace everybody in his preaching. It can honestly be said, too, that he did not show any special favours to the Christian Lepchas as opposed to the non-Christian Lepchas.

Even in his early days of district work it appears that he did not convert by preaching a non-compromising faith, but rather tried to fit the Christian message subtly into the traditions and beliefs of the Lepchas in particular. In other words, on paper for the outside world he con-

[1] Dr Macdonald Smith founded the Leprosarium, close to the Charteris Hospital. It still functions today, but since August 1973 it has been run by the Government.

formed to the pattern of the missionary of his day—the pattern expected by the Guild in Scotland—but in fact, perhaps even unknown to himself, there was a broadening of his views through his love of his fellow-men and his sympathy with their creeds regardless of their race.

Throughout his sermons to the Christian congregation there was always the stress on the humanitarian view of Christ. Christ was for all men. He was the highest manifestation of the eternal spirit. It was this belief that was to develop in Graham, and he was eventually to see God's love embracing all men and breaking down barriers of race and even creed. He preached simply and effectively, using examples from the Lepchas' own simple agricultural lives.

He was personally responsible for starting five new district churches at Nimbong, Pemling, Mangzing, Dolapchen and Pedong. All these churches with the exception of Mangzing are still functioning and flourishing. Mangzing still has a church but the congregation has dwindled.

The faith he taught went deep. His Lepcha followers in the Church reflected him. They were loyal to Graham and loyal to the Master he showed them.

At a *panchayat* meeting some Nepalese raised a question about a pay rise for the catechists. The Rev. Dyongshi and the Rev. Namthak, the main pillars of the Church, rose and said:

> " Gentlemen, we have dedicated our lives for Christ. What is this pay rise business? Don't we have our lands, cattle and things? We are here for preaching the Gospel and not come to earn money."

One danger there was: the Lepchas honoured him so much that whatever Graham said was thought to be right. The Lepchas considered it an honour to please him. This led to the criticism that in the Church he was ' domineering '. This criticism is not valid; the fact that he appeared to have autocratic powers in the local Church was not so

much a fault of his character as a weakness in the Lepchas themselves.

In the district, then, he worked mainly among the Lepchas. They formed eighty per cent of the Christian community in the districts. The Lepchas also provided the active Christian leaders in the Church, men like Namthak Lepcha, C. T. Sitling, Tshering Simick Lepcha and P. S. Targain. The undisputed head of the Lepcha Christians was Namthak. The Rev. C. T. Sitling almost wrecked the Church because of his later opposition to the missionaries, and he became a Roman Catholic, taking about one-third of the congregation with him. He and his group strengthened considerably the small, struggling Roman Catholic community in Kalimpong. It is interesting that in 1970 out of 27 pastors in the Eastern Himalayan Church, 21 were Lepchas and only six were Nepalese. The leadership of the Church is still very much a Lepcha responsibility as it was in Graham's day.

The strong and effective leadership from the Lepchas was largely due to the careful training of the catechists. Graham chose them carefully and they had to attend the monthly *panchayat* meetings. He held classes for them and no excuse apart from illness would be accepted for non-attendance. These monthly meetings were most valuable and the catechists felt that although they might be ministering in a far-off valley, they were part of an active, organised Church. At the *panchayat* meetings all kinds of problems were discussed—social and economic as well as religious—and soon Graham gained a reputation for patience and wisdom as he mediated in land disputes or in family squabbles, or solved the growing-pains of the infant district churches.

Another of his strengths was that, from the beginning of his work in Kalimpong, he never thought of the indigenous Church as being inferior to the Mission. He planned even in his early days that the local church would soon be self-supporting. By 1910 the local church had in

fact its own kirk session and had achieved a measure of financial independence.

In 1895 the Grahams came home on their first furlough and they remained in Scotland for three years. The reason for this abnormally long break was that it was felt that he should visit as many of the Young Men's Guilds as possible to give a first-hand report on his work in Kalimpong. He visited 82 towns and villages in 1895 and 132 in 1896. During this tremendous deputation work he made his mark. He reached a very wide public and, for a comparatively young missionary, made a striking impact on the Church. His connection with the Guild provided him with an introduction and a welcome to all churches which had a Young Men's Guild. No one realised more than Graham the value of good influential contacts both at home and in India.

He discovered that his monthly letter to the Guild *Life and Work* had been greatly appreciated. Professor Charteris described Graham's letter as ' the gem of the Guild magazine '.

At the General Assembly on 29th May 1896 Graham spoke feelingly on a topic which had interested and distressed him for some time—the state of the tea planters in the Duars and Darjeeling areas. The planters, often living in isolation, had no opportunity of Christian worship. Graham also felt that the tea planters, often from the nomadic aboriginal tribes, could be a fruitful field for the spreading of the Gospel.

In his long speech he described the difficulties of the planters:

> " We have a fearful price to pay for our imperial honours and vast conquests in the wreck and refuse of human life which is left in the line of our march to the rapacity of the human vulture or the tender mercy of the Good Samaritan."

He insisted that a chaplain to the planters should also

minister to the natives, and he felt strongly that Europeans and natives should worship together:

> "Again to have the European and native work conducted by different churches is objectionable: it leads to make a difference on the grounds of race which is alien to the genius of the Gospel."

In 1898, largely as a result of Graham's plea on behalf of the tea planters in the Duars area, the Rev. Duncan MacNicoll went as chaplain to the planters and missionary to the tea pickers and established his headquarters at Goru Bathan. The work grew and expanded, but the fusion which Graham hoped for never materialised as the Europeans worshipped separately from their Christian labourers. At that time, and even today, to have done otherwise would have been considered odd. The language barrier, social status and different levels of education were usually put forward as the reasons for the separate worship. The planters and their families held their services in the bungalows and clubs.

John Graham's first book, *On the Threshold of Three Closed Lands*, was published in 1897. It is a simple book, describing the Mission, the countryside, the tribes in the area, and particularly the constant challenge of the three closed lands so near Kalimpong—Tibet, Nepal and Bhutan. Bhutan seemed to weigh particularly heavily on Graham's mind. In the book, which was obviously designed to spread interest in his work, he shows at all times a kindly understanding of the people and their customs. The book was well received by the critics, and the sales were so good that the first edition of 10,000 was soon exhausted and in 1905 a second edition was produced.

In 1898 Graham published a second book called *The Missionary Expansion of the Reformed Churches.* The production of this book must have taken many hours of research because he covers the world. He submitted his chapters on various mission fields to authorities on the

respective subjects. Chapter 9, for example, called ' The Dark Continent ', was revised by Mrs Bruce, David Livingstone's daughter.

The three years in Scotland were an eventful furlough, and two more girls, Isa and Bunty, had been born to join David, Jack and Peggy. John Graham returned to India knowing that there were few congregations in Scotland which had not heard of the Kalimpong Mission and its work.

CHAPTER 3

The Anglo-Indian Problem

When he returned to Kalimpong he began almost at once to tackle a problem which had worried him for some time—that of what he called ' The Lost Tribe ', the Anglo-Indians. He was to devote a great part of the rest of his life to their welfare, and although his motives at times may have been coloured by the age in which he lived, unquestionably the basis of his almost Herculean efforts to help this community was a deep and lasting compassion.

The people of the community were still known as Eurasians up to 1911. The name ' Anglo-Indian ' meaning ' of mixed origin ' is a comparatively new one. The earliest names were not community names but, rather, a popular description. The term ' country born ' was the general one in use and there was at that time no stigma attached to it. The first community designation was perhaps the term ' Indo-Briton ', and then came the comparative term ' Eurasian '. At the beginning of the nineteenth century there was a move to substitute the name ' East Indian ', and a petition was presented to the British Parliament by John Recketts in 1830 urging its recognition. The designation ' Eurasian ' in fact remained the common one until 1910; however, since the term began to acquire a derogatory connotation, the community moved to be recognised by the term ' Anglo-Indian '. In 1911 the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, officially sanctioned the use of that term to describe the community.

In Graham's time the community was in two sections —the army, whose job it was to keep the peace on the

turbulent frontiers, and the civilian, of which one-fifth was British and four-fifths Eurasian.

In Britain there was indifference to the Anglo-Indians due to the fact that most people were ignorant of this so-called British community which never saw Britain. In India, at Government level, there was an unfair feeling that their weakness in character was inherent in their blood and nothing could be done about it. Lord Curzon, who of all the Viceroys is the one least liked by Anglo-Indians, once wrote of the community:

> 'How to find a training ground for the character, a stimulus to the self-respect, and a field for the honourable employment of the poorer European and Eurasian child in India—so as to make him not unworthy of the blood which flows in his veins—is one of the gravest problems that confronts the philanthropist or statesman.'

This is so typically Victorian, so blatantly full of 'white face' superiority, that it is difficult for us to believe that this would be the general attitude among enlightened and sensitive people.

There are many misconceptions unfair to the Anglo-Indian community. The community has always had a bad press. There have been few European writers who have known India well enough to get the community, its origin, and its potential into a fair perspective.

In the early days of the East India Company, Britishers of all ranks, because there were no white women in the settlements, formed such ties as were possible, sometimes —when the Indian women were Christians—those of regular marriage, but often it was a case of cohabitation. But, whatever the form of union, the parties took upon themselves all the responsibilities of marriage.

Far from frowning on these arrangements, the East India Company directors offered financial inducements to their employees to 'marry' and produce children, in order

to have a Protestant counterbalance to the Catholic Portuguese who were being encouraged to produce Eurasian children who would grow up to be loyal servants of the King of Portugal. So the Anglo-Indian community was, in a way, deliberately created to perpetuate the British power and presence in India.

Sir Bampfylde Fuller, a Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam, put the situation clearly:

> 'The Anglo-Indian Community of India owes its bulk to the enterprise which laid the foundation of our prosperity. In early days India was no place for English women and ships Eastward bound were not enlivened by the ladies that now flock to India to make homes for the Englishmen who as soldiers, civilians and merchants have adopted an Indian career. European society out there was mainly one of men, and in their circumstances a large mixed population grew up. This mixed community was condemned to adversity by its circumstances. Their fathers sailed home leaving them stranded. Their needs attracted little attention and they could command no political influence. Had they chosen to forget their European blood, religion and custom, had they merged themselves in their Asiatic surroundings, they would have fared as millions of their predecessors who sprang from Scythian or Tartar immigrants but became part and parcel of the Indian people. But proud of their European blood they stood aloof from the crowds around them, and while better qualified than the Indians, for industrial pursuits, they shrank from association with the Indian labourer and artisan.'

Sir Bampfylde's statement is a brief account of the tragic history of the community. The coming of the white woman to India caused the liaisons which had been open and above board to go underground. 'Arrangements' became the subject of malicious gossip, and the Anglo-

Indian found himself ostracised from the drawing-rooms of the whites in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras.

Time and events moved on. The Company gave place to the Crown. The British needed Anglo-Indian labour and brains to pioneer the railways and the telegraphs and to serve in the armed forces. The loyalty of the community to Britain was encouraged through their education and by placing them in reserved occupations. Socially, however, there was a bitter type of segregation—bitter in that it was clothed in hypocrisy. Jobs were made available, but the higher posts, despite the proven worth of Anglo-Indians, were barred to them. Taught to be loyal to Britain, and to consider themselves European, their attempts to be completely British were the cause of mirth and scorn in European social gatherings throughout India.

The Indian, in turn, tended to be prejudiced against them. There was resentment at the special treatment given by the British and at the superior airs which the Anglo-Indians adopted in dealing with Indians. A more basic reason, however, was that in the marriage of a European man and an Indian woman there was felt to be humiliation and disgrace, and often the Indian woman and her child or children were excluded from their own community.

Reginald Maher in his little book *These Are the Anglo-Indians* writes of the Anglo-Indian:

> 'Years of oppression and psychological disease followed by emasculation and nurturing of self-contempt have left him with a most damaging complex.'

This could have been written by James Baldwin about the American Negro. It is a true statement and sums up the psychological dilemma of the man with the blood of two diverse civilisations in his veins. It is a question of identity. With whom does an Anglo-Indian identify? The problem is no easier to solve in a free India than it was when she was the brightest jewel in the Imperial crown.

In Graham's time, there was in fact no choice. The Anglo-Indian was supposed to be the loyal servant of the Crown and he must do nothing which would sully the gentle British blood in his veins, or disgrace the Christian religion he professed. What this meant in practice was that the British in India hid their own indiscretions, and they were many, but expected the community to maintain a higher standard of behaviour than their own.

The Anglo-Indians have always been improvident and fun-loving. They love good food, music, dancing and company. The Italians are perhaps the nearest European equivalent. These characteristics have often been judged superficially as moral laxity and instability. Certainly there are weaknesses in the community, but writers would have us believe that all Anglo-Indians are shiftless and degenerate. This is an unfair assessment of a community which, like all groups of people, has its strengths as well as its weaknesses.

Not accepted by the educated Indians and not accepted socially by the Europeans, the Anglo-Indians in Graham's time grew up with all kinds of complexes—a mixture of inferiority and superiority. They lived in an unrealistic world and many of them escaped into a Walter Mitty-like ' white world ' called England, where they imagined everything was plentiful and everyone was kind. It was ' home ' in a sense which India could never be.

Graham had come across great numbers of Anglo-Indian children in his frequent trips to the tea plantations in the Duars, Terai and Darjeeling. The Duars consists of a plateau one hundred miles long and six to eight miles wide which stretches from the River Teesta to the Sankos. It forms the natural gateway into Assam and beyond. Together with the Kalimpong sub-division this tract was annexed from Bhutan in 1865 and companies were formed to plant tea for which the slightly acid soil was particularly suitable.

The companies engaged young men in Britain to

manage the plantations. In the pioneering days they had a lonely task with poorish quarters, no near neighbours and no main roads. In the rainy season they were usually prisoners on their own estates and had to use elephants to carry the tea to the nearest river or railway station. In their loneliness many lived with women workers recruited for work on the estates from Nagpur or Santhalistan and later Nepal. Very often the bond was a real and tender one. But sometimes the girl was regarded as being little more than a bed companion at night and a servant during the day, and when the planter was transferred to another district or returned permanently to the U.K. the companion was invariably left behind, forgotten.

When children were born a variety of ' solutions ' inevitably emerged. In some cases the couple were formally married, in others the simple expediency of cohabitation continued, and so long as the planter remained in India this arrangement caused little embarrassment. Faced, sooner or later, with permanent return to the U.K., embarrassment became real, for what was condoned in the relatively free, happy-go-lucky life of tea in those days was frowned upon in the middle-class homes of insular Britain. For most, the prospect of returning to Britain with an Indian girl, invariably beautiful but probably illiterate—together with her children—could not be entertained. It thus became more convenient to give the girl a sum of money or a house with some land, or both, and, conscience salved, to ' forget ' the whole sordid mess.

There were some, however, who, feeling their responsibilities more keenly, resolved to compensate for the sorry plight of their offspring by wanting to give them a good, sound education.

The tea companies had very strict rules up to the Second World War about the marriage of their staff. Many agency houses insisted that their planters should have the status of full managers before they married and

brought out a wife from Britain. This might mean ten to twelve years as an assistant before they were given charge of a garden. In their defence the agency houses claimed that the area was malarial and considered unsuitable for women from Britain.

Graham, on his visits to the planters' bungalows, was often conscious of little light-skinned children being spirited out of the way of the Padre Sahib. Some of the planters were self-conscious and uncomfortable when he visited. The woman was banished to the kitchen premises and never appeared. Others, however, were quite unconcerned about the situation and blamed the system for their predicament. Many of the planters wished to educate their children, but if they sent them to a fee-paying school of good calibre, indiscretion would have to be admitted, and as a result the child would have a miserable time. Consequently, with no hope of a decent education, the children ran wild on the estate, living, like Kipling's Kim, on their wits.

Graham's heart was touched by the plight of these bairns. He also had another reason for helping which he mentions only within the privacy of correspondence, as if he himself was a little ashamed of the motives. He felt that the Anglo-Indians he had seen suffering from neglect on the tea gardens, and those he had seen at the lower end of the economic scale in railway junctions and in the slums of Calcutta, Bombay and other cities, were a disgrace to Britain and Christianity. If they were to be recognised as British subjects, they must be educated to a standard where they could measure up to British standards of behaviour. He thus expressed the feelings of his age and the pride of race which the expansion of Empire brought to a nation already proud of its traditions and culture.

He stressed that moral, physical and intellectual improvement could be effected by a change of environment. He was to be an out-and-out environmentalist all his days.

Certainly in Kalimpong he was to prove time without number that a child from the most unpromising background could be rescued and eventually, after being cared for and loved, launched on a satisfying and successful career.

Graham's attitude to the planters in the circumstances described was normally completely tolerant. As we have seen, on his first leave in Scotland he spoke eloquently and well in the General Assembly, pleading for a chaplain for the planters and describing the " miasma of heathendom " which surrounded them in the lonely outpost of Empire. He felt very acutely that it was loneliness which aggravated the problem, and from 1900 onwards he pleaded with the tea companies to amend their rules about marriage. For various reasons these amendments took a long time to come into being.

On looking back, some of the Anglo-Indian children are inclined to think that Graham was too lenient with the planters. On one occasion, prior to going on leave, his last request to the person deputising for him was: " Don't upset the planters." Anglo-Indian children from this type of background have tended to level the criticism that he did not condemn the planters because they were his fellow-countrymen and because he depended so much on financial support from them and the agency houses. However, Graham was a realist, and the more likely explanation is that he blamed their environment and the circumstances of their employment and was concerned lest the many planters who had not entered into ' arrangements ' should be stigmatised by a condemnation of all planters. Graham, too, felt as Christ did when he was asked to condemn the woman taken in adultery: " He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her."

Graham had been preparing a scheme for an industrial settlement or school at a distance from Kalimpong for his Nepalese students who had a practical bent. He decided

to fuse two ideas—help for Anglo-Indian children and an industrial school for Nepalese—by setting up an Industrial Settlement at a place called Nimbong about 18 miles from Kalimpong and 12 miles from Bagracote in the Duars. Nimbong was a large unprofitable plantation, producing quinine, and Graham was anxious that the Government should make over to him the estate and its substantial bungalow and outhouses.

He planned to settle ten or twelve Christian families on the land and start a creamery using milk bought from the local crofters. He hoped to sell the butter in Darjeeling. On the land, too, he hoped to build his orphanage for Anglo-Indian children.

The scheme was a strange one. Nimbong was inaccessible in the extreme. The difficulty of transporting butter to Darjeeling in the monsoon was almost insurmountable, and this inaccessibility made Nimbong an odd place for an orphanage.

The plans for the scheme were submitted to the Government and also sent to Mr James Paterson of Glasgow who belonged to the firm of A. & W. Paterson, Shoemakers. Paterson was keenly interested in Christian work, in Graham, and Graham's schemes. He knew Graham through the Young Men's Guild. Graham wanted Paterson to see if he could interest the Guild and other people in Scotland in the scheme.

Paterson apart, the scheme did not receive the enthusiastic support from the Guild that Graham expected. Professor Charteris approved but, to the bulk of the Guild, the scheme did not appeal, first because of the cost involved, and second, Eurasians were not natives and a project on behalf of illegitimate children of planters was a delicate one for Victorian ears and a problem they preferred to pretend did not exist.

In early 1900 the pretentious title of 'St Andrews Colonial and Industrial Settlement' was chosen for the project. 'St Andrews' accentuated the Scottish character

of the Mission; 'Colonial' was inserted because, in the aims of the new orphanage or home, published in an appeal pamphlet at that time, the object was described thus:

> 'To fitly educate and to provide suitable openings for the Eurasian and poor European child is one of India's most pressing problems. St Andrews Colonial Homes is to attempt a solution of the problem by giving such a course of training as will fit the children for emigration to the Colonies.'

The pamphlet mentioned that the boys would receive training in all aspects of farming, as well as in carpentry and masonry work, and suitable industries would be taught to the girls. It also baldly stated that any boys considered unsuitable for the Colonies would be trained for life in India.

The Homes, it added, would be conducted under the auspices of the Church of Scotland, and the Rev. J. A. Graham of Kalimpong would act as the Honorary Superintendent.

Graham's attitude to the problem of the Eurasian or Anglo-Indian was indeed typical of his time. The children denied a father's love and concern were to be taken away from their mothers and thus denied a mother's concern. There was to be no identification with the country of their birth. Those who were of better material were to be educated for life elsewhere—places where they could eventually forget their Indian heritage. In 1900 this seemed an obvious policy—one followed by all the European schools in India at the time. The children were to forget their mothers. They were taught to be almost ashamed of them because they were natives and by and large illiterate.

When they brought their child or children to the Homes, the mothers were treated kindly and considerately by Graham and, in some instances, were helped, but the

policy was that the children must give up their ties with the Indian environment and become absorbed into the white Christian environment of the St Andrews Colonial Homes. Looking back, it appears heartless in the extreme, but in the early part of the twentieth century to have thought and planned otherwise would have seemed ridiculous. The children were the first consideration, and if they remained with their mothers, they would be doomed to remain misfits.

The Guild Council finally approved the scheme but refused to accept any financial responsibility for it. The Foreign Missions Committee were in complete agreement with the Guild and reached a similar conclusion. They felt, too, that his work in Kalimpong would suffer if he branched out into ambitious schemes beyond the scope of the Mission. Paterson had obviously heard fears being voiced, because in July 1900 he wrote to Graham:

> 'Now hear a word of kindly caution. In your zeal for the new enterprise do not let its claims interfere with your own special duties as Guild Missionary. There are some whose eyes may be turned to watch if they can detect any trivial foundation for saying that you are not devoting your time enough to your proper duties and so raise objections to the extension of this noble scheme on behalf of the poor waifs.'

In May 1900 Graham decided that the Homes part of the scheme should be in Kalimpong. Control would be easier there and he thought he could obtain some suitable land near the Mission. Dr Barnardo was approached and had no objection to the St Andrews Colonial Homes being compared to the Barnardo Homes in the appeal leaflet.

In August Graham acquired one hundred acres of ground above the Mission on the slopes of Deolo Hill to the east of the township.

To begin with, Graham was bitterly disappointed with the attitude of the Guild and Foreign Missions Committee.

He felt so strongly that the plight of Anglo-Indian children was a British responsibility and, in the case of the tea garden children, generally a Scottish responsibility, that he could not understand the lukewarm attitudes expressed.

Later, however, he was to be glad about the indifferent attitude of the Church, because he was able to make his Homes interdenominational and accept help from any branch of the Christian Church. Despite the official cold shoulder, many Guilds, churches and individuals pledged their support, not because they knew the extent or the tragedy of the Anglo-Indian situation, but because they knew Graham. If he was excited about helping children in need, then that was good enough for them—the cause must be worthy of support.

CHAPTER 4

The Dream Materialises

The beginnings of the St Andrews Colonial Homes were modest enough. Six children from the Assam tea gardens were housed in a rented cottage called Kiernander and looked after by Mrs Cattel-Jones, the daughter of a Welsh missionary. Graham planned to increase the number of children from six to six hundred. Soon there were thirty-five children and expansion was necessary as Kiernander was bursting at the seams.

He had leased a bare hillside, just above the town—an area that was treeless and used for grazing goats. In 1900 it looked very desolate but had tremendous potential as a site. Its northern boundary was a ridge which towered above the Teesta and looked out on an arc of Himalayan snows. From that ridge it sloped down, gently in parts and steeply in others, to the southern boundary. The area was to be gradually increased until the final estate consisted of five hundred and sixty acres. From this, we see something of the vision of Graham. This was to be no small, struggling enterprise but a vast undertaking, carefully planned. He had the vision to see, in his mind's eye, the hillside dotted with cottages, with a school and other buildings—a village in fact, a model village—a place fit to bring up children.

He was obviously more than just a visionary, however. A down-to-earth approach was required to translate his dreams into reality. His planning was to a great extent influenced by the work of William Quarrier and by the Homes Quarrier had established at the Bridge of Weir in West Scotland. Quarrier had built cottages on a large

estate and, in each cottage, houseparents, as substitute parents, looked after the needs and wants of the children from the Glasgow slums. The idea was to remove the children to the country away from the grim surroundings, and with houseparents carefully selected for their Christian commitment to look after them and be concerned about them, Quarrier felt that fundamental and lasting changes could be effected. Graham had seen the Quarrier Homes on his first leave and, liking what he had seen, decided that this was the kind of home he wanted for his Kalimpong bairns. It was to be no Victorian orphanage—austere, forbidding and loveless. His children's village of the Himalayas was to be a place of sunshine, flowers, fresh hill air and, above all, a place where the children could find themselves.

Graham had boundless faith that in undertaking this task he was doing God's work. He could not otherwise have continued in face of the apathy from Scotland. With no financial backing from the Church of Scotland, how would it be possible for his plans to develop? There were two basic reasons why expansion was possible. First, because of the nature of the problem he was tackling, he was assured of active Government support. Government circles were delighted that a private agency was undertaking a service which was a delicate and awkward one. Government officials, from Viceroys and Governors of States down, were to support Graham wholeheartedly throughout the difficult days of the institution's growth. The help and encouragement of such influential people were tremendous assets.

The second major advantage Graham had was that there was great wealth among the British population in India at that time. Fortunes were made swiftly and surely out of jute, tea, engineering and other industries. Britishers retired at fifty, having made enough to live in comparative luxury for the rest of their lives. The ' jute palaces ' in Broughty Ferry and Dundee are evidence of the wealth

which poured out of India at that time. Graham had no compunction about going round the companies, armed with his begging bowl. The tea companies, in particular, were an obvious target. His begging was not often resented, as Mr Whitley, a former Speaker of the House of Commons, explained most aptly at the Assam Dinner:

> "His very handshake melts the most hardened sinner. He could extort gifts for his great cause at Kalimpong from Pre-Cambrian flint. The Lowland Scot of the Gangetic plain feared his descent from his Highlands, as the Bengali apprehends the ultimate visitation of the Gurkhas. He himself tells the story of a rich Calcutta man who said to him: 'You are the man whom I have always been afraid to meet.' The area of the Homes is studded by foundations made possible by the bequests or living munificence of great Scotsmen who were always prodigal of their money. And they loved him because he always understood the finer side of their characters."

Graham formed an influential Board of Management in India with the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir John Woodburn, as Honorary President, the Chief Secretary of Government, Sir James Bourdillon, as President of the Board and Mr G. Grant Gordon, a local planter, as Chairman of the Executive Committee. The other members were representatives of the officials, planters, missionaries, and businessmen of the Darjeeling area and a few of the Calcutta merchants. This first Board was high-powered, and the members all wielded influence in their respective fields of activity.

The Government was extremely liberal and gave Graham a grant of Rs 3,750 for the first Home and a further grant of Rs 5 per month per child. This practical Government interest continues today.

The 4th November 1901 was a great day—the opening of the first cottage, called Woodburn Cottage after the

Lieutenant-Governor who was present to open the cottage in person. Following the ceremony at Woodburn, the party moved farther along the hillside and Sir John laid the foundation stone for the second cottage—Elliott Cottage, named after Sir John's predecessor in office. This double ceremony was to be typical. One cottage opened, then immediately the foundation stone of another laid. Often there was the call to go slowly lest the means to carry on would be outrun, but Graham's ear was open to the Higher Call and his answer was that he had never determined an exact limit, but was ready to be borne on by the need of the children.

These were strenuous days for both the Grahams. Together they planned the sites and the construction of the cottages. In the face of lukewarm support and often open hostility from sections of the community, Katie's quiet encouragement was always there.

Sunday was the day of rest for them—the day they recharged their batteries, but even that was a full day. Graham usually took the ten a.m. service in the Homes. In the early years, this was conducted in the school hall. The chief service of the day was the Nepali service at noon when the Macfarlane Church was crowded to the doors. With the bell of the Macfarlane Church tolling, there could also be heard the gongs of the little village churches in the valleys taking up the call. These were ministered to by the catechists and teachers who had been trained at the Kalimpong Training Institute.

The English service was at three-thirty p.m., and the worship of the day closed with a devotional service at six-thirty p.m. when all races took part in half an hour's silent devotion and, at the end, joined in the Lord's Prayer repeated by each in his own language.

This then was the pattern of worship Sunday by Sunday where peoples of many races worshipped the one God and were led in worship either by Graham or some of his colleagues in the Mission.

It must be remembered that he was still the full-time missionary of the Young Men's Guild—the Homes were simply a part, albeit a very important part, of his life. The construction and planning of the cottages, and then a school, workshops, hospital, nursery, farm, all appealed to his creativeness. In the early morning he would be busy with the problems of the Mission, interviewing people in his downstairs study on a variety of different subjects; then in the afternoon, on his ride up to the Homes, he would somehow switch his mind from the Mission to the problems of his ever-growing Homes. He was to have this facility all his life, which made it possible for him to handle the two different jobs.

Katie watched his health closely. She always insisted that he should have at least a fifteen-minute nap after tiffen and often would take up a cup of tea to waken him. If he was riding about the district, he would get off his horse, tether it and find a grassy bank to lie on and have a rest.

He personally supervised the building of the cottages. All of them were carefully sited and all have withstood the annual torrential monsoon downpours, with the attendant possibility of landslides. The plans of Quarrier's Bridge of Weir cottages were adapted to suit monsoon conditions. Graham supervised the purchase of timber in large quantities. He even went to the forests with the Forest Officer and selected his own trees for cutting. He was equally careful in his selection of the men who worked on the site. If they were careless or slipshod they were immediately dismissed.

News of the Homes spread throughout India, and children came from Chittagong, Assam, Cachar, Sylhet, the Duars, Darjeeling, Bombay, Calcutta, Bangalore, Quetta, Cownpore and Allababad. There was constant need for more and more cottages to deal with the demand for entry, so over the years from 1901 to 1930 cottages sprouted at a remarkable rate, cottages with names like

Calcutta, Thorburn, Fraser, Laidlaw, Assam, the Lucia King Nursery, Bene, Mansfield—all of them bearing the personal names of donors, or indicating a region which helped to finance a particular cottage. Sir Robert Laidlaw who gifted Laidlaw Cottage, for example, had a romantic career. A quiet, unobtrusive boy from a small Roxburgh farm, he migrated to South Africa and then to a job in Yokohama. His boat was shipwrecked and he went to work as a draper's assistant in Calcutta when twenty-one years old. He had to borrow money to pay his fare to Calcutta. There he built up the first cash stores in India under the name of Whiteway, Laidlaw & Co, and opened branches in many cities in India, Burma, Ceylon, Malaya and China. He became a worker and supporter of churches and religious societies. Laidlaw received a knighthood for his services to the International Conference on Opium at Shanghai. He also became a Member of Parliament, and before his death in 1915, he gave a great deal of his fortune to various charities, including the St Andrews Colonial Homes, Kalimpong.

The cottage system made the place unique in India. Graham's aim was the same as Quarrier's—to compensate the child and to prepare him to face life with confidence, a confidence which had to be carefully built up by love and concern.

Quarrier had selected the houseparents for their strong Christian convictions—in addition, they must be total abstainers and non-smokers. They must be fit to train the children ' in the nurture and admonition of the Lord '. The housefather in the Quarrier Homes had also to be a tradesman. It was interesting that Quarrier recruited his houseparents from the artisan class, so that there would not be too big a social gulf between the children and the staff.

Graham followed Quarrier in the type of staff he recruited. He felt that Anglo-Indians and Indians were not at that time capable of imparting the thorough train-

ing which was essential to raise the standards of the Anglo-Indian children. The result of this policy was that he attracted to Kalimpong teachers and house staff from Great Britain, and eventually Australia and New Zealand, who were dedicated Christians imbued with missionary zeal. The salaries offered were extremely low and satisfied only those who had a clear missionary calling. Many of the members of staff were not as liberal in Christian outlook as himself. Some, too, were running away from jobs in their own countries, where their personality defects were making them miserable and frustrated, and some tended to bring their frustrations and difficulties to Kalimpong with them. On the whole, however, the staff in those early days did a fine job—instilling into the children a thorough training in housework and in the Scottish virtues of grit, determination and independence. In addition, the children received from their Scottish 'aunties' a deep knowledge of the Bible and an uncompromising list of 'do's' and 'don'ts'. Graham felt strongly that spiritual values must at all times be stressed. Human love was fallible and only the love of God could be thoroughly reliable. He wanted the Homes' children to be able to look on God as their Father in the full sense of the word. The motto of the Homes was 'Thorough' —simple but an accurate description of the training the children received.

The task of those early aunties in the cottages was a daunting one. They had thirty children in their charge, often with an age range of from five to eighteen. It was difficult, if not impossible, to give every child the individual care and love he or she so often desperately needed and craved for. The children were taught about the dignity of labour—the fact that no job should be considered too menial. For this reason, every girl and boy in the cottages had to do housework on a weekly rota. Graham felt that in India, which relied so much on servants

at all levels, it was a good idea to instil in his children a correct attitude to work. The general discipline in the cottages was rigid—a lot more rigid in some cases, perhaps, than Graham realised. The organisation of work, the details regarding stores and linen, were all the responsibility of Katie. She rode up to the Homes on her pony most afternoons to discuss problems with the house-parents. Her practical good sense made her the ideal Cottage Superintendent.

An interesting feature of the Homes was that the children went barefoot. This custom, introduced by Graham, lasted until 1962. His reasons were sound at the beginning, and his own children rarely wore shoes. He felt that it was healthy, particularly in the monsoon period; it also saved a great deal of money, and he remembered with joy the freedom of running barefoot on the moors above the farm in Cardross during his own boyhood. Gradually, however, customs changed in India and eventually the time came when only the poorest of the poor went barefoot. There was also a distinct danger of hook-worm from going without sandals or shoes. The school uniform improved and still no shoes were worn. The Homes became known as the institution where children went barefoot. It seemed to be yet another mark of destitution for the children to bear. When the children did begin to wear shoes in 1962 the change in them was dramatic. They felt they were now the same as everyone else, and although the senior children still at times liked going barefoot through the compound, they did not feel embarrassed at meeting students from other schools who came on visits to the Homes.

With the whole staff recruited overseas, the children inevitably grew up in an alien atmosphere and were taught to live as British girls or boys. This was thought to be the correct training for the children of the community. The Raj was at the height of its power at that

time; the National Congress Party was not yet making things awkward for the ruling power. It was as late as 1954 before non-European houseparents joined the staff.

The Homes were a godsend to the planter fathers who felt any kind of concern at all. Many of the fathers simply left the children with the mother, but the ones with conscience were glad to hand over their children to Dr Graham. The fathers knew that they would be cared for and educated and a job found for them. Many of them, as soon as the children were accepted, opted out of any further responsibilities. Were the Homes, perhaps, just a little too convenient for them?

Obviously the children had to be educated, so a central school was started—a school which grew to cope with eight hundred children of all ages. Again the first teachers were all recruited from Britain, as was the first Headmaster, Mr Simpson, better known as 'Sam' to his students. He in turn was followed by a Welshman, Mr John Lloyd, known always as 'Burra Lloyd', to distinguish him from his younger brother who was in charge of the farm and was called 'Chota Lloyd'.

As the cottages increased in number, so did the number of classrooms. The pride of the school was the Jarvie Hall which was constructed under the handsome MacRobert Tower which was a landmark for miles around. The tower was ornate and sixty feet high, and gave an impressive appearance to the school block.

To begin with, the education given was the same as that in schools in Britain. All the Anglo-Indian schools in India followed the same pattern. They were all Christian foundations, teaching through the medium of English and catering in Graham's day for European children, Anglo-Indian children and a few Indian children. The history taught was European and British, and Indian languages were given scant attention. There was little

attempt in the Anglo-Indian schools to relate the curriculum or the atmosphere of the school to the Indian environment. In fact the opposite was the case.

The Anglo-Indian schools of those days—indeed until a number of years after Independence in 1947—fostered this idea of superiority and condescension towards India and the Indians, and this was to create endless difficulties for the community. At that time, of course, there was no talk of Independence and the British Raj seemed firmly established in the land for an interminable period. Anglo-Indians were never to feel they 'belonged' to India—even as children they had dreams of emigrating, and this led them to ape many of the less praiseworthy traits of the European. This built up in the Indians a feeling of resentment towards the community which, although situated in their country, seemed alien in attitude. This was the constant problem of the community.

An Anglo-Indian has expressed the dilemma in this way:

> 'It would be well if our people realised the importance of a livelier interest on touching their civil rights and give proof that they are ready to undertake the responsibilities of citizenship. We look forward with a feeling of insecurity and uncertainty because of the undefined position allotted to us. On the one hand we are told that we are " Indian " and yet " un-Indian " while on the other hand it is impressed upon us that though truly European, our position has been officially defined as " statutory Natives of India " and that as a result there is equally a gulf between us and the Europeans. All our leaders are seriously perplexed as to how we should face the question which is repeatedly thrust upon us—" with whom shall we join hands? " We have to live in peace and harmony with all the other races of India and we must go forward

with them always striving for India's advancement and the welfare of her vast population.'

The Europeans tended to be derisive of the community, resenting their claims of affiliation to Britain and things British. Feeling, however, a little conscience-stricken about the Anglo-Indians, the Government made job placement easy for them. Despite not being accepted socially, the community rendered loyal and efficient service on the railways, posts and telegraphs and in the armed forces. An Anglo-Indian school, La Martinière, Lucknow, founded in 1840, won battle honours in the Indian Mutiny of 1857, and Anglo-Indians distinguished themselves in most of the frontier campaigns. Before the Mutiny, the Government took little or no official cognisance of schools for Anglo-Indians. In 1789 in Calcutta the Free School (now St Thomas's) was founded by a number of public-spirited men for orphans or the offspring of indigent persons—children who, according to the appeal, ' abandoned to all the miseries attending ignorance and idleness must become burdensome to society'. The Doveton College in Calcutta came next and was followed by the two fine La Martinière Colleges in Lucknow and Calcutta. The first of four great Lawrence Schools for sons and daughters of British soldiers was opened in 1847 by Sir Henry Lawrence himself.

After the Mutiny a remarkable increase of interest in European education was evoked by the record of bravery, suffering and sacrifice and the indispensable co-operation of the community during the rising. Many tributes were paid to Eurasian lads who served gallantly in such units as the Lahore Light Horse:

'The population of mixed European and Indian descent—then known as Eurasians, now as Anglo-Indian —suffered severely during the Mutiny. Many fought with exceptional bravery for the Government. The

struggle and its after-effects segregated them almost entirely from Indians.'

Their heroism therefore had a mixed reception—Government approval on the one hand, and Indian suspicion and envy on the other.

But the part played by the Anglo-Indians received more fitting recognition in the shape of new schools. The Governor-General, Lord Minto, was wholeheartedly in favour of the movement. Bishop Cotton drew up a scheme for the provision of schools. This was the origin of the famous Bishop Cotton Schools, most of which are sited in the hills.

On 31st October 1881 a code of instructions became law, making these European schools (they changed their title to Anglo-Indian schools in 1932) a special department of Public Instruction. They were entitled to grants in aid, and had special Government Inspectors appointed to them.

Church schools, particularly Roman Catholic and Railway schools (usually at the great railway junctions), mushroomed. Under the guidance, to begin with, of Sir Robert Laidlaw, attempts were made to raise support for these schools in the U.K. £90,000 was raised between 1914 and 1932 and administered by a Committee called the European Improvement Trust.

It was into this background that the St Andrews Colonial Homes fitted, providing education for the deprived children of the community—the illegitimate child, the unwanted and unloved child. In an unpublished article Graham described these children in the Homes as follows:

'The children in residence represent a wide variety of circumstances and social life. The story of their ancestors is largely the history of Europe in India. They make a peculiarly eloquent appeal to the sympathy and help of all sections of the British Empire. They are an interesting and attractive and lovable constitu-

ency. They yield a big return to loving service; and we can unhesitatingly testify that those who get a fair chance respond in splendid fashion and show that, as a whole, they are no whit behind the best.' [1]

Independence in 1947 was a moment of truth for Anglo-Indian education. Mr Frank Anthony—the recognised successor to Sir Henry Gidney, the community's first real leader—along with his deputy, Mr Albert Barrow, had the gigantic task of changing curricula and, above all, attitudes in every Anglo-Indian school in the country. The schools had to become reorientated to India. It was a slow process, but gradually the Anglo-Indian schools became aware that they had a responsibility to India to turn out youngsters with the correct attitudes towards the country. Indian languages became an important and compulsory part of the curriculum. Indian history supplemented European history, Asian geography and a study in depth of India itself, all helped to create these attitudes. More and more Indian children entered the Anglo-Indian schools. The worth of the schools was realised by Indian parents, who were often prepared to make great financial sacrifices so that their children might attend a school where high standards were maintained.

The education imparted to begin with, then, in the St Andrews Colonial Homes was the same as that to be

[1] Graham continued: ' The romance connected with the children of our Homes is an allied one and is not less thrilling. They suggest more than Aryan reunion. They are proud of their European descent (their temptation has been to be exclusively proud of it). They are likewise joint heirs of other great world families—Dravidian, Mongolian, Kolarian, which live together in India. What a romance it would make if we could have all the streams of history which meet in our children's settlement. How proud we would be of each other and of the combination we represent. How it would put to shame that narrow, exclusive, national and petty racial pride with which we are all apt to be afflicted. How it would remove that inferiority complex which so often saps the vigour of those who have suffered from that unkind and ignorant attitude.'

found in all Anglo-Indian schools in the country. With teachers from Britain the 3 Rs were well taught and the results were good. The first-generation Anglo-Indians from the tea gardens were generally bright children. The Scottish-Nepalese mix, for example, tended to produce good material as did the Scottish-Assamese one. One cannot generalise, of course, but indications were that this was the case.

Gradually, however, Graham's net spread beyond the tea gardens into the railway junctions and the cities. The largest number of Anglo-Indians had, then, as now, gathered in the Calcutta ghettos. The community is distinctly an urban one—very few have ever gone on the land. Industry in Calcutta attracted them like a magnet. British firms were good to them and gave employment to great numbers of skilled and unskilled workers. Calcutta, unfortunately, has always attracted the worst of the community—the layabouts, the completely improvident and the non-starters. In Graham's day there were many Anglo-Indian families in dire straits in ghettos like Tiretta Bazaar, Bow Bazaar and Entally.[1] The children in those back streets were doomed. Many stole to survive.

Over the years, more and more children came from the city environment. Some of them were second-generation Anglo-Indians. They had a different set of problems from the children in the tea garden situation. They might not have the stigma of illegitimacy, but their early days had been spent in the fight to survive and often their schooling had been of the scantiest. They tended to have low I.Qs, and although in the fresh air of the hills they improved physically, mentally they were stunted and the normal academic courses were often beyond them. It was with the influx of this poorer material that Graham pioneered a type of education in India which was not yet popular in Britain, although Quarrier was using it—voca-

[1] These areas are still the unsavoury districts where many Anglo-Indians live or, rather, exist.

tional education. Graham copied many of Quarrier's ideas in that field, but these had to be altered to suit Indian conditions. For example, Anglo-Indian children could not become carpenters, shoemakers or tailors as these jobs were normally undertaken by low-caste Hindus.

In the selection of acceptable courses and in the development of the whole atmosphere of the school, Graham, like Quarrier, had another aim in view: to send the best products out of their homelands to the developing colonies. Quarrier selected Canada, and Graham felt that Australia and New Zealand would be ideal for his 'exportable' products.

Canada, Australia and New Zealand, as young countries, possessed great opportunities, and both men probably felt that a new start in a new country would be a benefit to young people, many of whose home conditions were such as to preclude a settled or happy future. Dr Barnardo obviously had a similar view as he sent many of his orphan children to South Africa.

This policy had a great number of opponents. Quarrier was criticised soundly by the Scottish Press, and Graham's policy was not liked by educated Indians. Sir Feroz Khan Noon, High Commissioner for India, said in London in 1938:

> "I was not quite pleased when Dr Graham told us he was stealing away the best-educated part of the Anglo-Indians and sending them over to New Zealand.
>
> "I am sure there will be no Indian Minister worth his name who will not treat the claims of the Anglo-Indian children the same as the claims of any other Indian children. I can also assure you that we Indians love the Anglo-Indians and have as much regard for their future as for the future of all other communities living in India."

Graham, with his sights on the large-scale emigration of his best-quality students to Australia and New Zealand,

selected the courses carefully, so that the bright children would have a good academic education to take with them, and the less bright would possess sound vocational training. He chose nursing, child nursing and eventually commercial training for the girls. There was also a great deal of domestic science, because many girls were to go overseas as maids. Australia and New Zealand had good opportunities for farm labourers, so agriculture was the main course selected for the boys. It was sad from India's point of view that only the poorest material was to be prepared for life in the home country.

Most of the emigrants did well in their adopted homes and, thanks to the Kalimpong training, soon settled into their new surroundings. Many of them married Australians and New Zealanders, and in another generation the Indian connections will probably have been forgotten.

A tea planter who supported Graham's ideas on emigration has written: 'A Eurasian population can never have a robust life in India. In the struggle for life they cannot compete with the native races; the conditions and environments of a tropical climate like India are entirely antagonistic to their continued existence.' Another planter suggested founding a new country called Eurasia in North West Australia, made up completely of Eurasians. The 'Eurasian Scheme' was answered by yet another planter who felt that the excellent training in Kalimpong would fit the children for eventual absorption into what he arrogantly called the 'purer race'.

Emigration to Australia and New Zealand was not to be easy, nor was the Government of either country anxious to help Graham with his schemes.

The Australian white policy was a constant source of irritation and sadness to Graham. On his visits to Australia in 1909 and 1937 he had talks with Ministers, and in 1937 he discussed with the Attorney-General, Robert Menzies, the decision to include Eurasians in the category of prohibited immigrants. He had what he called 'a keen

encounter' with Menzies on that subject. He pleaded the cause of the Anglo-Indian first of all on the grounds of humanity, and then, when he saw that the emotional approach was not having much effect, he switched to the political implications of giving the Indians yet another excuse for withdrawing from the Empire. He stressed that the Indians were a proud and intelligent people whose culture stretched far back into the history of the human race, and who reacted strongly to being thought in any way inferior to the white races. Menzies replied that the policy was not meant to cast a reflection on any race, but that the Australians were proud of the country they had carved out of the wilderness, sometimes with great sacrifice. Graham then demurred to the doctrine of ' might is right ', and suggested to Mr Menzies that the Aborigines had every right to protest at their treatment from thoughtless and cruel settlers.

After Dr Graham's 1937 visit, the Australian Minister of the Interior wrote to him stating under what terms the Australian Government would allow Anglo-Indians to settle. These were that an Anglo-Indian of three-fourths white parentage would be permitted to land if in sound health, of good character, in possession of a British passport, and provided also that there was no reason to believe that he would become a charge upon the Australian public. What the Minister of the Interior did not say, but which was to be the case until 1967, was that the Anglo-Indian applicant had also to be fair-skinned.

Graham had to be content with this ruling which fell far short of what he was after. A few of his Kalimpong children who came within the terms were allowed into Australia. Many more were accepted into New Zealand.

Entry to that country, however, was at times difficult. The emigration policy changed frequently. After the First World War, for example, Graham had trouble in getting his children accepted. Then, later, there was a further halt to large-scale emigration of Kalimpong children,

because the New Zealand authorities were under the impression that the boys who went to farms were being exploited by farmers who were only too happy to employ cheap labour. Be that as it may, children in groups of sometimes nine and ten sailed there to make new lives for themselves.

In 1908 a new member of staff arrived in Kalimpong —a man who was to wield a great influence in the Homes and who was to become not only Graham's right-hand man but his friend. Mr Purdie, an ex-welfare worker in Barlinnie Prison, Glasgow, had been recruited by James Paterson, who saw in him all the qualities which would be so valuable in Kalimpong. Such was the impression he had made in Barlinnie that on his first leave from Kalimpong a delegation of ex-convicts whom he had helped called on him and begged him to stay in Glasgow and not return to India, so that he could help others as they themselves had been helped. They even offered to be responsible for his salary.

Soon after Purdie was recruited, and before he set out for Kalimpong, Graham arrived in Scotland on furlough. He wrote to Purdie and suggested that they should meet at the Perth Conference of the Young Men's Guild and then go directly to Liverpool to embark for India. Purdie arrived halfway through the conference, and Graham, who was looking out for him, spotted him coming in late and invited him up on to the platform and insisted that he say a few words of farewell to the Guildsmen. So began a long, happy and productive association which was to last until Graham's death. Purdie relates how he was never told by Graham, either in correspondence or when they met, what his duties as Secretary in Kalimpong were to be. Everything was kept vague and indeterminate and, as a very methodical man, he was concerned about this.

When Graham and he arrived at Liverpool docks it was a brisk, frosty morning. As they were about to board the ship for India, Graham saw a slide on the dockside

and the temptation was too much for him. He took a great run at it and, with his coat tails flying, he slid expertly along the ice. How the dockyard mateys cheered! Purdie wondered with astonishment what kind of padre his new boss was. He realised through this incident that his life as Secretary to the Homes would probably be as unorthodox and as interesting as the behaviour of John Graham himself.

From his first day in Kalimpong Mr Purdie stayed with the Grahams and was accepted as one of the family. After Mrs Graham's death and following Isa's marriage, he took over the housekeeping. He was to run the house until 1939 when Betty returned, but he remained with the family until Graham's death. Graham and he were complementary. James Purdie was essentially practical and down to earth. Graham, good administrator that he was, sometimes fell down on small details. From 1908 onwards Purdie was always there to make Graham's visions and schemes work. A great deal of the complex administrative planning which is a feature of the Homes was due to James Purdie's careful insistence on detail.

Purdie was a very good accountant and he nursed the Homes' finances expertly. He invested well and built up the necessary reserve investments to ensure the successful continuation of the Homes.

Right from that first meeting James Purdie, like so many others, came under Graham's spell. Purdie has written of this spell in an unpublished note on Graham:

> 'What is it that makes Kalimpong and the Homes such a centre of thought and longing? More than likely because the work was conceived in love for children and carried forward in the spirit of love, and love for children has a strong appeal.'

Purdie was to be known simply as 'P.B.' to great numbers of workers and students. He was given the nickname because he introduced a brown loaf into the

Homes called ' Purdie Brand ' which was shortened to P.B.

He was very deaf, although it was always said that he could hear what he wanted to hear! He was a tall, good-looking man and as an eligible bachelor his deafness came in very handy when he wanted to keep ardent house-mothers at bay. He made no secret of the fact that the female of the species was often a trial to him. He was devoted to the boys in the Homes and went to endless trouble to place them in jobs. Up until his death at the age of ninety, he kept in touch with hundreds of them. Graham and he never competed for the affection of the children. The older boys, particularly, tended to take to Purdie, because he understood them and took them on treks to Sikkim. With his welfare training he clearly had a way with boys, and although he understood human weakness he never condoned it. The boys knew where they were with him. He had seen so much of life, too, that he never painted life outside Kalimpong as idyllic.

That was one of the problems. Kalimpong was so beautiful, so different in so many ways from life in a city like Calcutta, that for boys and girls who had known nothing else but the security of the Homes leaving was a traumatic experience and the temptations and glitter of city life were foreign and frightening to them.

The construction of a residence in Calcutta, the Birk-myre Hostel, for boys working in the city was a great help. This was the generous gift of Sir Archie Birkmyre and it was opened in 1927. It was also to be the focal point of interest in Kalimpong in Calcutta.

Yet despite the presence of this handsome hostel, the shock of working in Calcutta after living for years in the peace and tranquillity of the foothills of the Himalayas is still a problem today.

James Purdie used to relate many stories of his days with Graham. His favourite one concerned the day he had a violent row with a housemother. He had never

got on well with this particular woman. After leaving his office she had gone back to her cottage and written a scorcher of a note to him. Highly indignant, he showed the note to Dr Graham. It was only after Purdie had almost finished his story of the row in the office that he noticed that Graham had not looked at the note but had simply torn it up into little pieces. Without saying a word, Graham took Purdie's hand, put the shredded note into it, smiled, patted him on the shoulder and left him. Purdie said he felt all the anger drain out of him.

Gradually the village began to take shape. To the cottages and the school buildings were added various staff houses; and with the construction of the Christianson Farm Steading and the Central Province Farm House, the agricultural training for the boys—as well as the task of feeding them—got well under way.

One of the local merchants, Ram Chandra Mintri Rai Sahib, who had been greatly assisted by Graham in his business, gifted a very valuable water supply to the Homes.

The Steel Memorial Hospital, a gift from a family who supported Graham throughout his time in Kalimpong, was a valuable asset and had a dominant situation perched high on a ridge. Stores, workshops, all were built and, like pieces of a jigsaw, fitted neatly into the scheme of things.

Despite the munificence of many supporters, money often ran out and the Board of Management were anxious to call a halt to development. If this opinion was expressed to him, Graham would look at the individual who had voiced it and say: " Where's your faith, laddie? "

Sometimes prior to a Board Meeting the members would agree among themselves that there was to be no further building until outstanding debts were paid. Graham would immediately sum up the situation and the feeling of the meeting, and, before asking for more money to build yet another cottage, would launch into an emotional story about the plight of some Anglo-Indian

families who were anxious to send their children to the Homes—if only there was room. To their own surprise the businessmen and planters on the Board would find themselves voting Graham a further sum of money for a new cottage. This happened more than once.

In 1903 he was to receive the first of a number of awards. A grateful Government awarded him the Kaisar-i-Hind Medal for Public Service. His work was already well known. In the three short years that the Homes had functioned, it was obvious that they would expand, and the Government of India was convinced that Graham in his Himalayan retreat had found the right answer for the children of a community who were an embarrassment to officialdom.

The Durbars in those days were conducted with great ceremony. The instructions Graham received when he was informed of his award tell of an age of splendour when the pageantry and colour of such occasions were magnificent in the extreme. The instructions read:

> 'All persons invited to attend the Durbar will assemble at Belvedere before 3.45 p.m.
>
> 'The Princes, Maharaja Bahadurs, Maharajas, Nawab Bahadurs, Raja Bahadurs, Nawabs, Rajas, Shams-at-Ulamas, Mahamchopadhvavas, Kumars, Khan Bahadurs, Rai Bahadurs, Khan Sahibs and Rai Sahibs, will be seated in order of precedence to the right of the dais and on the left will be seated according to their rank the Hon'ble Judges of the High Court, the Members of the Legislative Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor and other high officials.'

In 1904 his university, Edinburgh, conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity at the early age of forty-three. Graham was probably Scotland's best-known missionary at the time. He somehow fulfilled the public image of what a successful missionary should be. His field was a fascinating one, and he showed deep concern

not only for the tribes of his district, but for children as well.

So successful had Graham been in Kalimpong that the news of his experiment spread to South India. He was asked to go to Madras to lecture on his work and methods in Kalimpong to a group of influential people. The Governor of Madras, Sir Arthur Lawley, presided. At this lecture in 1911 an appeal was made for finances to open a similar institution at Kodiakanal in South India, to be called the St George's Homes.

In 1921 the St George's Homes were moved to Ketti. They were designed to cater for orphan and destitute children from Bombay and the whole of South India, and were based on the pattern of the St Andrews Colonial Homes. At one time an amalgamation of the two Homes was discussed, but the geographical difficulties were insurmountable. St George's, Ketti, still exists, but in the formative years it lacked a Graham and never developed in the same imaginative way.

By that time it was quite obvious to the Church of Scotland authorities that Graham was no ordinary missionary. The Church could not really be too critical of this missionary who had attracted such strong Government backing. There were not many missionaries in India who were close intimates of Lieutenant-Governors. Critics of Graham have suggested that his friendships were all cultivated for a reason. It is true that his new Homes needed powerful and rich friends, and Graham saw to it that the Homes had such friends, but there was more to it than that. All his life he had the ability to get the best out of people, and high Government officials were not immune from the spell he could cast.

There were a few dissident voices, however. Guild officials and members of the Foreign Missions Committee in Scotland were genuinely concerned about the rapid expansion of the St Andrews Colonial Homes (renamed Dr Graham's Homes in 1947) and about the time which

the Guild missionary was spending on this growing institution. His Mission work inevitably had to suffer. Expansion of the Mission was difficult owing to the tight budget, whereas in the Homes Graham was in complete charge and decisions about how money was to be spent were, at least at the beginning, made by him. Naturally some of his colleagues in the Mission must have resented the time he spent on the Homes, particularly if they themselves were not involved in the work. Obviously, too, if there had been no Homes, Graham would have had more time to devote to his district work. Once the Homes started he did not travel round the district so much. Such, however, was his tremendous capacity for work that he was capable of continuing the busy life of the Mission while planning and creating the Homes. The Homes excited him, satisfied the creative urge in him and gave scope to his great gift for imaginative planning. In the early days there were strong ties between the Mission and the Homes. Sadly, these diminished after Graham died. The fact that the Church of Scotland had not agreed officially to help finance the new venture meant that the ways of the Mission and the Homes must diverge.

The Nepalese Christians, too, were disappointed in him and were quite resentful. They felt that Graham was not so interested in them as he had been. They did not hold, they felt, the centre of his attention. The fact that the Homes were catering for Anglo-Indians and not poor Nepalese aroused hard feelings. On one occasion, towards the end of his life, they made their feelings felt by boycotting an official function to honour Dr Graham's Jubilee. As a result of their protest, which came as a complete surprise to Graham, a limited number of Nepalese day scholars and eventually boarders were admitted to the Homes.

The non-Christian communities in Kalimpong realised more clearly the breadth of his work and the economic

value to the town of his new creation—a creation set up not as an enterprise to feather his own nest, but as a contribution towards the well-being of Kalimpong and India.

Another major criticism made of Graham by the Christian community was one which was to have repercussions in the future. The Nepalese and Lepcha Christians in Kalimpong today blame the Scottish missionaries, including Graham, for educating them for the professions only. The reason for this was obviously to staff the Christian schools and hospitals. The Christians were discouraged from going into business. Business and trading were left to the Bengalis, Biharis and Marwaris. The long-term result of this has been that although the Christians are literate, they are the poorest community in the town and district and therefore do not carry much weight in local affairs.

The missionaries probably followed the Scottish idea of educating the bright lad to go into one of the professions. The Nepalese tend to envy the Christians of Assam, who came under Welsh Baptist influence. The Khasi tribes living round Shillong were encouraged to enter business and, as a result, are well off and have influence in politics and administration.

Another fault that the Nepalese found with Graham and his colleagues was that the missionaries tended to support Hindi as the medium of instruction in schools, and not Nepalese. The argument against adopting Nepalese was that it was not a completely formed language, had no literature, and was simply of regional use. Nepalese eventually did supersede Hindi and the nationalistic Nepalese were satisfied.

By 1910 the local people stood in great awe of Graham. He had become virtually the Squire of Kalimpong, and even Government officials sought his advice on local matters. His interests were so wide and varied that his opinion on a host of subjects was greatly valued. He

was no introvert, brooding over the frailties of his flock, but an extrovert who enjoyed every minute of every day.

His greatest success was in his personal relationship with the children in the Homes. Wherever he went he was surrounded by children, all trying to take his hand. To the bulk of them he was the only father they had ever known. He had infinite patience with them. He was not strict—he did not need to be. They worried if they let him down. To disappoint 'Daddy' Graham was the worst of sins. He had time for them and their problems, not only while they were in the Homes but afterwards. Prodigal sons were welcomed back with the same warm smile which the successful ex-students received.

There was the girl who, after leaving the Homes, went on the streets until, cohabiting with a shiftless spiv and stricken with a fatal disease and concerned about her two-year-old daughter, she sent Dr Graham a pitiful letter. He wrote back in unclouded happiness: 'Come! Bring the child; spend a month's holiday here.' Doubtfully she travelled from Calcutta to Kalimpong. She arrived to a whole-hearted welcome. Some time later, as the Reverend Doctor was engaged in an uproarious game of pickaback with the little girl on the long veranda of the Mission Home, this poor woman said to one of the family: "I can face anything now. Daddy Graham is Christ to me!"

An orphan child who was brought to the Homes from the outskirts of Calcutta in 1911 and stayed until 1923 was encouraged by Dr Graham to enter the ministry. Later in life, the man said: "Now if it had been anyone else that put that suggestion to me I would have laughed. But coming from Dr Graham who knew me, knew my upbringing, knew my limitations, coming from him it was at once a challenge which had to be accepted. I committed myself to preparing for the university and

eventually was licensed as a minister and ordained for the Church of Scotland."

Whenever Graham went down to Calcutta there was a Reunion, and how pleased he was to meet the successful ex-students; how helpful and sympathetic he would be with those who had not quite made the grade. Those Reunions inevitably ended with the whole company playing the games they had played at parties in their cottages —the Grand Old Duke of York and Musical Arms being the favourites. Dr Graham was the noisiest participant. The ex-students would leave the Reunion with a fresh resolve to do well, for they had learned afresh that they were not forgotten and it mattered how they fared in life.

As he got to know the Anglo-Indians intimately, Graham's belief in them grew. The rather shallow assessment he had made in 1900 that they must be made worthy of their British heritage disappeared, and there developed in him an understanding of their needs and a deep consciousness of the predicament of their double heritage. Anglo-Indians are generally physically attractive and they also have a warm, affectionate nature. The children of the community are beautiful, and Graham's own warm heart was big enough to embrace all six hundred of them.

His own large family, however, never felt left out. Despite the fact that his own children spent long periods separated from their parents, there was no resentment. They knew that they came first in their parents' affection, but they also knew without being told that both their father and mother had love to spare for other children and other people. During the long absences from home, the children received weekly letters and regular pocket money, and the parents rejoiced in their successes and commiserated with them in their setbacks.

Graham was one of the few Britishers who was articulate about the problems of being a half-caste. He realised that the difficulty was a psychological one and one which

required infinite patience and sympathy. He described the problem movingly as follows:

> 'There are worse barriers ahead than neglected starved minds. There are fears and reflexes and inherited prejudice to be removed, and that cannot be done by professional educationists, without the co-operation of the community's neighbours, and the word neighbour as in the great parable suggests a far-reaching responsibility. What the Anglo-Indians need and want is a deep spiritual union of hearts touched with a sense of a big need, fired with a desire to remove stumbling blocks from people hampered by circumstances and often wronged by careless or overweening fellow citizens, sorrowing for our own or other unsympathetic attitude which has daunted and depressed, vowing that in future we shall refrain from that shallow, critical spirit which hurts and determined to search for opportunities to cheer them on their long upward climb of Himalayan proportions. Many avenues of service and stimulus might be suggested as worth exploring by us—avenues climatic, social, educational and spiritual. In a wise, generous and attentive attitude on the part of their neighbours lies one of the chief hopes of those who represent the double heritage of East and West.'

The first products of Graham's Homes did well and after leaving Kalimpong they found good jobs and proved themselves reliable and trustworthy. Those early ex-students, however, were to go through a much greater trial than simply the testing of their 'stickability' at a desk job in Calcutta. They were to be tested on the battlefields of the world. The very first student, Hamish Lees, No. 1 on the Homes records, was to be drowned at sea when his ship struck a mine.

The First World War coming so soon after the founding of the St Andrews Colonial Homes proved a real test of

the methods employed. Over one hundred and fifty boys who had passed out of the Homes between 1904 and 1914 fought on all fronts, France, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Palestine, East Africa, and on the oceans of the world. One ex-Kalimpong lad in France with the New Zealand Expeditionary Force won a Military Medal and then a D.C.M. Three others serving with the New Zealand Expeditionary Force won Military Medals in the grim encounters at Passchendaele and Messines. The ex-Kalimpong boys, whether they were on convoy duty in the Atlantic, with the New Zealanders in France, or with the Indian Army in Mesopotamia, showed that they were equal to the best in any army. Dr Graham was proud of them. To a certain extent those one hundred and fifty lads vindicated his system, and they had shown to sceptics, particularly in New Zealand, that the Anglo-Indian was as tough and as reliable as any race. The New Zealand Government's policy of forbidding entry to Anglo-Indians shortly after the conclusion of the war was hard to understand in view of the service they had rendered in the New Zealand Army.

During the austere days of war there had had to be a certain curtailment in the expansion programme of the Homes. All building slowed down; food prices increased; many staff left to take up various wartime duties; and a huge deficit grew.

As soon as the war was over, Dr Graham launched an appeal for finance. He quoted Mr Lloyd George's strong call at the conclusion of the war:

> 'I solemnly warn my fellow-countrymen that you cannot maintain an A1 Empire with a C3 population.
>
> 'We must also think of the children who are to fill up the gaps in the generations that are to come and the State must see they are built up into a fine, healthy, strong, vigorous people. There is no surer way of strengthening the country than that.

> 'We must pay more attention to our schools . . . an educated man is a better worker, a more formidable warrior and a better citizen.'

Dr Graham added:

> 'During the war we had perforce to curb expansion at Kalimpong. Now that peace has come, however, we would fain begin a Forward Movement to take our part in meeting the wider responsibilities of the new era. For such a movement we are dependent on the prayerful sympathy and the increased gifts of our fellow citizens in India, Britain and the Colonies.
>
> 'In the beginning there are certain munitions of war which are important and which we now ask of the Public.'

The list of requirements was formidable and included six new cottages: five of the standard type and the sixth to be an extension of the Babies' Cottage. School accommodation, too, would have to expand and new staff quarters were required. The hospital also needed an extension, as did the stores and bakery. Homes for the Nepali workers on the estate were also listed and, lastly, a staff club. The suggestion was put forward that donations might be given as memorials for relatives lost in the war.

Ambitious as this list was, all the buildings eventually materialised, and the Homes experienced their time of greatest expansion.

From 1912 onwards Dr Graham's unwavering aim was to have six hundred children in his cottages. Very often it seemed as if he was too ambitious and that his plans were outstripping the finances available. Somehow or other, however, the money would appear and the building continue. There was a standard pattern for the cottages, incorporating a few adaptations and improvements on the original design.

Some building had taken place just prior to the war. In 1912, for instance, Macgregor Cottage—the anonymous gift of an 'East Merchant'—was opened by Mr P. C. Lyon. Also in 1912 Scottish Canadian Cottage was opened, the gift of Miss Jessie Dow of Montreal in memory of her parents. Mansfield Cottage, opened by Major-General May on 4th August 1914, was the second cottage donated by an 'East Merchant'. Heathland and Edinburgh Cottages, opened in 1914 and 1915 respectively, were built with Scottish money, the latter contributed by the City of Edinburgh. Birissa Cottage, the gift of the Provinces of Bihar and Orissa, was opened by Colonel Filgate on 5th October 1915. Hart Cottage was opened in 1916 by Lord Carmichael.

In the post-war period, Wiston Cottage was opened in 1921, by Lord Ronaldshay, the funds having been provided anonymously; and the last cottage, Willingdon Hostel—for boys taking an agriculture training—was opened in 1935 by Lord Willingdon.

The responsibility for financing this extensive building programme was all Dr Graham's. He had contacts in India and overseas and had no scruples about putting pressure on merchant princes and wealthy Government officials to donate cottages and buildings.

To help the finances and create interest, he set up Committees of interested people in such places as Cawnpore, Allahabad, Assansal, Calcutta, Bombay and Delhi. Sir Thomas Smith, a businessman in Cawnpore, relates the following story:

> 'Dr Graham came to stay with me just before the Calcutta Sweepstake was due to be drawn. I informed Dr Graham that I thought of purchasing a ticket for the Sweep in the name of the Homes. This brought no reaction at all from Dr Graham and in fact he changed the subject. Next evening when I was seeing him off at the station, just as the train was moving off,

> Dr Graham leaned out of the carriage window and said: "You won't forget that ticket, Tom, will you!" Graham had won over another wealthy businessman to support his cause!'

Along with the development of the cottages came the expansion of the school and its accompanying buildings. The memorial stone of the Queen Mary Block was laid by Lord Carmichael on 5th October 1912, to mark the visit of King George and Queen Mary to India. Queen Mary became Patroness of the Homes in 1913 and gave Rs 5,000 towards the construction of the block.

The domestic science block was opened by Mr John Gemmell in 1915, and the Queen Elizabeth Kindergarten Block was opened by Lord Brabourne, Governor of Bengal, on 19th May 1938. This airy, well-designed unit was a gift of Mr Manuel.

Apart from the cottages and school buildings, other construction work went ahead during this period. The Watson Infection Ward was opened on 4th August 1914, the gift of Miss Watson of Craigmore, Scotland. Various private houses were gifted for the use of the Homes staff: Yule House was finished in 1913, the funds being supplied by Sir David Yule (this building originally formed part of the central stores, but eventually became the stores manager's house); the Capel Wolseley Bungalow, named after a former Secretary of the London Committee, was opened in January 1915 and used as a teachers' residence; and on 9th November 1917, Lord Ronaldshay opened Bhutan Lodge, the gift of Raja S. T. Dorji.

The C. C. McLeod Swimming Bath was opened by Sir John Cumming on 18th May 1918, having been presented by Sir Charles McLeod, the Chairman of the London Committee. An amusing incident occurred at the opening of the pool. After the ceremony and speeches a group of boys were supposed to dive in and swim a length. To the surprise of everyone, however, Dr Graham also

jumped in—fully clad. He said that he felt the opening should be done properly.

On 15th January 1923 Lady Reid performed the opening ceremony for the Prince of Wales Lodge, another teachers' residence, the gift of H.R.H. The Prince of Wales when he visited India in 1921-22; and on 19th May the Crozier Club, built partly with money from the Estate of Mr John Crozier of Silchar, Assam, was opened by Lord Lytton for the use of the staff.

Sir Alec Murray gave money to build an access road to the southern boundary, past the Ronaldshay Park. Cargill House was presented by Sir John Cargill; and Bell House, opened by the Rani Chuni Dorji of Bhutan on 27th January 1930, was the gift of Sir Charles Bell.

One of the great needs which became apparent as the Homes developed was a holiday home where ex-students returning to Kalimpong could meet their friends and enjoy themselves. To meet this demand, the James Purdie Holiday Home was built beyond the farm. This residence was opened in 1939 and provided attractive accommodation for fourteen guests.

Dr Graham had a similar vision for the provision of a holiday rest home for missionaries and friends who toiled in the heat of the plains; and under the guidance of Miss Phillips a guest-house called Ahava was constructed. Although the fabric belonged to the Homes, the house was furnished and maintained by Miss Phillips. It was constructed with the aid of contributions from many friends, prominent among whom were Mr and Mrs R. D. McGregor of Wiston, Scotland, and Miss Billings.

This, then, was the period of real expansion of the Homes. The years 1912-30 were the busy, creative years of Dr Graham's life. The Homes took shape, the Mission was consolidated, and he found complete fulfilment in his mountain eyrie. There was to be only one dark cloud in this period.

CHAPTER 5

The Arts and Crafts and Mrs Graham's Death

Mrs Graham was always deeply concerned about the Lepcha and Nepalese womenfolk. Life was hard for them —early marriage, childbearing at regular intervals, and little or no money for any kind of extras. Marriage dowries for daughters took away any savings there might have been. The larger the dowry, the 'better' the husband.

Mrs Graham felt that it should be possible in Kalimpong to teach some useful and productive crafts, particularly to the women, so that they might make a little money to help the income of the household. She decided that cottage industries such as those in Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland would be the answer. There were, however, few hereditary skills to base the industry on, but the women—Lepchas, Nepalis and Bhutias—were eager to learn and became expert at knitting, embroidery and crochet work. Dunfermline linen, Alloa yarn and British silk were imported for them to work on.

Weaving was an old art in those parts so it was easy to encourage the women to change to broader looms and produce quality weaves. The traditional Tibetan designs were much in demand by the army and the planters. At opportune times a gift of Rs 5,000 from a Hindu friend, and, later, one from Mrs McKean, in memory of her father, plus a grant from the Government for working expenses, enabled a successful weaving school to be started. A lace school was also established and five kinds of lace

were being made by 1905. These were: Italian, Pt D'Angleterre, Buckinghamshire Point, Brussels Duchess, Cluny and Torchon. An expert lace-maker, Miss Catherine Channer, taught this intricate art. Mrs Graham described this important craft as follows:

> 'Realizing that our people were just at the stage in the march of civilization when an industry like that of lace-making might flourish, we turned our attention to it. The Indian hill women are hardworking and industrious as a rule, and while field cultivation work is on they do a fair share; but there are longer periods when little is being done in the fields, and the women have more time to spare than is good for them.
>
> 'But how could we get a teacher? Providentially, a lady who had all the qualifications for teaching not only the ordinary Torchon and Cluny laces, but the finer kinds like Brussels, Italian, Honiton and many others came on a short visit to us in 1904. She had taught in the Midlands of England and was joint authoress of a book on lace-making. Altogether Miss Catherine Channer was the ideal person for our wants. For four years she laid the foundations of the industry, and when she had to leave, owing to ill health, she had trained a successor in Miss Gladys Korb and many of our women were highly competent workers.
>
> 'In the year of the Indian Durbar, Lady Hardinge, always a helpful and interested friend, gave us orders for several articles for the use of Her Majesty, Queen Mary at Delhi and we have had the privilege of making the lace ruffles for several Moderators of the Church of Scotland.'

Poultry- and turkey-breeding were popular with the older women who were not able to do the finer work.

For the men, too, craft instruction was started and they were encouraged in woodcarving and silver work. The silversmiths produced designs chiefly of Tibetan origin.

This department also sold curios from Lhasa—the result of the developing trade between Tibet and Kalimpong. Massive teapots in brass, copper and silver, censers and carved wooden tables all found a ready market.

Dr Graham was disturbed that there were no local carpenters in Kalimpong. There were a few Chinese carpenters in the town, but for the building of the Macfarlane Church men had had to be brought from the plains at great cost. So with a view to teaching the hill people this craft, a carving and carpentry school was opened in 1906. From there, skilled carpenters were produced and a great deal of the woodwork in the Girls' High School, the surgical block of the Charteris and, later, the Katherine Graham Memorial Chapel and many other local buildings was undertaken by these men.

Graham saw the development of industries as being of use not only to the Himalayan area but to all India. He and Mrs Graham were pioneers in the idea of cottage industries. He saw Kalimpong as a training school for teachers of crafts for the district and he visualised Sikkim as a possible field for expansion. For her work in the industries Mrs Graham was awarded the Kaisar-i-Hind Medal in 1916.

The industries grew and flourished and eventually became known as Arts and Crafts. Bunty and Norman Odling, Dr Graham's daughter and son-in-law, were in charge of these from 1924 to prior to Independence. From the beginning, Arts and Crafts—especially weaving—had a reputation for first-class workmanship. Kalimpong weaves became famous in India and farther afield. It was the use of natural vegetable dyes and the beautiful blending of colours which made the material quite outstanding.

Arts and Crafts were also responsible for the design and construction of a great number of the residential houses in Kalimpong and also several buildings at the Homes. Norman Odling was the architect and super-

vised the construction in all its phases. Arts and Crafts also made the furniture for the various houses, and the fabrics used were woven in the craft centre. All this development gave work to the local people.

On 15th May 1919 Mrs Graham died at a comparatively young age. She had been ill for some time and required an operation from which she never recovered. The Grahams had spent all their married life in Kalimpong, and at all times she had been of tremendous assistance to him. Their relationship was of the tenderest and to both of them life was an exciting adventure. Like Graham, Katie's interests were very wide. The development of Arts and Crafts and her work as Cottage Superintendent of the Homes were the two great projects of her later years. She also loved flowers and her garden was a joy to her. The fact that Kalimpong is now a centre of horticulture is largely because she trained Nepalese gardeners, who have passed on their expertise to their children.

At the funeral, which was attended by a huge crowd of mourners, Mr Purdie, Dr Graham's associate and friend, has written that Dr Graham found himself comforting the mourners.

The *Calcutta Statesman* of 16th May 1919 paid the following tribute:

> 'The death of the most amiable and exceptionally gifted woman removes an outstanding figure from the missionary and industrial development of Bengal. Just as Dr Graham was known all over India and beyond as the Dr Barnardo of the Anglo-Indian community, so Mrs Graham was the presiding genius over an awakening which is without question destined to leave an equally deep impression upon the industrial life of the country. The most famous of the enterprises which owe their inception and prosecution to her energy and organising power is, of course, the Kalimpong lace school, but in addition to this she started and carried

on practically up to the time of her death, a carpentry school, the weaving of Tibetan rugs, and several other products which the Bengal Cottage Industries Association placed in the forefront of its exhibitions and its sale depots.'

The Grahams' home was rarely without guests—young men from the lonely outposts, I.C.S. men on duty or on leave, planters on various errands, and missionaries both male and female. Kalimpong has always attracted eccentrics and ' offbeat ' characters. Its proximity to Tibet ensured a constant stream of Tibetologists and Nirvana-seekers and most of them stayed with the Grahams. Annie Taylor, for example, stayed at the Guild Mission House. She took a band of missionaries over the frontier into Tibet without official permission, and was eventually turned back. She finally settled in Yatung, just over the frontier, and ministered to Tibetans. Another unusual guest was ' the little man with the paint pot ' who travelled the roads writing texts on all available outcrops of rocks. He was a Mr Judd—a kind of independent faith missionary. He had a long beard and did not wash very often. He felt he should always greet his fellow missionaries with a brotherly kiss which Katie Graham used to try to avoid.

All guests were welcomed warmly and graciously by Mrs Graham. They loved the relaxed atmosphere and the fun. The Graham children were well behaved but were allowed to express opinions and were involved in the conversations round the dining-room table. There was laughter, and the shyest visitor soon found his reserve melt in the sunlight of the house.

One of the most delightful incidents in Mrs Graham's life of service was a chance contact she made in the main street of Kalimpong Bazaar one evening just as dusk was falling. She encountered a young Bengali student called Bhattarcharya who had walked from Darjeeling to Kalim-

pong and was seeking shelter for the night. Mrs Graham approached him and said: "How nice to see one of our Bengali friends in the hills." He explained his predicament and was immediately taken to the Guild Mission House, where he stayed for about two weeks enjoying the warm hospitality of the Graham family. Mrs Graham showed him the Arts and Crafts work, and Dr Graham took him round the Mission and up to the St Andrews Colonial Homes. The young man left, greatly impressed by all he had seen. He returned to Kalimpong for holidays. He became a successful businessman, obtained an arts degree, and was made an honorary Lieutenant-Colonel commanding a battalion. Then the family lost touch with him until January 1946 when, by sheer accident, Mrs Odling discovered him. She had gone to visit the Bhattarcharya Homes beyond the Burning Ghat on the Hooghly, having heard that they had been started during the Bengal Disturbances and were doing good work. She discovered that the founder was the man who had come to Kalimpong years previously, and had been accepted as one of the family.

During the Bengal Disturbances, Bhattarcharya had been so distressed at the suffering of the children that he bought a piece of land and quickly built *bashas* or simple cottages; he then sent lorries from his factory to pick up the orphans and the children who were dying. He had in his mind the model of the St Andrews Colonial Homes, and remembered what Dr Graham had told him about the cottage system and the dignity of labour. In 1946 he had one hundred and seventy children there. Mrs Odling has described his work in this way:

> 'I have seldom been more impressed than I was by this orphanage. It has the seeds of being one of the main practical solutions of India's agricultural future. The orphanage is based on a homely agricultural atmosphere. All the children at present between the ages

> of 4 and 14 take an active part in cultivating the farm. They do all their own chores, including cooking, under the supervission of Bengali women " mothers ".'

Mrs Odling described, too, the simple education system introduced by Colonel Bhattarcharya, but which played a part subsidiary to the practical training he gave them. He said to Mrs Odling: " Dr Graham taught me that all children are God's children and we must care for them."

He was further influenced by Mrs Graham in that, although a Brahmin Hindu, he was distressed at the plight of Hindu widows. They had no standing in the family, and although suttee had been outlawed, their lives on the death of their husbands could be described as ' a living death ', for they became virtually the slaves of their mothers-in-law and there was no further happiness for them. Colonel Bhattarcharya remembered Mrs Graham's work among the Nepali women in the Kalimpong Arts and Crafts, so he started similar cottage industries for Hindu widows who were brave enough to break with the family and come to his Home.

In a letter to Mr Odling on 4th February 1946, Colonel Bhattarcharya wrote:

> 'How I wish I could have shown your parents my humble work, the seeds of which they have sown in my impressionable youth. One smile on the face of your mother would have been worth the world to me. I believe they bless me from heaven.'

The Homes still continue, and it is interesting that Colonel Bhattarcharya, as a very old gentleman, was looking for a Christian to carry on his work.

The pages for the greater part of May 1919 are torn from Dr Graham's diary. His wife's death affected him greatly, for she was in the prime of life and had been in the midst of plans for the furtherance of her work in

Kalimpong. Mr James Purdie has written of the days following Katie's death:

> 'And we wondered at the quiet peace that pervaded him through all these days. As days and weeks passed and the loss to him became more real, one could not be alongside him and not be struck with the quiet strength with which he went through it all.'

The morning after Katie's death he was back at his office desk at the usual early hour. He felt he owed such a debt for the great happiness they had had together that he must work harder than ever. Working for others was, he realised, the only way to assuage his grief.

For many great men there is often a woman in the background, and the great man may not realise how she has contributed to the shining of his star. Dr Graham had no such unawareness of his debt, and this is surely why the diary is so mutilated. Undoubtedly, as always, he committed his feelings of deep loss to words, which he later felt were too personal even for the privacy of a diary.

Lord Ronaldshay, an ardent supporter of the Homes, started a movement to build a school and a chapel as a memorial to Mrs Graham. A world-wide appeal was made and the response was immediate and generous. This scheme was a great comfort and strength to Dr Graham, and he himself set about arranging for the erection of the chapel. He always spoke of it affectionately as 'Katie's Chapel' or 'Katie's Church'. He had voluminous correspondence with his friend Mr H. L. Anderson of London, who gave his services freely as architect and designer and who spared no effort to make his plans clear for the builders—almost every stone was detailed. The design was simple and beautiful. When it was finished it was indeed a fitting memorial.

With its delicate grey stone pillars, elegant proportions and high vaulted roof, it is a magnificent house of worship.

The cost was Rs 200,000, or £12,000 and was raised entirely by public subscription. The three beautiful stained glass windows in the chancel—whose subjects are the childhood of Jesus—were the work of Dr Douglas Strachan, one of the greatest artists in the revival of stained glass work which took place in Scotland this century. Because of his interest in needy children, Dr Strachan charged only half his usual rates and also gave a handsome donation. Two of the windows were given by former pupils of the school and the third by Mrs Graham's family. The large west window with three panels, also the work of Dr Strachan, is a memorial to Sir Duncan Carmichael, an outstanding Calcutta merchant of the firm of Messrs Mackinnon, Mackenzie & Co. It was gifted by Sir Duncan's brother James, a Duars tea planter, and his two sisters.

The furnishings were special gifts from friends of the Homes. Two baptistries were installed—one for baptisms of infants and the other for immersion. The second baptistry makes it clear that Dr Graham wanted the chapel to be a truly interdenominational one. The fine carved wood round the chancel was the gift of Mrs Grant of Eastbourne. The organ was presented by Mrs John Swan, and the handsome stone pulpit by the Rev. Dr and Mrs Archibald Fleming and other members of St Columba's Church, Pont Street, London. The beautifully embroidered blue linen cover on the Communion Table was the work of Sir Archy Birkmyre's valet, Mr Redman, and donated by the Birkmyres.

The chapel was opened by the Earl of Lytton, Governor of Bengal, on 24th December 1925. The dedication service was shared by a number of ministers, and Lord Lytton's address was in exquisite taste:

> "In honour of her memory and as a lasting testimony to her untiring energy and unselfish devotion, her friends and admirers decided to construct a chapel for the Homes. . . .

"No worthier memory of Mrs Graham could have been selected, none which could better promote the work to which she dedicated her life. She herself, I have been told, had set her heart during her lifetime upon the construction of such a building as she felt it was the one thing necessary to the completion of their Children's city. It is the memorial, therefore, that she would have chosen. In this building her memory will ever be held dear, and her example shine as a guiding light to future generations of workers and children.

"The architectural beauty of the building, like all true beauty, has been achieved by the simplest means. The materials have been obtained locally, they have been put together under local supervision, by hill masons trained on the spot. . . . It is an offering from Kalimpong to one who won the hearts of all who came in contact with her; it will serve as an everlasting emblem of the spiritual influence which Mrs Graham exercised upon the Homes, and as a symbol of the love and admiration which she inspired."

CHAPTER 6

Moderatorial Year, 1931

Perhaps the greatest honour to befall Dr Graham was when he was called to the Moderator's Chair of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. Dr Graham was the first missionary of the former Church of Scotland to be called to this high office. The circumstances were unique. Dr Archibald Fleming, of St Columba's, London, declined the Moderatorship, having been forbidden to accept by his doctor. On the day on which Professor W. P. Paterson received Dr Fleming's refusal, he was walking homeward along Princes Street, greatly worried about who should now be approached, when suddenly he saw Graham, home on furlough, coming to meet him.

'There came to me a flash of inspiration,' said Professor Paterson afterwards, 'and I said to myself, here's the next Moderator.' Paterson at once captured Graham, took him to his house and offered him the Church's greatest honour. The College of Moderators duly met and Paterson told them that he had already appointed the next Moderator. When they recovered from this shock, they wondered why they had not thought of him before.

Writing in the *Glasgow Herald* in 1931, Dr Norman Maclean said that of his generation Graham was the greatest of the Church of Scotland's sons:

> 'He was born in a great era when the Church was fermenting with new life and stretching out to the ends of the earth. He was spiritually the son of Professor Charteris who infused a new passion of service in the Church of Scotland.'

Dr Maclean recalled that at the first Conference of the Young Men's Guild founded by Charteris, there were three notable youths, John Graham, W. P. Paterson and Cosmo Lang—two Moderators of the Church of Scotland and an Archbishop.

It was appropriate that this honour should come to Dr Graham in 1931, the year when he retired from the Kalimpong Mission after forty-two years of service. Retirement, however, did not involve leaving his beloved Kalimpong, for he was to move up to the St Andrews Colonial Homes to continue to work for the project which was so dear to his heart.

Dr Graham accepted the Moderatorship of the General Assembly with much misgiving, and looked forward to the work involved with trepidation. He was deeply aware of the tremendous honour which had been conferred on him and he felt that he should accept on behalf of all missionaries, many of whom laboured in unpleasant environments without much public recognition of their sacrifices and endeavours. His appointment he regarded, therefore, as a recognition by the Church of the importance of Foreign Missions.

One of his first public engagements on arrival from India was to attend a meeting on 19th May, the day the General Assembly opened, at the Church of Scotland Hall, 22 Queen Street, Edinburgh, where he was presented with the Moderator's robes and a cheque for £596 subscribed by members of the Guilds and others. Miss Lamond, D.C.S., President of the Woman's Guild, robed the Moderate-Designate. The Very Rev. Dr Norman Maclean presided, and he said that they were met to congratulate Dr Graham on his well-merited honour. He continued:

> "Dr Graham came to the Chair at a time when all men's minds were engrossed with the problems of the East. It had been said that 'East is East and West

is West and never the twain shall meet', but Dr Graham had demonstrated how the twain could really meet."

The Very Rev. W. P. Paterson made the presentation, and recalled that fifty years previously he and Dr Graham were workers together in the Young Men's Guild. It was a wonderful thing, he said, to find himself, the oldest surviving ex-Moderator of the reunited Church, welcoming back Dr Graham to take his place as Moderator of that Church.

In his reply, Dr Graham said that he felt grateful for the kindness shown to him when taking up work which was not easy for him, coming from the quiet haunts of the Himalayas into the midst of the grandeur of civilisation of the General Assembly. The lace on the robes was made by those who lived in Kalimpong and was, perhaps, as beautiful lace as they would find in the world. The gift that day was largely the gift of the branches of the Woman's Guild and the Young Men's Guild. When he went to India forty-two years previously there were one thousand young men in St George's Church to say goodbye to him, and now, at the end of the time, he was being robed by the gifts of one thousand branches of the Guilds of the Church of Scotland. He thanked all for their kindness and, quoting from Sir James Barrie, hoped he would be 'worthy of the gown'.

On 28th May 1931, at the Adjournment of the General Assembly, Dr Graham delivered his formal Moderatorial address to a packed gathering. The title of the speech was 'Unto the Uttermost Parts—Christ's Call from Overseas'. He stressed that he was aware that the great honour which had been bestowed on him was a significant expression of the place the overseas activities held in the heart and mind and purpose of the reunited Church of Scotland. His message to the Assembly was based on the idea that the overseas work of the Church was very essential to the well-being of the parent Church. He then

briefly sketched the position in the main mission lands:

> "Every one of them is today in commotion. There is an awakening after slumber and seeming peace of centuries. They are surging and insurgent from new life; they are filled with new emotions and thoughts; waves of unrest, often stormy and violent are passing over them; racial ambition and passions are rising; the boom of the clash of colour resounds from many coasts; there is much of fearfulness and suspicion and even hatred, and other ugly signs of a world at variance and in sore need of peace."

He described the pioneer work in India of Dr Duff, the first foreign missionary sent out by the Church of Scotland, and showed how the influence of the early pioneers had spread so that five million Indians were hearing the name of Christ.

Perhaps the most interesting part of his speech concerned the feeling of unrest in India and the passionate desire for Independence in the hearts of so many Indians. He paid great tribute to the sagacity, integrity and patience of Lord Irwin, the Viceroy, and Mahatma Gandhi, the leader of the Congress.

There had been no more gracious Moderator. He charmed everyone by his warmth and directness. Dr Graham's daughter, Mrs Passy, acted as his lady hostess during the proceedings.

After the Assembly he began the exhausting programme which is the lot of Moderators. His year of deputation work, however, had accustomed him to the triumphant progress he was to make from one end of Scotland to the other.

On 6th June a remarkable Graduation Ceremony took place at Aberdeen University. This marked the five-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Bishop William Elphinstone, the founder of the university. The *Glasgow*

Herald of Saturday, 6th June, described the function as 'one of the most memorable seen at a Scottish University'. Among the distinguished graduands were His Grace, the Most Reverend Cosmo Lang, Archbishop of Canterbury, son of a former Principal of the university, and the Right Reverend John Anderson Graham, D.D., K-i-H., C.I.E., Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. Another was Sir James Colquhoun Irvine, C.B.E., F.R.S., Ph.D., Sc.D., the then Principal of the University of St Andrews. Dr Graham received a D.D.

Following his visit to Aberdeen, the Moderator went to the historic Cathedral of Iona to dedicate a new bell. This was to replace an old ship's bell which had formerly summoned people to worship. Bells on Iona have special significance. The *Oban Times* of 13th June quoted from Adamnan's *Life of St Columba*:

> 'When the holy man was in the Island of Iona he suddenly says to his minister, Diormit, " Ring the bell ". The brethren roused by the sound run quickly to the Church, the holy abbot himself going before. And there on bended knees he says to them, " Now let us pray to the Lord earnestly for this people and for King Aidan, for in this hour they are entering battle ".'

Assisting Dr Graham at the Dedication Service were Dr Neil Ross, who preached in Gaelic, and the Rev. Nevile Davidson of St Mary's Parish, Aberdeen, who was then minister in charge at Iona.

On 7th July Dr Graham attended dinner at Holyrood House. He escorted the Duchess of York to dinner and sat between the Queen and the Duchess. In his diary he related the experience:

> 'Shy! For the first eight to ten minutes spoke to the Duchess. Queen who had been talking to Duke of York said in a deep voice, " Moderator, you are not saying anything to me, but paying attention to

the charming Duchess!" Ice broken, had much conversation with her. Talk with King in smoking room, on India—worried over things.'

On the 8th, at the Royal Reception at Holyrood, Dr Graham's two daughters were presented to Their Majesties by the Marchioness of Ailsa. On the following Sunday Dr Graham preached at St Giles' Cathedral before the King and Queen. His text was: 'Jesus called a little child unto him and set him in the midst of them.' At the conclusion of the service the King was very gracious and commended Dr Graham on planning to return to India at the completion of his Moderatorial year.

In September, Graham was invited to stay the weekend at Balmoral Castle and preach in Crathie. His diary records the events of the two days:

'*Saturday* At dinner sat on Queen's right. All very friendly, especially Duke and Duchess of York. Long talk with the Queen. Told her of Bunty's [his daughter's] gift of Industries cloth. Good long talk with King re India and Mr Gandhi.

'*Sunday* Breakfast with household. When adding last paragraph to sermon after breakfast, Queen sent for me to her private room and to bring cloth. She was most gracious and was charmed with the cloth—asked about school—handed me a packet of photos (her own signed) and showed me round her room. Just got my sermon ready in time. Dr Stirton took all service except second lesson, sermon and benediction. Princess Elizabeth came in at the end of lunch. Darling child. I showed her Mr Purdie's photographs. She took me up to see her nurseries and Princess Margaret Rose's nursery.

'A fine talk on India with the King. I said goodbye to them all in the drawing room about 10.30 p.m. King gave warm expression of interest in work.'

Also in his diary Dr Graham recorded that he had addressed the Kirkcaldy Presbyterian Woman's Guild in Abbotshall Church, and that this meeting had recalled nostalgic memories of the one held in 1888.

Because of the economic crisis in the country and the unrest in Europe, Dr Graham appealed that Sunday, 18th October, be regarded as a National Day of Prayer. In a letter to the Editor of *Life and Faith* he wrote:

> 'An invitation to a Day of Penitence and Prayer is not a call to erect a talisman or a fetish, or to make a gesture of hopelessness, or to resign our responsibilities to a higher Power. It is a call to recollection and self-examination in the presence of God, to an experience of living faith in our loving Heavenly Father and in His purpose of love and goodwill amongst men.'

On 6th November he attended the Guild Jubilee Conference. The conference opened with a service in St Giles', where Dr Warr preached the sermon. Dr Graham was delighted to be able to meet so many old friends and associates in the Guild. On the Sunday he took part in the service in St George's West and at eight p.m. chaired a public meeting in the Assembly Hall where the speakers were Professor Paterson and Eric Liddel.

On Armistice Day he took part in a number of functions, the main one being a meeting in the Usher Hall at which the Duke of York and the Countess of Haddington were present and Sir Ian Hamilton gave the main speech.

In welcoming Dr Graham at a simple ceremony to mark the opening of the new hall for St Leonard's Church, Kinghorn, the Rev. J. M. Stevenson said:

> 'That night they welcomed Dr Graham loyally as Moderator of the Church of Scotland, as chief representative and leader of their church, but even if Dr Graham had not been the Moderator at all, they would still have welcomed him none the less cordially. Dr

> Graham's chief charm did not lie in the fact that he was their Church Leader, but in the fact that he was Dr Graham, himself. No Moderator, at least in recent years, had so won the affection of their people. They respected Dr Graham as a Churchman, they admired Dr Graham as a Missionary, but they welcomed Dr Graham not for any achievements accomplished, nor for any distinctions won, but simply for the lovable, genial personality which had won for him the esteem of the whole church.'

This summed up the feelings of all the thousands of people Dr Graham had met as he travelled the length and breadth of Scotland.

At a farewell function in honour of the Moderator before his return to India, Dr Harvey quoted Dr Neil Munro's lines to exiles:

> 'Fond hearts are ours, although we do not bare them;
> They're yours, and you are ours for evermore.'

In his final address, Dr Graham referred to himself humbly as " a raw man from the Himalayas ". For him, 1931 had been an exacting year, but at the end he had a feeling of duty fulfilled. He was optimistic about the spirit of the Church.

He was excused his full term as Moderator so that he could return to India. He had nevertheless visited as many cities, towns and villages as most Moderators did during their full term. In a letter to Kalimpong the Rev. A. H. Dunnet wrote of the meetings Dr Graham had attended:

> 'What did the Moderator say at all these meetings? Does it greatly matter? He spoke with knowledge always, with rare simplicity and often eloquence of the fellowship of the Church not only in its congregational life, but unto the uttermost parts of the earth. But again it was the personality of the Moderator that

counted always. He never pleaded for the interest of the people in Foreign Missions. That was assured when they shook hands with him and looked into the face of Graham of Kalimpong.'

In December, Dr Graham sent his last greetings to the Young Men's Guild. It was an appeal to them in those days of economic stress to help rally more young men to the cause of Christ: 'You should be the Church's recruiting agency among your peers.' He continued:

'There is in my heart as I write a deep, wistful longing that that long service for Christ's sake were but the beginning instead of coming to an end. The allotted span of the Psalmist's day has been reached by me. Although the average expectation of age is greater now than then, and my own feelings do not yet admit old age, it is good and right that your younger missionaries should now shoulder my share of the allotted work.'

So ended his official connection with the Guild. He had given loyal service, and the Guild in its turn had been true to its promise 'to hold the ropes'. The association had been a happy one, and its fruits were there in the thriving church in Kalimpong.

On 24th January he took part in a service in St George's and met many old friends to whom he had said farewell forty-three years previously.

Before setting out for India he preached in Liverpool Cathedral at the invitation of Bishop Albert. In 1932 it was unusual for a Presbyterian to be asked to preach in an Anglican church, and Dr Graham's sermon gained wide coverage in the English newspapers.

He went from London to Nice. There he dedicated a new church and was present at a Presbytery meeting. When he reached Marseilles he was far from well and on boarding the ship for India was sent straight to bed. In

addition to the sheer exhaustion resulting from his travelling and speaking, he was suffering from pneumonia which developed into pleurisy. He was ill most of the voyage, and when the ship reached Bombay he was transferred to Government House where he convalesced.

Eventually, still weak from his illness, he arrived back in Kalimpong on 18th March. He was home again, but the year had taken its physical toll. He had been honoured by his Church. He had met the greatest in the land, and none who had met him would forget the humility of the man, the twinkling blue eyes, the handshake. He had the ability to make one feel important. Now he had left the honours, the crowds, troubled Europe, for the peace of the mountains; and all Kalimpong welcomed him back, proud that he had won such distinction in his own country. Christians, Hindus, Buddhists and Moslems turned out to honour him on his return. They had given him on loan for a year, but Kalimpong's most famous son was back and the peoples of all communities were glad.

CHAPTER 7

Dr Graham and the Everest Climbers

Due to the fact that Nepal was a closed land, Kalimpong was the starting point of a number of the Everest expeditions. This meant that Dr Graham had close personal contact with some of the most illustrious men in the history of climbing. All the expeditions attended services in the Homes before they left for the mountains. It was a thrilling experience for the children to have sitting in front of them those who were heroes, worshipping and praying with them and asking the blessing of God on their future endeavours.

On 28th March 1922, General Bruce and his party came to Kalimpong. The General inspected the Scouts, Guides, Cubs and Bulbuls. He brought a letter from the Chief Scout, Sir Robert Baden-Powell. The scene and excitement of the day were well described in a letter from Dr Graham to Baden-Powell:

> 'We had a great day at the Homes yesterday with General Bruce and his companions. We haven't had a meeting like it since Lady Baden-Powell and you were here. The girls and boys were tense with enthusiasm and joy and yelled themselves hoarse. You can picture the scene with the whole Everest party on the School Hall platform in front of the Roll of Honour and you can understand the electric condition for those who daily gaze on Kanchenjunga. You, too, know how your old chum of boyhood and in Army Scouting —so big and yet so genial and gentle—would hold the children spellbound when he—the embodiment of "highest" endeavour—read your message to them.'

Dr T. H. Sommervel, who was on the expedition, described their stay in Kalimpong:

> 'Our first day's journey brought us to Kalimpong where Dr Graham and his family entertained us and where the boys of his orphanage gave us a rousing send-off the next day.'

General Bruce failed. Still more bands came; and still the summit was not reached. In 1924 came one of the most famous expeditions under Norton's leadership. General Bruce started off as leader but became ill on the ship and Norton took over. This expedition was small in numbers, but all the climbers were noted and included Irvine, Mallory, Odell and Hingston. Shebbeare was transport officer. Once again a service of dedication was held in the Homes. Graham wrote in his notes:

> 'To embark on this dangerous type of expedition requires more than physical courage. It requires a spiritual basis. The men must feel an all-compelling urge. This was particularly illustrated in Mallory, who was to die along with Irvine. They knew well the risks they ran. On the morning before they left Kalimpong their conversation was not regarding themselves or the mountains. It was of their dear ones they had left behind with much reluctance. But they could not resist the urge to go forward, and although they did not reach the top they were seen 800 feet from it when a mist obscured them. They gained the distinction of sharing the highest grave on earth. Only Irvine's ice-axe was found. Band after band taking their lives in their hands have gone forward in the same spirit.'

Further expeditions came in 1933 and 1936, and there was a reconnaissance expedition in 1935. The 1933 group

under Dr Hugh Ruttledge stayed at the Homes. The leader wrote:

> 'As it happened, the first and second parties left Kalimpong on successive Sundays, and each had the privilege of attending Divine Service at the Kalimpong Homes where Dr Graham has laboured so long and so successfully. The children of the Kalimpong Homes lined the road and gave us a great send-off and everybody pressed round to wish us success.
>
> 'We have very happy and grateful recollections of Kalimpong.'

In an unpublished note called 'The Significance of Everest', Graham, who was always moved by the dedication services, described the excitement at the presence of the expedition in the chapel:

> 'The climbers sat in the Chancel in their travelling kit; two of them read the lessons; the spirit of high endeavour was the prevailing note throughout. There was a felt tenseness of enthusiasm and suppressed excitement among the five hundred boys and girls and the big company of adults, who were manifestly affected by the suggestive stimulus to spiritual thought and inspiration to service from contact with the ideals of the expedition. All of us realised the privilege of their presence.'

The 1938 expedition contained many of the outstanding names in Himalayan climbing. Bill Tilman was the leader and with him were Shipton (on his fourth expedition), Smythe, Warren, Oliver, Odell, and a newcomer to Everest, Peter Lloyd. It was on that expedition that the first photographs were taken of the Yeti's footprints. Before the expedition left Kalimpong, Tilman and Shipton read the lessons at the service in the Katherine Graham Memorial Chapel. Among the Sherpas in 1938 was a

bright young lad who had climbed with the reconnaissance expedition in 1935—Tenzing Norgay.

The expedition had a particular significance for Kalimpong as it was ' the year of the aeroplane '. The Marquis of Clydesdale,[1] a keen flyer, was in charge of a party to fly over Mount Everest at the same time as the 1938 expedition. This project was financed by Lady Houston. They made their headquarters at Purnea in Bihar. Before starting for Everest the Marquis decided to take a short trial trip in his plane towards Kalimpong, the object being to discover if it was a suitable place from which to send his observations of Everest to the climbers in Tibet. Dr Graham's son-in-law, Mr Odling, accompanied him. Before they started from Purnea, Dr Graham, who was there, gave them a message embedded in a soft brick to drop at Kalimpong, and he wired Kalimpong to be on the look-out for its first aeroplane. There was great excitement when the plane appeared and the brick was dropped and the message received.

Dr Graham described the flying expedition in ' The Significance of Everest ':

> ' It was a perfect delight to get inside the circle of that other band whose thoughts were concentrated on the problem of reaching a point 6,000 feet above the top of Everest and of co-operating with the climbers in its conquest. The flight expedition has been ignorantly labelled a stunt. On the contrary, it is a big and noble adventure, a great effort in the interest of wider knowledge and the advancement of air communication, and a contribution of brain and scientific skill, heart and money towards a worth-while and altruistic end. From the outside point of view, the figures who appeal most to the imagination are the two chief pilots, Lord Clydesdale and Mr McIntyre and their observers who will go up in the plane at

[1] Later to become the Duke of Hamilton.

> the risk of their own lives, but behind them is the Flight Commandant and spare pilots, a big band of skilled engineers and electricians, the photograph and film experts, weather observers, fuel suppliers and general organisers, all of whose work is an integral part of the exhibition.'

The first attempt to fly over Everest was not successful and the Marquis decided to try again. But in the meantime the British newspapers had published a telegram stating that the Lamas of Tibet had said that the spirits of the mountains, being angry at man's audacity, would destroy the fliers. Lady Houston was perturbed by this and wired orders for the return of the expedition. As Dr Graham picturesquely put it in his notes:

> 'Like Nelson at Copenhagen who put his telescope to his blind eye and disobeyed the order of the Commander to cease fighting, Clydesdale flew and got perfect observations.'

Dr Graham, through his personal contacts with these mountaineers, saw their endeavours and, in some cases, their sacrifices on Everest as typical of the finest spirit in man. In sermons he often referred to their courage and their spirit of adventure as something to emulate. He stressed the fact that none of the climbers went on their adventures lightly, nor were they seeking personal glory; they were accepting Everest's challenge to man. He saw Irvine's and Mallory's deaths as glorious. Mountaineers, he felt, had a healthier respect for God's creation than any other men.

CHAPTER 8

Graham's Attitudes to a Changing India

On 9th November 1934 Dr Graham delivered a lecture to the Royal Society of Arts, London. In the chair was the Marquess of Zetland, G.C.S.I. The title of the lecture was ' The Education of the Anglo-Indian Child '. It was later published in pamphlet form, reprinted from the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* (1941), on the advice of H.E. Sir John Anderson, O.M., P.C., M.P., who wished it to have a wide circulation. The pamphlet is of particular interest, for it shows that Dr Graham's views on the Anglo-Indians and their future role in India had changed considerably from those of thirty years previously. As in his religious views, there was a broadening of outlook, a more realistic approach to the problem.

Graham traces the origin of the Anglo-Indian community and starts by explaining the term ' Anglo-Indian ', which the community prefer to the more comprehensive ' Eurasian '. He describes the progress of Anglo-Indian education with particular reference to Government interest in it. The Laidlaw Conference of 1910 and the Butler Conference of 1912, which showed beyond dispute that Government was interested in helping the European schools as they were called, are fully described.

Following the Pickford Inquiry of 1918-19 into the state of the community numbering about 20,000 in Calcutta, a Round Table Conference was held where Sir Henry Gidney, the leader of the Anglo-Indian community and himself an Anglo-Indian, came to the forefront as a politician beyond the ordinary. This conference produced the Irwin Report, which gave certain safeguards and protection to the schools.

Dr Graham's pamphlet goes on to describe the ideal type of education and quotes an unnamed Anglo-Indian:

> 'It is essential that the unswerving policy in the future should be to enable the children to obtain the benefit of such education and training as is in harmony with their station in life and will enable them to fight the battle of life efficiently, courageously, and resourcefully. If need be, they should, while young, be removed from the undesirable or insanitary surroundings in which they may happen to live.'

The St Andrews Colonial Homes are then put forward as the answer to the type of education required to make the Anglo-Indian self-respecting, physically fit and well balanced. Graham describes the 'homely' atmosphere of the cottages, the stress on the dignity of labour, the successes the scheme had enjoyed. The products of the Homes had been tested in nursing, at sea, but even more so in World War One, during which a number of them had been decorated for gallantry.

Dr Graham has an interesting section on the 'colour question' and prejudice. He correctly calls the colour question

> 'one of the world's agony corners, surrounded by deadly precipices. Many of us British jib at this corner more than some other nations do. But it has to be turned, and that wisely and sympathetically. Colour prejudice, even in a few, has much to answer for'

—and appeals to the Church and Christians to give support.

He next exhorts Indians to be more considerate to the community:

> 'We plead with you for the Anglo-Indian Community. While we admit and would shoulder our responsibility, we remind you that you have an equal racial relationship. Like ourselves, you have not always

given them their due. We are conscious that they have not always treated you as children should, and that they have too often shown undue partiality towards their Western kin.'

The pamphlet finishes with an appeal to the Anglo-Indians to co-operate with the Indians:

'We ask you to respond with alacrity to every gesture they [the Indians] make and to join wholeheartedly the other communities in helping one another in serving India.'

This advice was sound and a change from the attitudes which were considered acceptable in those days. If the majority of the community had listened and followed his appeal there would not have been such agonies of apprehension among them as Independence loomed nearer.

Even in 1921 Dr Graham, speaking at the Annual Meeting of the Dr Graham's Homes Calcutta Committee, saw the danger of wrong emphasis in the Homes. He said:

"One of the best lessons we can teach the youth of the domiciled community of our achools is to be proud of their Motherland, and to understand and appreciate and co-operate with the other races in the great task which lies before them. An undoubted weakness of the domiciled community in the past has been in cherishing too often the thought that because of blood relationship with the paramount Power, they were entitled to special privileges.

"At the Homes we have sought from the beginning to emphasise the thought of the brotherhood of the people of India."

This was correct in theory, but in fact the St Andrews Colonial Homes trained the children away from India.

"Our object is not to create a little England, or Scotland or Australia in the Himalayas." But with staff pre-

dominantly from those countries, and with a curriculum which was completely British, it was virtually impossible to do otherwise.

A modern standard text-book used widely in India puts it this way:

> 'Another reason for the failure of British educational administration was its inability to bring about a proper synthesis between the East and the West. The missionaries could not do so because of their emphasis on proselytisation, their tendency to regard Christianity and Western culture as inseparable allies, and their inability to look reverently on Ancient Indian traditions and culture. The British officials could have done this; but very few of them saw the desirability of the step and fewer still could feel their way to achieve it. Some were great admirers of Eastern culture no doubt, but more often than not, they lost their sense of proportion and glorified the past in the same way as Indian chauvinists did. However, it was not these Orientalists who set the tune. Educational policies were mostly framed by that large majority of British officials who believed with Kipling that " East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet ".
>
> 'It regarded Indians as " lesser breeds without the law ", sneered at " Babu English ", tried to classify educated persons as " loyal " and " disloyal ", put a ban on the admission of Indians to European clubs and generally created such an atmosphere of reserve and aloofness that a synthesis of cultures became difficult, if not impossible.'

Syed Hussain Bilgrami, an Honorary Vice-President of the Homes (who died in 1926), set down his thoughts as regards the Anglo-Indian community in an undated letter to Dr Graham:

> 'It is difficult to write at length on this subject

without the risk of hurting susceptibilities, but it has always seemed to me that the attitude of Europeans in India towards the Domiciled Community is not what it might be, that without being intentionally unkind it is cruel in its aloofness. I do not think they get the recognition and sympathy to which they are entitled and without which it is difficult to understand how they can build up and maintain the self-respect so essential to the healthy growth of a young community.

'The other Indian communities are, I firmly believe, not wanting in sympathy, but I have no doubt many are deterred by a sense of delicacy from offering help.

'The slow process of fusion that is going on under Pax Britannica in India will one day bring Hindus, Mahommedans, Sikhs, Parsees and Christians together and weld them into one great nation.

'If the Domiciled Community is to form a component element in this process it is for them to decide if they will not throw in their lot with the others and join in all loyal and lawful movements undertaken for the common weal. In any case they cannot, it seems to me, live in perpetual isolation and thrive.'

Through his contact with the Mission and the vernacular schools in the district Dr Graham was unquestionably aware of the problem, but was unable to do very much about it. Not until the end of British rule in 1947 did the Anglo-Indian realise that if he was to stay in India he must begin to identify himself more with the country and the people. Many found this difficult and emigrated to the U.K., Australia and Canada.

Dr Graham was keenly interested in the political movements which were growing in intensity towards the end of his life. Kalimpong, of course, was well away from the busy political scene but he was conscious of the serious nature of the demands for Independence. He had nothing but admiration for Mahatma Gandhi and always referred

to him in his notes with the greatest respect. Gandhi's philosophy of life—his non-violence, his simplicity and his devotion to God—was much in tune with Graham's own beliefs. He knew that the Indians felt capable of ruling and looking after their own destiny—for someone who lived most of his life at the height of British Imperial power, he was remarkably realistic in his views. It would be true to say, however, that he feared for India and saw the threat of India's withdrawal from the Empire with the gravest misgivings.

At the 23rd Calcutta Dinner on 3rd June 1930, at which he was the chief guest, Graham said in the course of his speech:

> " We meet tonight with a deep sorrow in our hearts —sorrow most of all because of the signs of an increasing loss of faith in Britain on the part of the India which we love. Our chief quest must be to find the secret for winning back its confidence. At such a time where there is the temptation to give way to resentment and the advocacy of the policy of ' a tooth for a tooth ' as we hear of the excesses of ignorant mobs goaded on by the exaggerations and untruths of unscrupulous or irresponsible agitators.
>
> " ' Lifting upward ' has been, with all our faults, the underlying desire of the real Britain in the past as it is its declared policy today, even to raise India to a place of equal privilege and power in the League of the British Empire. We yearn for a happy issue out of the present turmoil not only for our own sakes but for India's sake, the Empire's sake and the world's sake.
>
> " It would indeed be a disaster of Himalayan proportions if India were to withdraw. Her defection would retard, perhaps for centuries, that world federation which is the goal of our fondest dreams and towards which the British Empire represents the biggest step forward. What can we who live in India do? We can

do much. The problem is largely a psychological one, the recovery of that confidence in us which will make India want to maintain the family relationship. Confidence rests on respect, and that is not gained by weakly abandoning reasoned judgement and right principle, any more than by reliance upon mere repression. Neither course could for long hold the best minds of India."

Dr Graham did not have a very high opinion of Mr Jawaharlal Nehru, President of the predominant Congress Party. In a broadcast made in Wellington on 4th July 1937, he had this to say of Nehru's role in Indian politics:

"Personally he is a man of great ability who was educated in an English Public School and University and has become imbued with extreme socialistic and communistic principles. He is strongly hostile to all religion. One feels, however, that with a Hindu and Mohammedan India which is religious—it may be often in a formal way—with Mr Gandhi who is notoriously guided by religious thoughts, with Mr Ambedkar, the able leader of 60 millions of the depressed classes, and with the inclusion of the Native States in the Federation, Nehru's proffered track through the present seemingly political maze is not likely to be followed. We of the British Race can only hope that, as so often in the past we have by our horse sense blundered through, India will still become as an absolutely equal co-partner in a greater Empire that is to be."

Graham had recently read Nehru's autobiography, parts of which had impressed him, but his assessment of him was perhaps not quite accurate. To say he was hostile to religion was scarcely true; Nehru realised the depth of religious feeling in the Indian people and therefore never made an issue of his own lack of religious belief. True, Nehru was responsible for the establishment constitution-

ally of India as a secular state, which was his answer to the diverse religious problems of his country. He was the realist who countered the idealism of Gandhi. India's destiny was in the hands of these two dissimilar men.

By suggesting in his Wellington broadcast that India and Britain should be co-partners in a greater Empire, Graham probably meant that some kind of political freedom be given to India within the framework of the Empire. It is doubtful if he was looking forward to India having independent status within the Commonwealth.

Many of Graham's political views were coloured by his association with Rabindranath Tagore, whose son had a home in Kalimpong and who was a frequent visitor to the town. The two old gentlemen had long discussions about politics and philosophy. They had a healthy respect for one another's views. Dr Graham often quoted from Tagore's poems. His main contact with the poet had been in 1938, when Tagore came to Kalimpong to recuperate after a serious illness; from Kalimpong, indeed, he broadcast his seventy-seventh birthday message. When Dr Graham was ill in the same year Tagore called on him.

In 1941 Tagore died, and Dr Graham paid a glowing tribute to him not only as a poet but as musician, preacher, politician and educationist. His school and college at Shantiniketan (Home of Peace) were to become world-renowned.

Tagore was a proud and ardent nationalist. His nationalism, however, had nothing narrow or selfish about it but was full of lofty idealism, which Graham appreciated:

> 'For him India is not merely the motherland of the nationalist; she represents a great spiritual principle, viz. the fundamental human unity of the diverse people who, whether as original inhabitants, immigrants or conquerors, have made their home on her soil.
>
> 'Above all freedom for India was for Tagore the

freedom of her common people from oppression and injustice, foreign or native. . . .

'He hated the cowardice of the weak as much as he hated the arrogance of the strong, but he was always on the side of the weak against the strong. . . .

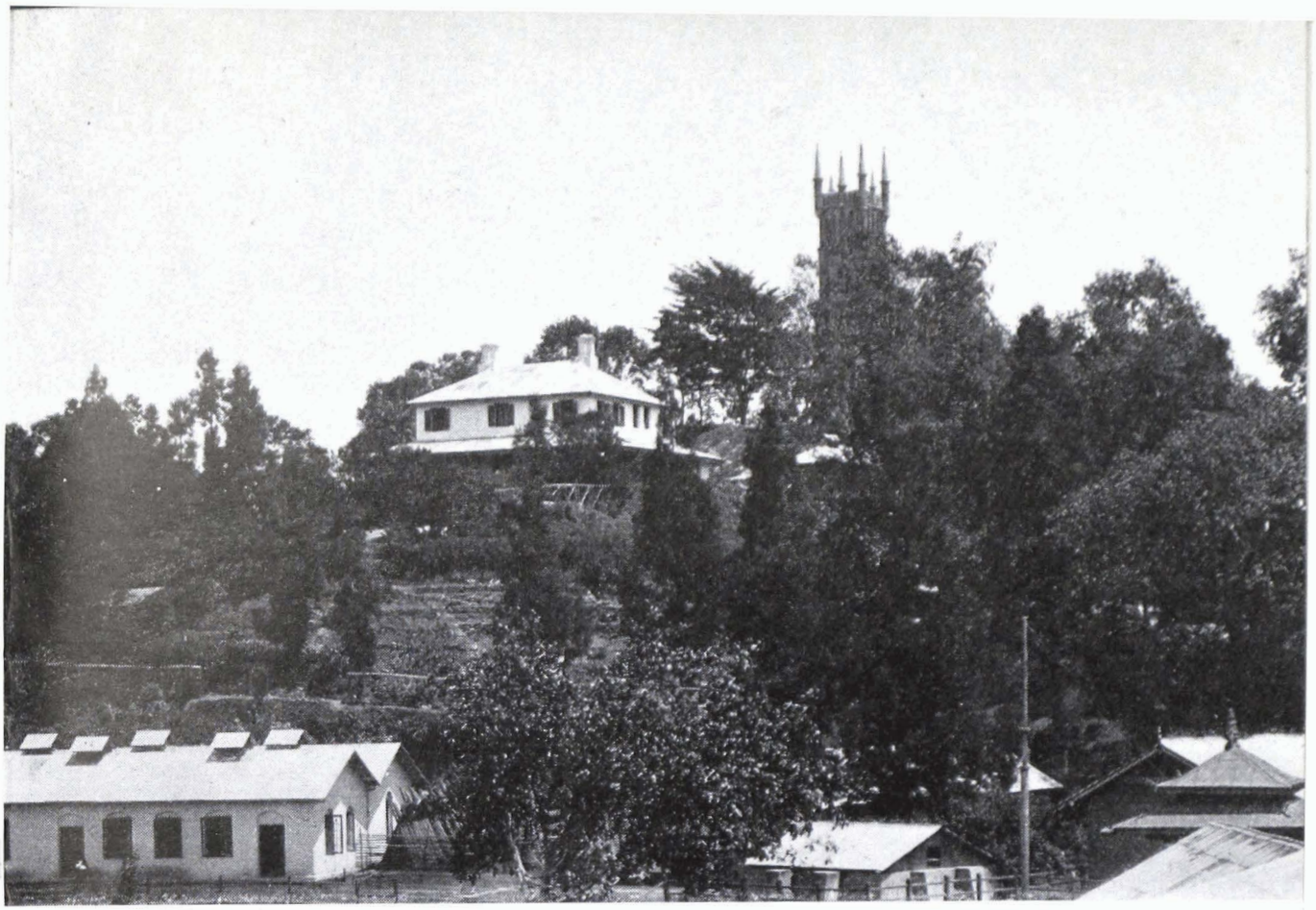
'Tagore's nationalism is really his humanism applied to India and his poems of nationalism are more aptly described as poems of humanism. He held that the Indian problem was a part of the world problem, and the advice he gave to Indian nationalists contained the following significant words:

> '"The moment is arriving when you also must find a basis of unity which is not political. If India can offer the world her solution it will be a contribution to humanity. There is only one history—the history of Man. All national histories are merely chapters in the larger one."'

The poet died full of faith and hope for the world. In his *Gitanjali* (Song Offering) of many years previously, he wrote:

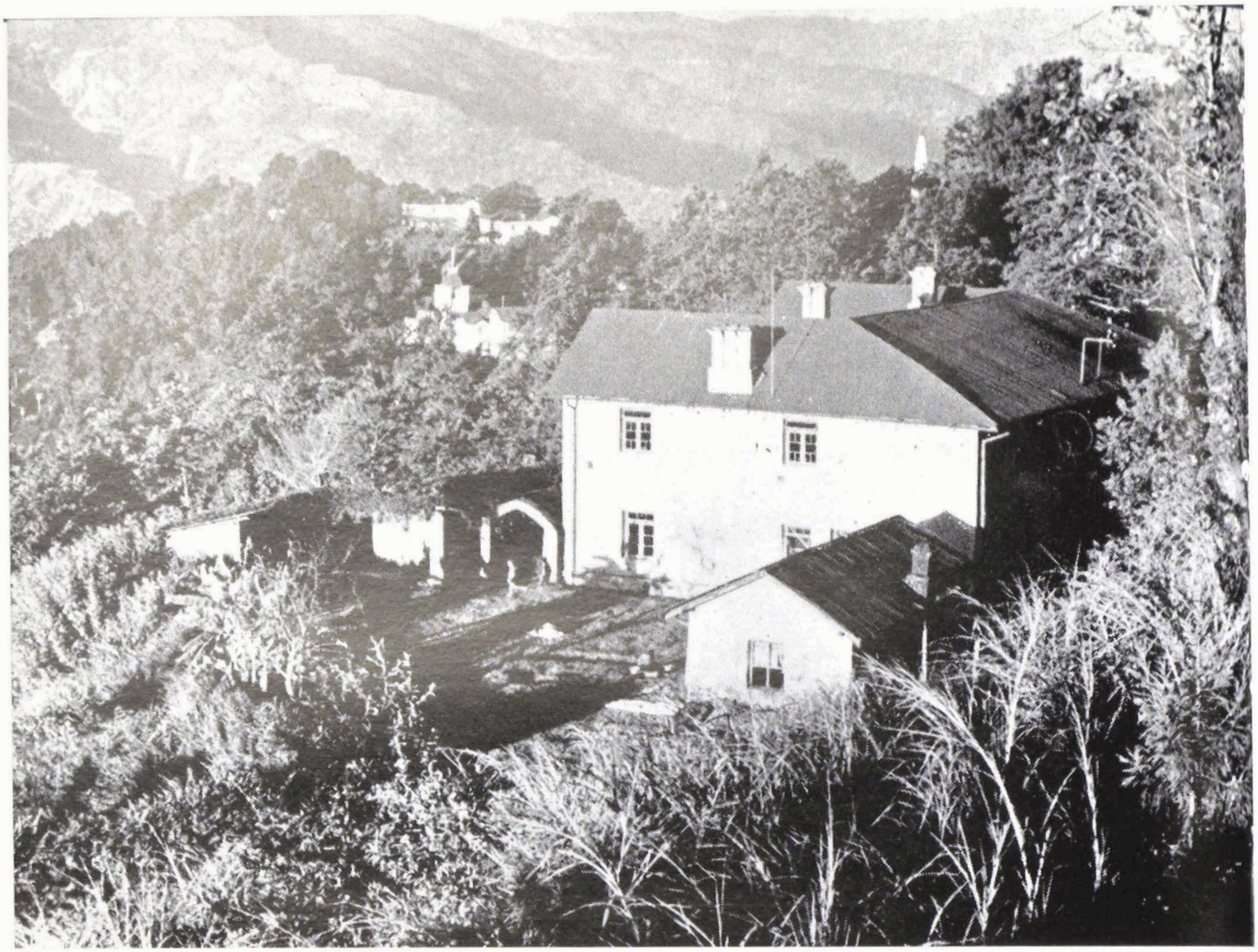
> 'A summons has come and I am ready for my journey. At this time of my parting, wish me good luck, my friends. The sky is flushed with the dawn and my path lies beautiful. I shall put on my wedding garland. The evening star will come out when my voyage is done and the plaintive notes of the twilight melodies be struck from the King's gateway.'

Dr Graham knew the *Gitanjali* well and often quoted some of the beautiful thoughts conveyed by the poet. The two men growing old together had much in common, their love of and belief in humanity being their closest bond. The ideal behind Shantiniketan, too, appealed to Dr Graham. In his appreciation of the poet he quoted



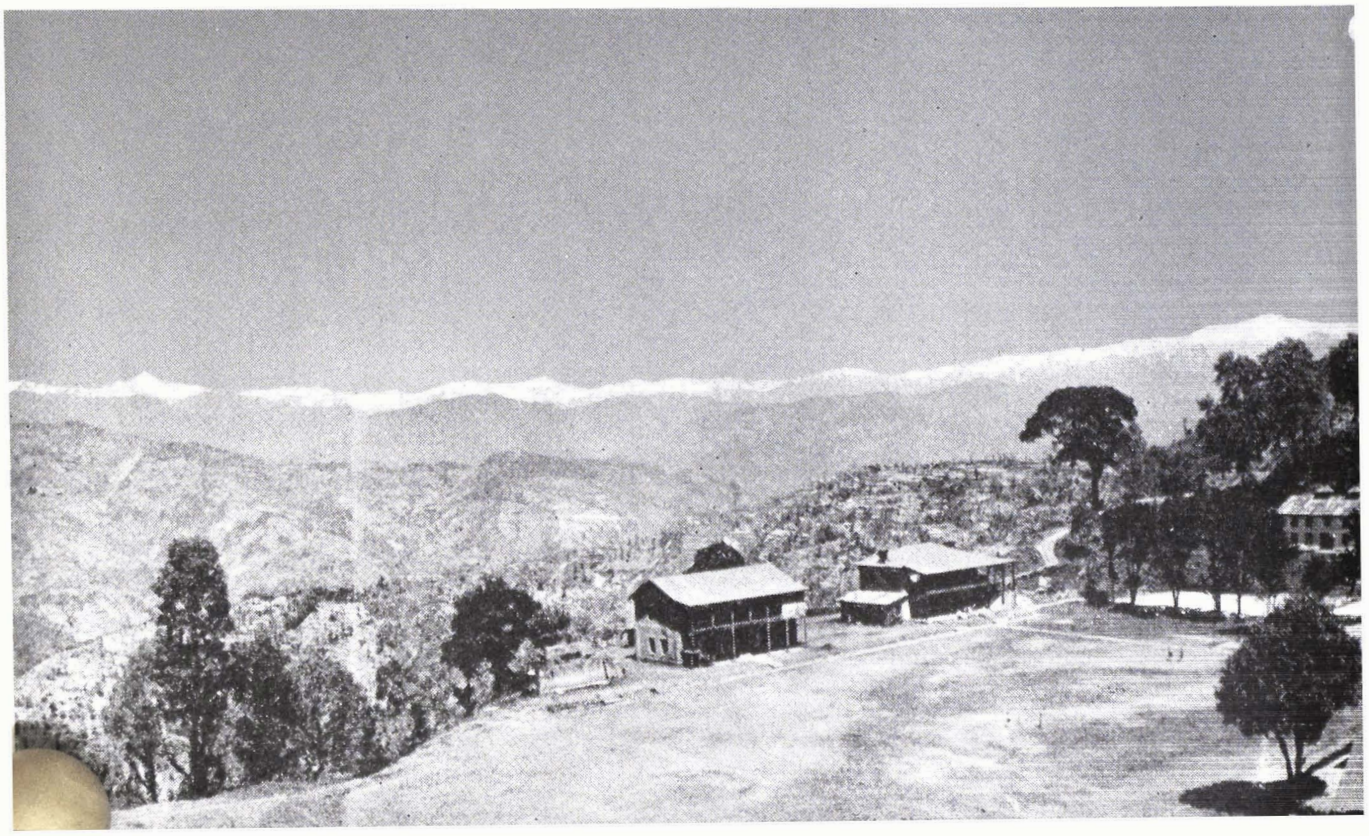
The Mission House. In the background is the Macfarlane Church; in the foreground, part of the Industries

Kalimpong bazaar



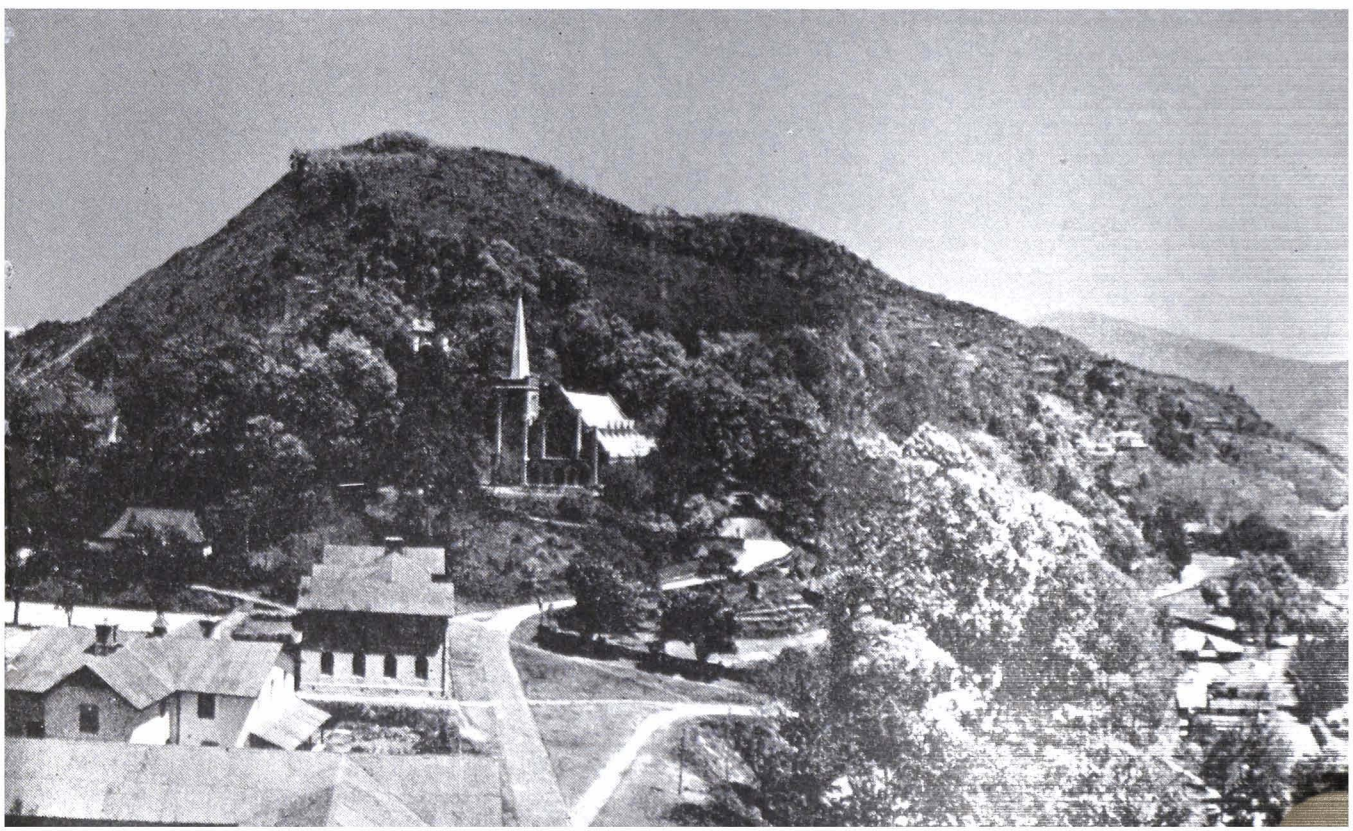
Some of the cottages

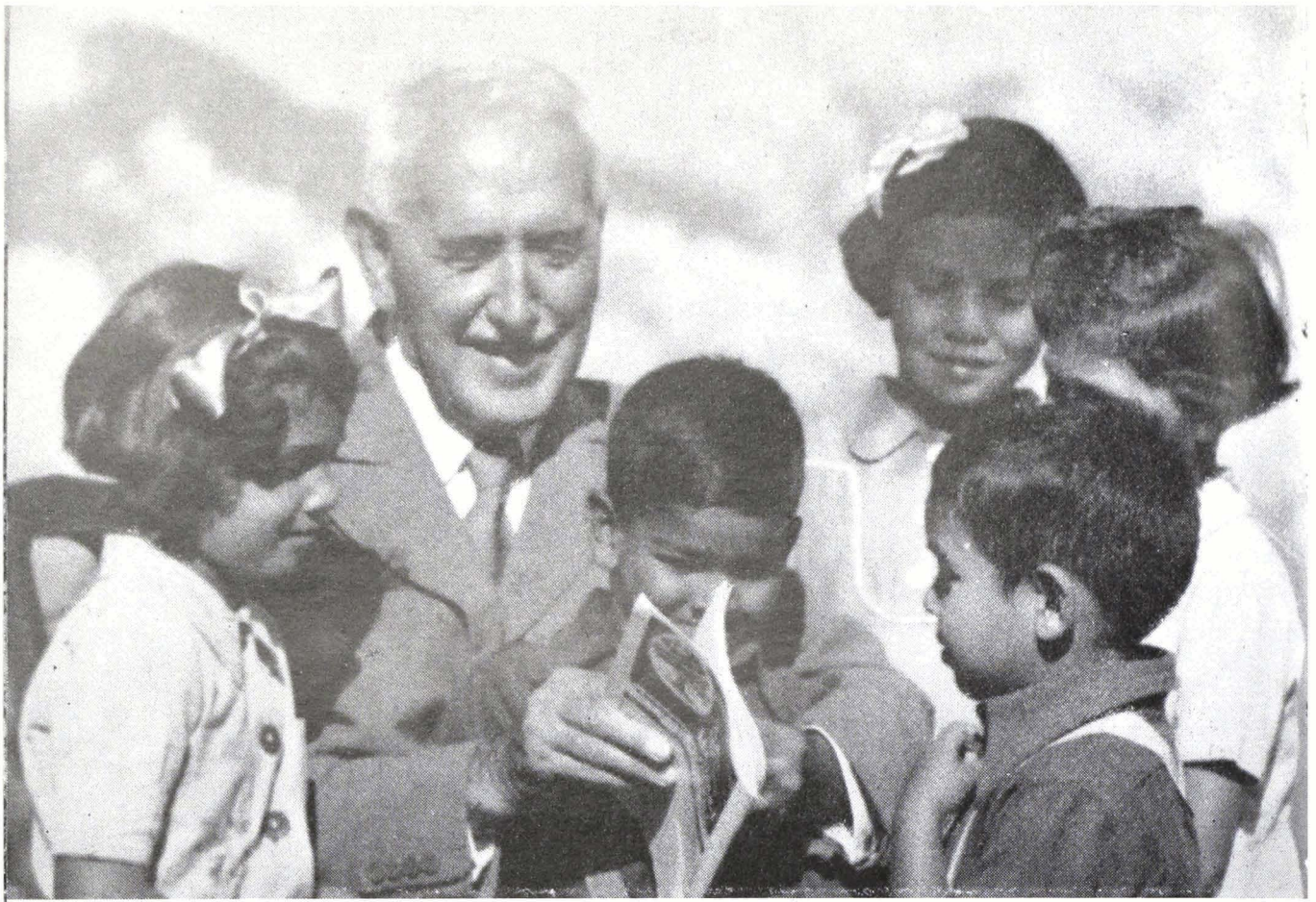
Kalimpong panorama, looking towards Tibet



The school block. On the hillside is the Katherine Graham Memorial Chapel

-taken from the MacRobert tower of the school





Mr James Purdie—Dr Graham's right-hand man

Welfare Centre—family planning day. The Girls' High School is in the background

from the *Gitanjali* Tagore's beautifully expressed feelings after the death of his wife and dear ones:

> ' " Death, thy servant is at my door. He has crossed the unknown seas and brought thy call to my home.
>
> The night is dark and my heart is fearful. I will take up the lamp, open my gates and bow to him my welcome. It is thy messenger who stands at my door.
>
> I will worship him with folded hands and with tears. I will worship him placing at his feet the treasures of my heart.
>
> He will go back with his errand done, leaving a dark shadow on my morning, and in my desolate home only my forlorn self will remain as my last offering to thee." '

How much the poet's philosophy was in tune with his own is seen from this extract from Tagore's essay ' Personality ', quoted by Dr Graham:

> ' " Religion is not a fractional thing that can be doled out in fixed weekly or daily measures as one among various subjects in the school syllabus. It is the truth of our complete being, the consciousness of our personal relationship with the infinite; it is the true centre of gravity of our life. This we can attain during our childhood by living in a plane when the Truth of the spiritual world is not obscured by a crowd of necessities assuming artificial importance; where life is simple, surrounded by fullness of leisure, by ample space and pure air and profound peace of nature, and where men live with perfect faith in the eternal life before them." '

Through his contacts, then, with Tagore, through his admiration for Gandhi, Graham's views on Independence became more liberal. In 1931 he said:

> ' Those fired with the passion for freedom in whatever sphere are not usually content with any pace short

of a gallop, and are tempted to take hazards, to be indifferent to time and tide; while those in power are tempted to walk with undue deliberation and undue dread of the dangers of a new road. But our role here is not to be assessors in the political sphere, or judges of the motives of the contestants, or prophets of the " how and when " the struggle in India will end. But we do hold a commission to express our opinions on the spirit in which it should be carried on. We who represent the Church must urge that the only basis on which a lasting settlement between India and Britain can come is the spirit of Christ, as expressed in the Golden rule. Hard staring egoism on either side can only bring disaster. There is not one morality for the individual and another for the nation.'

We can imagine Graham echoing Tagore's sentiments:

'Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;
Where knowledge is free;
Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;
Where words come out from the depth of truth;
Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;
Where the mind is led forward by these into ever widening thought and action—
Into that heaven of freedom, my father, let my country awake.'

Dr Graham naturally took an interest in Anglo-Indian political affairs. Sir Henry Gidney, who had become the leader of the Anglo-Indian Community through his chairmanship of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association, All India and Burma, pursued a new line in

that he fought for Anglo-Indians on the grounds that they were natives of India and therefore their rights were fundamental. This was a view which most Europeans found difficult either to understand or accept.

The Government of India Act following upon the Montague Chelmsford Reforms became operative in 1921, and in that Act the community gained some recognition and protection as an Indian minority group. After the Irwin Pact, the next important date was 1935, when in the new Government of India Act the community were safeguarded and the description 'Anglo-Indian' was legally defined. Sir Henry Gidney's fight for the rights of the Anglo-Indian community was to have far-reaching results in 1947 when India gained her Independence.

CHAPTER 9

The Twilight Years

In 1937, at the age of seventy-six, Dr Graham started off on a world tour. His health had recently caused concern, and his doctor thought that a sea voyage would force him to rest. Dr Graham's idea, however, was that this was to be his last visit to his ex-students scattered throughout the Dominions.

He kept two diaries on the trip—a formal one full of details of meetings and contacts, and a much longer one, which he entitled ' Pour les Intimes ', for the family. In the latter diary are all kinds of comments on his fellow-travellers, on the books he read *en route*. Despite advancing age, ' Pour les Intimes ' shows him to be as enthusiastic and young in heart as ever. He deplores the lack of children on the ship: ' There are very few children on board, which makes the ship seem very dull and uninteresting.' Despite his poorish health he played a full part in shipboard life. Mr Spalding, a planter, of Kurmah Tea Estate, related how on a homeward-bound boat Dr Graham had entered enthusiastically into one of the deck games. Spalding, passing, had said in a jocular vein: " Padre, you ought to be more staid." Pointing to his clerical coat which he had placed over the back of a chair, Dr Graham had replied: " Go and reprimand the cloth over there."

On 1st June 1937 the *Maloja* reached Fremantle and a reception committee was awaiting him, including the Press who gave him a big write-up in the *West Australian*. Three days later he went by train from

Perth to Adelaide across the desert. In the more intimate diary he describes the Australians as follows:

> 'I have been agreeably surprised by the universal friendliness and kindness of the Australians. I had thought of some of them as off hand and self-assertive. But I have found them invariably to be the opposite. They not only respond to advances quickly but are on the lookout to be helpful and to speak to strangers frankly on subjects they think will interest. They are full of fun, fond of laughing and leg-pulling.'

He arrived in Adelaide on 8th June after a stop at Port Augusta. The usual reception and meetings were undertaken. One interesting meeting was with Sir Winston Dugan, Governor of South Australia. Graham wrote:

> 'He did not know much of the Anglo-Indian problem but he listened attentively and discussed points as they arose. At the end he said he was convinced that my contention was right; that he will do what he can through the Commonwealth Government at Canberra, to help to get permission for selected Anglo-Indians to enter Australia, and will discuss the matter with his own Ministers. He thought the Governor-General, Lord Gowrie, and the Attorney-General, Mr Menzies, would also approve.'

On 11th June Dr Graham travelled to Melbourne where he stayed with the Moderator-General of the Australian Presbyterian Church, Dr Mackenzie, Minister of Toorack Presbyterian Church, who had arranged a full programme for him. His visits included one to the Archbishop of Melbourne, Dr Dean, and to Government House to meet Lord Caulfield. The Archbishop was not too hopeful that Anglo-Indians would be welcomed into Australia.

From Melbourne Graham flew to Canberra. The

highlight of his visit there was a luncheon engagement with Lord Gowrie and Mr Menzies.

In Sydney, which he reached on 23rd June, he visited the Burnside Homes, which are similar to the Kalimpong Homes in layout and concept. Dr Graham said:

> 'On the whole I think our Homes are on a better basis. I felt that with one or two exceptions the housemothers are not up to ours and I am convinced that our school is much more efficient than theirs.'

He had a very full programme in Sydney and was honoured by the Presbytery.

On 25th June he sailed for New Zealand. The last entry in his diary on that date is: 'I loved Australia.' He reached Auckland on the 28th, but left almost immediately for Wellington, where he was met by a large number of ex-students of the Homes. Lord Galway, the Governor, invited Dr Graham to lunch and was most helpful about admitting more ex-Homes students into New Zealand. He suggested who would be the best people to contact in the Government concerning this vexed question.

From Wellington on 4th July 1937, Dr Graham broadcast to the New Zealand people. He stressed the importance of treating India correctly, otherwise the penalty would be her withdrawal from the Empire when she gained self-determination. Unquestionably the reading of Jawaharlal Nehru's autobiography at that time influenced his thinking a great deal. He was fair-minded enough to see the situation from an Indian point of view and indeed to suggest that all his listeners should read Nehru's book. Then, after outlining the history of the Anglo-Indians and their difficulties and describing the work at the St Andrews Colonial Homes as a solution to the problems, he had a special word for the Maoris:

> "You will get the thrilling suggestive story told by

Mr Mulgan in his and Mr Shrimpton's book with the title *Maori and Pakeha* from which we learn that your and their common ancestors were Aryans and Caucasians, that the two last of three distinct migrations were certainly from India, and the Maoris have among them some with peculiar Mongolian complexion and features. This suggests that you Maoris are blood relations with those Tibetans who live on the roof of the world, and among whom we at Kalimpong are in daily contact.

"India and Tibet then rejoice that the Maoris and Indians and Tibetans are one, for they are proud that the Maoris have shown the other New Zealanders that men are not divided by any colour bar, that the pigment of their skin is due to climatic and other external conditions of the body's environment. They also applaud New Zealanders as the finest people in the world as regards their attitude to colour. And all of us from the Himalaya region, and those of us settled in that land, join heartily in the gratification and applause."

This was a good piece of psychology which must have struck a responsive chord in his listeners.

He finished the broadcast by talking about Everest and the sacrifice that had been made, and about Christ, whom he called the world's greatest climber, for He aimed at reaching the highest, even the perfection of God.

On 8th July Dr Graham left for the South Island where he visited Picton, Blenheim, Christchurch, Waitaki Oamaru and arrived in Dunedin on 13th July. A great number of the Homes' first immigrants came to Dunedin, so Dr Graham spent much of his time visiting them. He was also the guest of Knox College and spoke to the staff and students.

On his return to Wellington, Dr Graham had an interview with the Hon. Peter Fraser, the Acting Prime Minister.

They had a point of contact as Mr Fraser, who was the Minister of Education, was a Presbyterian and a Scotsman. Dr Graham felt that he had a strong argument for asking the New Zealand Government to allow further immigration of Homes' boys and girls because of the great number of ex-students he had met in New Zealand and who were obviously so well and happily settled. Although Mr Fraser was sympathetic, Dr Graham had no great hope of there being a change in the Government's policy.

He then went from Wellington to Auckland, calling at Masterton, Napier, Havelock, Hastings and Rotorua. Everywhere he went he met ex-students, ex-staff members and others. In Auckland there was a huge gathering of ex-students, and by the time he left New Zealand he had seen most of the 119 students who had settled there. The reunions were emotional. He symbolised for them all their past in India. He had given them a chance in life, and now 'Daddy' had come to see them in their new country. How proud they were to show off homes, husbands, wives and children. His visit also brought them nostalgic memories of India, the land of their birth, of Kanchenjunga dominating the Homes which had been their home in the full sense of the word. This kindly gentleman now in the twilight of his life meant so much to them. They revered him and he, despite the fact that the constant journeyings must have tired him tremendously, was delighted with his bairns. The fact that they had integrated and settled so happily in their new environments vindicated his system in Kalimpong.

In a farewell broadcast to New Zealand delivered on 9th August 1937 he put some of his feelings into words:

> "I have had personal contact with nearly all of them and have found them happy in their lives, contented in their work and love of New Zealand; with no desire to return to the land of their birth. I

have also found that they have fully proved themselves as good and helpful citizens."

After saying that fresh applications had been made to the New Zealand Government to allow more girls and boys into the country, he continued:

> "There are many reasons why we are eager to see our children settle in New Zealand. To begin with we believe that it is for these, the best part of the Empire. The atmosphere of the home life is of paramount importance. A people can only be strong if their homes are abodes of harmony, with interdependence and mutual helpfulness, altruism, parity, peace and love. That many homes in New Zealand have these I have found in my experience."

He commented again on the absence of colour prejudice and gave a brief description of the highlights of his visit, on which he had travelled three thousand five hundred miles. He concluded:

> "As I go on tomorrow to Canada and the United States, to visit more of our pupils, and thence to Britain on my way back to India, I would offer thanks to the N.Z.B.C. for this renewed privilege of giving a farewell message, to the splendid Press for its helpful publicity, to the many friends who helped me to fulfil my mission. I would bid an affectionate farewell to the old Boys and Girls who have gladdened my heart and have made me almost wish it were possible to settle with them in these delightful islands."

The New Zealand section of Dr Graham's diary concludes on a sad note, for he knew that this would be his farewell visit to New Zealand and his bairns. The final entry reads:

> 'I almost felt I wished I could stay there beside

them and I wished I could think it likely I would be able to pay them another visit in the future.'

The first part of the world tour was over. Considering his age and his recent illness the busy programme he followed was amazing. He never found it tiring to meet people and talk to them. Conversation came easily to him. However, the many emotional farewells taxed his strength.

On 10th August he sailed on the S.S. *Carangi* for Vancouver, Canada, via Fiji and Honolulu. He was fascinated by the beauty of Honolulu, and from the highest peak he watched the sun rise over the islands. He did not stay long in Vancouver but flew to Chicago. The plane landed at Salt Lake City, and in his diary he made the following comment:

'Then we got to Salt Lake City, it was pouring "cats and dogs" with thunder and lightning. For the second time on my tour I used my umbrella. The thought came to me that either Brigham Young was shedding tears of penitence for all the trouble he had given man in this life with his prophesying, and acquiring a dozen or so of wives; or tears of joy at the thought of the happiness he had given to the numerous members of his harem. We saw no evidence of his presence around the flooded airport.'

After a brief stay in Chicago, Dr Graham flew to New York where he met many Kalimpong friends. From New York he returned to Canada, to Toronto, and to a very busy programme there. The next stop was Ottawa and an interview and tea with Lord Tweedsmuir. They had a great deal in common: both Scotsmen, both Presbyterians, and more than these, both possessing a romantic love of adventure and a great admiration for human courage. Lord Tweedsmuir was particularly interested in Dr Graham's news about Everest and the attempts

that had been made to scale it. Dr Graham recorded in his diary:

> 'I told him the remark made to me by his mother on his "History of the War" when I told her at Broughton that I had read all the volumes as they came out. She said "You read them a'? Gey dry readin'." He laughed heartily and said the remark was just such as she was likely to make.'

After Ottawa, Montreal was the next stop. There he stayed with Dr Donald, the leading Presbyterian minister in the city. The next visit was to Quebec. Dr Graham attended mass in the Notre Dame Cathedral and was impressed by the splendour and pomp, but he felt, to quote his own words, 'that it all seemed outside the example and words of our Lord and contrary to His ideal of real spiritual religion and communion'. In Quebec he met Miss Dow, whose family had given Scottish Canadian Cottage. By this time the entries in both diaries are very brief—an indication that the trip was taking its toll.

Dr Graham left Quebec on the *Empress of Britain* on 11th September, bound for Southampton. The crossing of the Atlantic was rough but, as usual, he looked on the bright side and said that as a result the voyage was more restful. Almost everyone, except for himself, was confined to his cabin with sea-sickness.

The highlight of Dr Graham's stay in the United Kingdom was a large and well-attended public meeting in London, held in his honour in the Skinner Hall, Dongate Hill, on 12th November. The Chairman was the Marquess of Zetland, Honorary President of the London Committee. Tributes to Dr Graham's work and vision from Lord Willingdon and H.E. Sir John Anderson, Governor of Bengal, were read. In the course of his address Lord Zetland said:

> "The chief purpose of our gathering this afternoon

is to extend a very hearty welcome to Dr Graham. With the enthusiasm of youth he has just undertaken a voyage round the world visiting the old children of the Homes, who are now prosperous in many parts of the British Empire—Australia, New Zealand and Canada.

"It has been suggested to me that Dr Graham deserves the title of the 'Dr Barnardo of India'. I would rather put it the other way and say that the late Dr Barnardo deserves to be granted posthumously the title of the 'Dr Graham of England'."

Dr Graham was invited by the Archbishop of Canterbury to be one of the main speakers at a public meeting in London at which His Grace was to make an appeal for funds for Anglican Anglo-Indian schools in India. Dr Graham had to decline the invitation as he was due to sail for India before this meeting. However, he left a message to be read, the crux of which was concerned with the political changes taking place and the part the community would be called on to play in the future:

'The Government Grants to Anglo-Indian Education have been significantly stabilised. The community has been recalled to an attitude of self-reliance and to play a worthy part with the larger communities. Indian political leaders have lately given striking testimony to their respect for individual Anglo-Indians and their faith in the future of the community as a whole. The whole environment seems to have become more hopeful, and this is an additional argument that British people throughout the Empire should, by improving the standard of the Anglo-Indian Schools so that they should be still more helpful, to enable the community to utilise more fully that wonderfully rich inheritance they have in their double inheritance. They have in their double descent that which fits them to function

as invaluable mediators between the other communities.'

In fact, ' mediators ' is just what the Anglo-Indians could never be, because all the Anglo-Indian schools of those days taught their children that their heritage was from the West.

The community itself was too confused to know what was best for it. As the days of the Raj became numbered, so the fears arose that despite constitutional safeguards, they would have no future in India. It is to the lasting credit of statesmen like Nehru, Patel and others that safeguards were written into the Constitution to protect not only the Anglo-Indian but all minority communities. As a result of this the Anglo-Indian schools, the Christian religion and the English language were to be protected. In the early days of Independence there were no Hindu or Hindu chauvinists in evidence, and commonsense prevailed.

Before Dr Graham left England he made a last broadcast. He started his talk:

> " This old Scotsman of seventy-six years of age, who is talking to you from Broadcasting House, has just been round the world visiting his children who have left the family home." [1]

[1] He ended the broadcast by saying: " Now while our Kalimpong migrants all become fond of their new homes, whether in this country or in some other part of the Empire, they are not unmindful of the Himalayas from which they came. This is a great help for it gives them the link and the strength which come from the joy of common stock. This reacts for good upon their whole life and work. Their loyalty to and love for their old school were proved by their handsome gifts towards the cost of the reopening of Mansfield Cottage which in the years of monetary scarcity had to be closed. Its upkeep of thirty-two needy little girls of their own community is guaranteed by our old pupils throughout the world.

" And so the grown-up members of my big family in India are helping to look after the younger ones. It is good to be called the father of such a family."

On 3rd December Graham left Britain for the last time. His pilgrimage of love was almost completed. He had said good-bye to the majority of his family overseas and now he was returning with great thankfulness to his Himalayan eyrie. There was still work to be done there. His jubilee was approaching. However, by this arduous tour he had proved that he had some years of service left. He travelled overland through France, a country he loved, and caught the ship at Marseilles. On 16th December 1937 he arrived back in Bombay.

In February 1939 Dr Graham completed fifty years of service in Kalimpong and India, and messages of congratulation and goodwill poured in from all parts of the world. Many and glowing were the tributes paid to him, but perhaps the most touching tribute on Dr Graham's Jubilee was a description of Dr and Mrs Graham by the Rev. Targain, the Pastor of the Christian congregation at Kalimpong. It was sung, bit by bit, in serial order by four bands of the Christian community, in four different languages—Lepcha, Tibetan, Nepali and English. Part of the address was:

> "When those two arrived from Home, they both had on white clothes. They had no children with them. The Padre Sahib always wore spectacles, and for that reason many of the intelligent people here used to call him ' the four-eyed Sahib '.
>
> "About six months after their arrival from Home, those two—the Memsahib and the Padre Sahib, having got to know something of the language by sheer effort, began with some difficulty to put their hands to the work of the Gospel of the Lord.
>
> "Even if the Padre Sahib were to leave us, his name and the virtues of his work will endure. Elephants and birds always have tails attached to them and even if the Sahib were lost a thousand years the high rank of his virtues is assured."

In a special appeal sent out to the wide circle of Dr Graham's friends, a Committee was set up.[1]

The Rev. Robert Stevenson, D.D., in an invitation pamphlet for the opening day of the new house, wrote:

> 'To the rest of the world he may be the Very Reverend Dr Graham, C.I.E., ex-Moderator of the General Assembly. To the members of his world-wide family of the Homes he is just "Daddy"; and it may be guessed that he regards this as the prouder title of the two. In Dr Graham's life these have made themselves at home, "Faith, hope and love—these three", but the greatest of those has been love.'

On Saturday, 25th February 1939, the handsome Jubilee House was formally opened by Dr Graham's friend and

[1] The Committee contained such famous names as the Most Hon. The Marquess of Zetland, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Sir John Anderson, O.M., P.C., G.C.B., G.C.I.E., Bishop Foss Westcott, Metropolitan of India, The Maharajdhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, G.C.I.E., The Lord Maclay of Glasgow, The Lord Polwarth, H.E. Sir Robert Reid, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Alexander R. Murray, K.C.I.E., C.B.E., and the Raja Sonam Tobgay Dorji, and expressed its aim as follows: 'The ten districts of Northern Bengal, the Hill Peoples of the Eastern Himalayas and above all, the Anglo-Indian and domiciled Communities are deeply in his debt, and there must be many who would wish to mark the occasion of his jubilee by subscribing to an object that will be of service both to Dr Graham personally, and to Kalimpong.

'Dr Graham has expressed a wish, while divesting himself of the more workaday burdens of administration, to pass the remainder of his life close to the children of the Homes; it seems to us most fitting on this occasion to provide Dr Graham with another house where he could live, less centrally but still near to those to whom he has given so much of his life, after making over Graham House to the full-time Superintendent whose selection and appointment are now under consideration.

'Such a project, while preserving to the Homes, in Dr Graham's continued presence, a gift of incalculable value, would at the same time be an expression of personal gratitude to him in a form which we believe he would deeply appreciate. The House would in due course revert to the Homes as an asset of permanent value.'

admirer, the Most Reverend Foss Westcott, Metropolitan of India. There was a presentation of ceremonial scarves and speeches by representatives of all the communities in Kalimpong. The rest of the day was devoted to a programme of national dances and a concert in the evening.

Rather reluctantly Dr Graham withdrew into his new home. He had been very happy in Graham House and felt that the new house, beautiful as it was, was "on a shelf", as he put it, and that he was being edged out of things.

The search began for a successor. In 1933 it had been tactfully suggested to Dr Graham that one should be looked for, but in a letter written to Sir John Cumming on 5th July 1933 Graham wrote:

> 'I am keenly aware of the advantages of getting a suitable man on the spot to take over the work when we old men drop out. But so far no one seems to have appeared on the horizon. My reading of such a situation is that there is most likely to arise a successor from among those actually engaged in the work than by going about deliberately beforehand to appoint one de novo. . . .
>
> 'I am thankful to say I feel very well these days and do not find the work a burden and of course can give much more time than formerly to the work of the Homes.'

What was obviously worrying Sir John was that the organisation had grown to such an extent that it was imperative while Dr Graham was alive that someone should be appointed who could be guided, helped and trained by Graham.

In a pamphlet sent out to the committees in 1938 the following qualifications were suggested by Dr Graham as being desirable in the Superintendent:

> '1. A Christian gentleman.

2. A man who feels a call to take up the work and is interested in the Anglo-Indian problem.
3. A man who will be full-hearted on the spiritual side of the work as well as on the physical and intellectual.
4. A love of children.
5. A good mixer, brotherly and broad minded.
6. A man who will lead rather than drive, serve rather than rule.
7. A good head for business, and with some administrative experience if possible.
8. If a clergyman of any denomination, not a narrow ecclesiastic.
9. Previous experience of India would be a valuable asset, but is not essential.'

As the leaflet said, it might not be possible to find such a rare combination of virtues in any single individual, but Dr Graham's views afforded a valuable indication of the type of man required as his successor.

Graham had in fact one possible candidate in mind. On 10th October 1937 he had written to Dr H. T. Somervell, whom he admired tremendously, suggesting that the famous mountaineer might take over the running of the Homes when he retired:

'For several years the best friends of the Homes have been urging that a colleague and successor to myself should be appointed as Superintendent of the Homes. I have now passed my 76th year. A number of men have been considered, but no one who was thought suitable has so far emerged. Now that your name has been mentioned there is the unanimous and enthusiastic hope that you will feel drawn to carry on the work.

'When I heard of this in New Zealand I felt that you with your love of India, your knowledge of Kalim-

pong, your missionary outlook and notable career, were above all the most suitable person in the world.'

Although he was interested, Dr Somervell was too involved in his medical mission work in Travancore, so he declined the invitation.

The outbreak of World War Two was once again to bring a difficult period to the Mission and the Homes. The early years of the war caused difficulties in staffing and finance. The German U-Boat campaign made it dangerous for any movement of non-service staff from the U.K.

The entry of Japan into the war and the lightning conquest of most of South East Asia brought the Japanese to the gates of India. Kalimpong became a leave centre for troops, and lavish was the hospitality given to hundreds of servicemen on leave from units in India and Burma.

As in World War One, Homes boys rallied in great numbers to the colours, not only in India, but in New Zealand, Great Britain and Australia. They joined all branches of the forces, and in 1941 the magazine of that year records that parcels had been sent to 164 boys serving with the forces in Iraq, Egypt, Sudan, Scotland, England, Malaya, Eritrea, Burma, Andamans, Basra, and in the Merchant Navy, the Royal Indian Navy and twenty-seven stations in India. Once again the Homes boys acquitted themselves well in the arena of war. Nine lost their lives, seven won decorations or were mentioned in dispatches.

Dr Graham unfortunately did not live to see complete victory over the Axis. In May 1940 he had a series of three heart attacks in four days and was convinced that his end had come. Each time he sent farewells and blessings to his relatives and friends. On 20th May he wrote to his son, Dr David Charteris Graham, who was in practice in Selkirk, telling him about his attacks and asking for advice. He told his son that he thought indigestion was the reason, although how this would account for the

struggle for breath which was the main feature of the attacks one could not understand. The attacks were serious. He wrote:

> 'At the end I longed for death to deliver me from my struggles. I was praying for life too and so were the others for me. The attacks came on at night and I was surprised to find myself alive in the morning.'

His mind, too, became hazy and he found concentration difficult. He insisted on taking services, and these proved a real ordeal for the family, as they were never quite sure what he would say next. The staff and children did not mind. They knew 'Daddy' was growing old, and as long as his blue eyes continued to twinkle from the pulpit that was all that mattered.

CHAPTER 10

Dr Graham's Death and an Assessment of His Career

Kalimpong, 15th May 1942—one thought is in every mind, one phrase on all lips: " Dr Graham has gone."

All the morning his friends came to the quiet room in Crookety, his youngest daughter's house, where he lay, to look at him and to show their love, some with flowers, some with ceremonial scarves. Men, women and children came from long distances, from the scattered congregations in the valleys.

In the afternoon came the procession from Crookety to the town, the road lined with an astonishing concourse of people. His beloved friends from the neighbouring *bustees* filled the streets and windows, great numbers of them determined to see the procession, climbing banks, trees, walls, anything so that they could get a view. He would have liked that.

Then came the ascent to the MacFarlane Memorial Church, the centre of the Mission compound, where the great work of Dr and Mrs Graham had started. The procession passed the buildings which were memorials to the work: the Kalimpong Arts and Crafts, the Nepali Girls' High School, the Guild Mission House and, just beyond the church, the busy Charteris Hospital, and the Nepali Boys' School, known as the Scottish Universities Mission Institute.

The service in the MacFarlane Church was in Nepali. Then the procession re-formed and started on the last stage of its journey up to the Homes cemetery. At the

foot of the hill, the lamas from the Kalimpong Gompa were there to pay their tribute. They formed a beautiful group of maroon-clad figures, some carrying cylindrical banners with pennons fluttering, others blowing their copper horns and beating their drums, a salute to their friend and to the God whom both he and they served. In his later years Dr Graham had developed the habit of kicking aside stones which he came across on the road. A walk with him was a hazardous expedition. Dr Graham's daughter Betty was walking with him down a short cut and he was indulging in his favourite pastime, when they met an old retired Gurkha N.C.O. Betty remarked on her father's strange habit and stated that she wished she could restrain him. But the Gurkha replied:

> "Oh, Memsahib, don't prevent Baji [Nepali: 'old man'] clearing stones off the road. The lamas in their monastery thank God in their prayers for his *dhurrum* [piety] in clearing the roads of stones and thereby aiding all those who walk thereon. They say that it is a manifestation of his whole life in that he has always assisted his fellow-men along the road of life. Now that he is old and the remaining span of his life is short, he feels he must use all his energies to make the way easier for the poor and needy. Thus does he bring enlightenment wherever he walks. With all humble people he has a great reverence for other people."

Next the procession ascended the road to the Homes. Several times there were halts as friends from little wayside shops and houses came out bringing flowers, scarves, salaams, love and respect. Up the winding road to his own Homes and his children. The Katherine Graham Memorial Chapel was empty when the cortège arrived. Great sheaves of white lilies and foxgloves were the only decoration, and the glory of the stained glass windows glowed in the afternoon sun. Then came the whisper of

innumerable bare feet walking and trotting up the aisles; his children were coming to be with him for the last time.

The service, so right for him, so expressive of his way of religion, was short and very simple. His favourite hymn, 'O Love that wilt not let me go', was never sung with more feeling. Then, carried by his friends, his body was borne to the little cemetery where his wife was buried.

The children, from the youngest to the oldest, walked past the grave and each one dropped in a flower. Then followed floral tributes and more scarves from the adults. There were representatives from the Bhutan and Sikkim Durbars.

And, finally, for his friends and his children, the countless members of his world-wide family, a great sense of thanksgiving from full hearts for that life of courage, faith and love.

Tributes poured into Kalimpong from all over the world. The Queen sent the following telegram:

> 'I have learnt with great regret of the death of Dr Graham, and send to you all my deep sympathy on the loss of one whose wonderful work for the Anglo-Indian comminity will ever be remembered.'

Sir Charles Bell wrote on 21st June 1942:

> 'I once asked Raja Ugyen, a leading Bhutanese Buddhist, what he thought of Padre Graham Sahib. He sighed and replied, "A lamp in the darkness".'

The Press in Great Britain and India gave large coverage to Dr Graham's death. 'Nothing seen at any of our other stations in India,' wrote Dr J. N. Ogilvie, 'compares with Kalimpong in the wide range of its operations, and the rich provision made for carrying them on.' Regarding Graham, Dr Ogilvie added: 'He is the prophet, priest and king of Kalimpong.' *The Scotsman* of 16th May 1942

quoted Sir Francis Stanley Jackson, an ex-Governor of Bengal, who once remarked:

> 'I met Dr Graham and found him the youngest and most vigorous middle-aged gentleman I have ever met, with the enthusiasm of a boy, the heart of a child, and that confidence in success which comes to one through faith and knowledge that a great and humane service can never fail for want of support.'

The Metropolitan wrote a tribute for the *Calcutta Statesman* of 18th May 1942. In the course of his glowing tribute the Right Reverend Foss Westcott said:

> 'No one who met him could fail to feel the attraction of his beautiful character, or desire to share in some measure in the wonderful work which he had organised and developed.'

Also in the *Calcutta Statesman*, in an article dated 17th May 1942, an anonymous writer caught the spirit of Dr Graham:

> 'It is not given to many people to draw forth such widespread affection as Dr Graham. During his Moderatorship he was a welcome, honoured and beloved guest in countless Scottish homes, he was the friend of Viceroys and Governors, of Ruling Chiefs and commercial magnates and the sympathetic helper of the poorest of the poor. Without compromise of dignity or purposefulness, he could be all things to all men. And yet he had the aloofness of one whose face is set towards the unattainable.'

In the July 1942 edition of *Life and Work*, Dr Norman Maclean paid an eloquent tribute to Dr Graham. After sketching his career, he wrote:

> 'Graham proved himself a gifted psychologist. He taught these [Anglo-Indian] children that, so far from

being outcasts, they were the heirs of two great civilisations. " East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet ", but they met in the Anglo-Indian child. Was his father of the West?—then the child was heir to the great civilization of the West; was the mother Indian?—then the child was also heir of the subtle culture and other-worldliness of the East. Thus the despised and rejected was transformed into a chosen vessel of the Lord.'

Dr Maclean finished his tributes:

'Today the Church, facing its dire problems, can in like manner draw from the example of Dr J. A. Graham, renewed hope. For God, when He has a great work to do, does it not by Parliaments or Commissions, but by a consecrated personality. " There was a man sent from God, whose name was John." It is always so. For this man, John Graham, we today thank God and take courage.'

On 23rd May 1942, a Memorial Service was held in St George's Church, Edinburgh. Officiating were the Right Reverend C. W. G. Taylor, D.D., Moderator of the General Assembly; the Very Rev. Norman Maclean, D.D.; the Rev. Robert Stevenson, D.D.; the Rev. George Johnston, B.D., Ph.D., President of the Young Men's Guild; Mr W. S. Mill and Mr George McAlpine. The Very Rev. Norman Maclean gave the address.

The crowds of mourners at his funeral, the respect shown by people of all communities and religions, illustrated his greatest asset as a missionary—identification with the Indian environment. Perhaps no Westerner can ever quite understand the Asian mind, but Graham must have been as near as any foreigner to doing that. His identification was not simply a question of knowing the language fluently, for latterly he tried to understand all aspects of Indian life.

The most interesting feature of writing this biography has been in discovering through his letters, diaries and personal notes the change which developed in Graham's thoughts and beliefs during his long life of service in India. The change came gradually. No one who is in the least sensitive can stay in India for any length of time without becoming affected by the country in some way. India either enthrals and enchants or appals and repels. No one can be indifferent to India and its variegated pulsating life. Graham was captivated by it.

When he came to India, he was very much a man of his age, aware of his responsibilities to his sponsors, the Young Men's Guild, to his country and his Church. In his writings the change is clearly traceable as the years go by, from the young, enthusiastic missionary with limited goals, to the old campaigner with a far wider concept of God's love and concern for all men. In his early days in Kalimpong, we find him talking about the 'needs of heathendom' and 'the miasma of heathendom', seeing his function as winning souls for Christ. This limited aim was natural in a young man coming to India as the representative of a group of young men who were involved in his adventures and successes. His induction service in the presence of a thousand young men of the Guild underlined the special responsibility he carried with him.

As one writer has put it:

> 'The professional missionary stands at a disadvantage. It is unavoidable that he should be much concerned with the counting of heads of converts, for these are required for the statistics of the societies who collect subscriptions.'

Graham, however, early on in his career as a missionary, saw his function as wider in scope. He was more in tune with the ideas of the great William Carey:

> 'India was in darkness and would need the era of light present in the Western World. What the mis-

> sionary impulse . . . in its sweeping criticism of India and its people forgot was that Christianity would bring not only a moral and spiritual improvement, but also political, legal and social improvement.'

As a result, Carey studied and mastered not only the major languages of the country along with thirty or forty dialects, but studied horticulture and promoted agriculture, and was always in the forefront to challenge various evils, such as caste, suttee, infanticide, which he and his contemporaries believed impeded the progress of India.

Carey and Graham achieved a similar identification with the Indian environment, but very much on their own terms. The great danger for all missionaries in the nineteenth century was the tendency to equate British standards with Christian standards. In some ways this is what Graham did in his early days in the Mission. He was very much the Squire of Kalimpong, and his job as a missionary was made easier by the fact that he belonged to the ruling race who claimed that in all fields of development they were bringing progress to a backward country. Surely this was also the case in spreading Christianity. Graham, like William Carey, wished to bring into the Indian environment visible signs of Western progress. For example, the neo-Gothic design of the Macfarlane Church, the Mela based on Scottish fairs, the parochial system of Church government based on John Knox's system. Weighing heavily on his mind were the demon worship and superstitions of the Bhutanese; he desired more than anything else to take the light of Christianity into Bhutan.

Up to this point Graham appears to be a typical missionary of his day, bringing Christianity and Western 'improvements' to his parish. There are certain points, however, even in the early days, which suggest that Graham was not entirely in conformity with the pattern of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century mission-

aries. One is the great interest he created outside Church circles in his work. He became the friend of Governor-Generals and influential businessmen, and interested Government in what he was doing in Kalimpong. Missions had been allowed into India by a Charter as late as 1813, and there still existed considerable suspicion among Government officials as to the desirability of mission work. Might not conversion to Christianity make the natives dissatisfied with their lot?

The most important point was the flowering of Graham's personality in Kalimpong. He has often been described as being ahead of his time. It was not really that his ideas were so advanced or so revolutionary, but rather that the breadth and warmth of his personality could not be confined by 'British class feeling', or a feeling of 'white superiority', or, latterly, even by beliefs in an exclusive Christianity.

Before he left Scotland there was little indication of how he was to develop in India. Comments about his work on behalf of the Young Men's Guild were confined to 'industrious', 'organised' and 'efficient'. But the enthusiasm, vigour and drive were there, and these qualities were to find room for development in the Mission. There is nothing like success for making the personality mature and flower. Graham's personality had the effect of giving him a power over people which many who came under his spell have found hard to describe. "I will do anything for Graham," said a Governor of Bengal. "Not one of us can say a word against Graham," said a tea planter. "We all love him," said a co-worker. 'We are counting the weeks till he returns,' wrote James Purdie in the course of a letter. The Commanding Officer of the Northern Bengal Mounted Rifles said of Graham: 'His face was a thanksgiving for his past life and a love-letter to all mankind.' His influence brought the best out of people, welded seemingly unlikely individuals into a team, often overcame resistance from Government

officials, and charmed money and support out of people not normally attracted to giving. It would not be an exaggeration to say that Graham's warmth and charm changed Kalimpong from an insignificant little border town, to a town which was the centre of educational, medical and child-rescue work, and had a world-wide reputation before his death.

Graham's greatest attribute, then, was his ability to treat with all kinds of people. In his day there was a tendency for missionary enterprise to manifest itself in obedience to the exclusive character of Christianity. Some missionaries obscured Christ by narrow dogma. Some introduced their sectarian beliefs into India, being convinced that all sects except their own were doomed to hell. This sectarianism baffles the Hindu, and the exclusive Christianity preached is often met by counter-aggression and interpreted as offensive pride. On religious and psychological grounds this exclusive approach is unacceptable. On religious grounds it is contradictory to the inherent humility in the apostolic nature of missions which teaches that non-believers should be entreated graciously and persuasively to surrender to Christ. Psychologically it is unfair to arouse opposition to deep-seated loyalties.

Graham's attitude to Bhutan is an example of the broadening of his tolerance. When he visited the country he grew to love the simplicity and natural courtesy of the people and was less concerned about their demon worship and superstitions.

Dr Graham's other great attribute was that he caught the imagination of the public of Scotland. Perhaps his work was not as dramatically stimulating as David Livingstone's, but it was probably more lasting. Both had a great sense of adventure and romance. Graham's, however, was a name which for half a century was known and revered in all church-going families. His work in Kalimpong received wide publicity, and the fact that he

became known as ' Graham of Kalimpong '—the association of the name and the place is always a sign of success in mission work—shows his acceptance by the Scottish public. His sponsorship by the Young Men's Guild ensured that he and his exploits were known from Wick to Dumfries. His hectic deputation programmes when on leave, his monthly letters to the *Guild Life and Work*, his Moderatorial year, all publicised the man and his Mission. Much of the publicity he organised himself, realising from his early days as editor of *Life and Work* that it was necessary to ' sell ' missions and projects to as large a public as possible. He worked at this, and much of his success both in the Mission and in the St Andrews Colonial Homes was his ability to interest a wide circle of people in himself and his work. He was not a vain person but, rather, realised the power and efficacy of propaganda.

Foreign missions never had a better spokesman—not that he was a good public speaker. This should perhaps be qualified slightly: when he was fully prepared and interested in a topic, he could deliver an excellent sermon or address. His voice was not particularly arresting, but he had an aura about him which made people listen and resolve to help. Through this *rapport* with audiences and congregations all over the world, people became aware of the needs of others, not only Indian crofters in the foothills of the Himalayas, but the needs of an expanding Church overseas. Graham spoke not with the pride of a sacrificial service, but with the humility of the true Christian.

One of Graham's greatest services to India was his faith in the Anglo-Indian. In a way he was their champion, and like so many champions of a cause he had to fight against odds. The Church of Scotland Foreign Missions Committee and the Young Men's Guild were suspicious of his St Andrews Colonial Homes project partly because the Anglo-Indians were not ' natives ' and were already

Christian. Before Graham's time little publicity had been given in Britain to this community, or even to the fact of its existence. No Government was willing to broadcast the information, particularly in the Victorian Age, that such great numbers of Anglo-Indians existed. Therefore, welfare work among the poor of the community was minimal in comparison with mission work among the 'natives'.

Anglo-Indians have always had bad and strangely unsympathetic treatment from Western writers, and as a result the image spread abroad about them has generally been unfavourable. In the writings of John Masters and Somerset Maugham the Anglo-Indian has been presented as morally weak, pathetic and lost. The trouble has been that many of the community would appear to share the Western novelists' contempt for themselves, because most of them are ignorant of their own worth.

Western writers quite wrongly assume that all Anglo-Indians are the result of illicit relationships. But a great number of Anglo-Indians owe their existence to a love and marriage which overcame many barriers. Reginald Maher expresses it this way:

> 'For while love is the world's most beautiful force, pride is its bitterest enemy. And in the Anglo-Indian love has triumphed over pride, over racial prejudice and insular jingoism. He stands a symbol, a personification of the love of two persons of different climes and colours who have dared to bring into the world a challenge to snobbery and racialism. Pride rears its ugly head to spit into the face of the child that has proved not only the basic equality of human beings, but also that they could wed and love and bring forth young to people the land.'

Graham created a new image for the Anglo-Indians. The picture he painted of them was not 'the poor half-caste', rather he stressed that the mixture of blood gave

strength and resilience. To him the community was rich in history, tracing its origin in many cases to the noblest families of Britain, France, Holland and Portugal. He would have agreed wholeheartedly with Reginald Maher's feelings on this aspect of the community:

> 'In this pattern of human destiny, the centre piece must be man himself, not this man, nor that, but a human type and the significance cannot be missed that this type, this evolutionary group has been entrusted to India to present to the World. It is part of her destiny which her philosophies and traditions do not proclaim as materialistic. If she is to present the path to peace, the path to peace through the harmonious living together as one people of persons whose cultures, manners and faiths differ, she has that as examples in the India of today. She, however, is not alone in this amity in diversity, there are other nations which can also point to this happy phenomenon. Where India scores is in having the further development—the Anglo-Indian Community. This is the show piece, a miniature world people.'

Graham's views on the Anglo-Indian were nevertheless complex. It has already been stated that he believed in them, which is true; but this belief developed later. He also believed that Britain had some responsibility to them, for he often wrote that the children were the victims of circumstances over which they had no control. Graham, however, was true to his time in that, when he started the Homes, he agreed with Lord Curzon that the Anglo-Indian should be trained to make him 'not unworthy of the blood which flows in his veins'—that is, British blood. In the early days of the St Andrews Colonial Homes Graham wrote:

> 'No problem in India—a land of many complex problems—is harder than that of the lowest type of

> Anglo-Indian; and no class is more derogatory to British rule. For he naturally claims connection with the ruling race and he nominally belongs to the Christian religion. It is not surprising therefore that millions of the more ignorant people of India judge the British power and the religion of Christ by those people, with a result not flattering to the prestige of our country or strengthening to the evidence of our faith.'

These views could not be more Victorian. The Raj and Christianity were being disgraced by people claiming to be British, who, through circumstances not of their own making, were not quite measuring up to the required standards of behaviour. No mention was ever made of the Indian mothers and the disgrace which so many of them faced from their own people. Furthermore, no blame appears to have been attached to the British at all. Sir Bampfylde Fuller, writing in 1914, said:

> 'The Anglo-Indian Community, it must be remembered, is an Imperial asset of importance. It is no small thing that there should be resident in India a large society whose active loyalty is beyond question.'

After mentioning their loyalty in the Mutiny, he continued:

> 'At the present day they are the backbone of a volunteer force—30,000 strong—which would be of the most essential service in keeping communications open in time of trouble.'

Lord Curzon described the problem of the Anglo-Indian as the most pressing in India. Sir Bampfylde Fuller felt that the solution of it would strengthen the British Empire. Dr Graham felt it must be faced for the sake of the honour of Britain and the credit of the religion of Jesus Christ. It would be hard to believe, however, that Graham, even

in the earlier days of his project, was not also touched by the plight of Kim's kin. From his diaries and from the pathetic stories of the backgrounds of his ' bairns ' which he told to audiences round the world, the honour of the country and the credit of Jesus Christ were obviously put forward as the official reasons for the serious action he took to help the lot of the Anglo-Indian. Sentiment as a motive is so often regarded as suspect.

Graham's aims for the children of the Homes were threefold:

(*a*) The transference of the ' lost one ' from surroundings that could never do anything else but hinder the development of all that is best in life;
(*b*) each child must be taught the value and dignity of labour; and
(*c*) the best mental, moral, physical and spiritual development must be sought.

These were all praiseworthy objects in accordance with the aims and plans of Dr Barnardo and William Quarrier. Graham was a complete environmentalist: he firmly believed that a child of the poorest kind could be reared to be a useful citizen provided that there was loving concern for the child in the beautiful surroundings of Kalimpong.

As already indicated, there was one weakness in his scheme—a fundamental one. The whole education of the child in school and cottage was to be completely Western. The staff of the St Andrews Colonial Homes was to be of European stock, and the children were to be trained to accept values and standards which were British. They were to turn their backs on their Indian heritage—they were to be trained as Sahibs. The best of them would be sent overseas to the Colonies, away from the unsuitable environment of India. As stated earlier, this was completely in tune with the British attitude to Anglo-Indians and their education. It must be stressed

that this point of view is understandable: many of the Anglo-Indians were so fair-skinned that they would pass as British, and their religion, too, separated them from the mass of the Hindus. British officials, moreover, harboured a sneaking guilt about this community, and it was felt that the least that could be officially given to them was a Western education.

This policy could be vindicated as long as the Raj was secure and jobs of a supervisory nature were made available by the British Government in India. When it became obvious, however, that the days of the Raj were numbered, and that there was no intention of persuading the incoming Indian Government to give special concessions to the Anglo-Indians, the community as a whole realised the dangers that threatened them. Not only had they played a major part in law enforcement in the days of the struggle for Independence, but they were mentally and educationally unsuited for life in the new India. Their Western-biased education had made them aliens in the country of their birth. They knew little or nothing of the culture and history of India. Their knowledge of the language was usually a bazaar Hindi which sufficed only for giving orders to servants. Critics of the Homes often scathingly called it ' Little Scotland '—a valid criticism, for the type of education dispensed there was little different from what Scottish children would have received in a good boarding-school. Clearly the Western education given in Anglo-Indian schools prior to Independence increased the difficulties of the community immeasurably.

Another criticism of Graham's work which has already been mentioned was that the first-generation Anglo-Indians taken into the Homes were educated away from their mothers. It was somehow assumed that the mothers did not count, did not have any finer feelings. The mother was considered as being part of the unfortunate background. Often, once the child was accepted into the Homes, there was no further contact with the mother,

and the Homes assumed complete responsibility for the child's future. However, this was often the wish of the father. This state of affairs was accepted because the mothers were ' natives '. Warm-hearted and sympathetic as Graham was, he saw nothing wrong in this. The break had to be made if the child was to rise above his old environment.

The accent on emigration in the policy of the Homes was also unfortunate. To Indians this was a further indication that the community was alien and had little respect for or interest in India. On the other hand, the Anglo-Indians undoubtedly did well when transplanted to Australia, New Zealand and Britain. It would have been wiser to have left the question of emigration to the Colonies out of the Memorandum of Association, for this made the policy official.

Another criticism is that the children were brought up to a standard of living which was far in advance of that of the Anglo-Indian community in India. This suited the minority going overseas, but for those returning to the slum environment from which they had been rescued, it was likely to cause frustration and discontent.

These criticisms, however, cannot minimise the tremendous accomplishment of having founded this great institution. It was, despite what has been written above, a great rescue work. Britain at the height of its imperial power took a great deal out of India. The Homes is one of the institutions which have been left behind by the Raj of which Britain can be proud. Since the existence of the community was largely a British responsibility it was appropriate that, through the Homes, Britain made some restitution. Thousands of Anglo-Indians all over the world owe any success that they may have enjoyed to their early days in the Homes. Many of them rescued from hopeless slum conditions and from the neglect of the tea gardens were, in the most beautiful surroundings, taught self-respect, to believe in themselves and were

sent out into the world equipped to face difficulties, aware that they had received an excellent education and training and that, given a chance, they could hold a responsible job. Graham taught them to walk the earth with dignity, and thousands remember him with thanksgiving and devotion. The combination of the beautiful setting with some of the most magnificent panoramic mountain views to be seen in the world, and the fact that the Homes was ' home ' to most of the children, has had the effect of creating in the minds of the ex-students a nostalgia and loyalty which are understandably emotional. Through the eyes of these ex-students ' Daddy ' Graham assumed almost Christ-like qualities.

One ex-student, the Rev. John MacGilbert, expressed his feelings:

> ' Dr Graham was my childhood " idol ", the " hero " of my youth and manhood, the most Christlike person I have ever known. He was a man that brought God to us; and who " oiled the wheels of life with sunshine and kindness and real goodness ".'

Graham found fulfilment in the organising required for the establishment and the running of the Homes. The refusal of the Foreign Missions Committee of the Church of Scotland and the Young Men's Guild to assist financially was a blessing in disguise. As a result, Graham was able to make his appeal to all branches of the Christian Church in a number of countries. He formed committees to assist in various centres in India, New Zealand and Australia. Before he died, he left not only a strong Homes in the way of buildings and land, but also a richly endowed institution (one of the richest in India). Moreover, he created the organisation of Overseas Committees which would permit not merely the continuation of the Homes, but their further extension if necessary. This was perhaps his greatest achievement. To have accomplished a vast building programme was very praiseworthy, but to have

left behind the means for the continuation of his work makes him unique.

His was a full life, a satisfying, creative life, and he has left behind him in much of the Mission work and the Dr Graham's Homes, fitting memorials. Despite political pressures, both these institutions continue to render service to India. There are revolutionary changes occurring in India which have caused Indianisation of staff in both the Mission and the Homes. So surely and soundly were the foundations of both institutions laid, that the winds of change have not altered the basic aims and designs of either the Mission or the Homes.

The Mission continues to render medical and educational service of the highest standards. The Girls' and Boys' High Schools each have over a thousand students, and the Charteris Hospital has two hundred beds and is now the Kalimpong Municipal Hospital. The district churches are also in good heart, and it is important that many of the leaders of Kalimpong and of the local political parties are members of the Christian congregation. The foundations laid by Macfarlane, Sutherland and Graham were sound indeed.

The Homes have widened their scope to include Tibetan refugees and a large number of students from Bhutan, Sikkim and Nepal, but their main purpose is still to provide sanctuary and hope for Anglo-Indian children, now mainly second or third generation, from the slums of Calcutta and other cities. Graham would have been pleased about the influx of ' hill ' children, for he admired the sturdy independence of those people.

At a Guild Conference in Dundee during one of Graham's furloughs, Professor Charteris spoke of him as having returned from India with " the brain of a statesman, the heart of a little child and the record of a hero ". The three attributes, statesmanship, innocence and courage, are entirely applicable to Graham. Perhaps Graham's great faith in God should be added. He never had any

doubt that God would favour and bless his work. All through his life he believed, too, in humanity and man's inherent goodness. There are innumerable stories, told by Nepalse and ex-students, of how his complete trust won them over from some weakness or other.

Added to all these attributes were his almost superhuman work habits. He drove himself hard, and every hour of every day was filled. He found absorption and interest in all that he did, and whether he was in Kalimpong, Calcutta, on furlough or on one of his overseas tours, his capacity for work both physical and mental was astonishing.

He saw the peaks. Not only the glory of Kanchenjunga and the other towering Himalayan giants, but something of the glory of God, the peaks of endeavour which can be reached with God's help. Graham accepted the call of God to high adventure and endeavour in an isolated part of His kingdom. That corner flourished thanks to the qualities of the servant God chose, and Graham made a garden out of a wilderness.

In the Katherine Graham Memorial Chapel is one of the simplest and yet most effective epitaphs. It reads:

> 'Dr Graham who loved children founded these Homes in 1900.'

Love was his greatest virtue, and he had it in abundance.

APPENDIX I

Relations with the Closed Countries

From his first years in Kalimpong, Bhutan and its people greatly interested Dr Graham. A closed country was somehow a challenge to him. It is of note that at first his interest was based on a desire to convert the Bhutanese to Christianity. He did eventually wield great influence in that land, but it was influence of a political nature. He acted, virtually, as an intermediary between the British Government and the Maharajah of Bhutan.

Bhutan is the farthest east of the four Himalayan lands bordering on India. Its name probably means ' the end of the Bhot country ', that is, Tibet. The original inhabitants of Bhutan, the Tephus, were subjugated, several centuries ago, by a band of military colonists from Tibet. Once they were established in Bhutan these military freebooters started raiding into British India.

In 1863 the British Government sent an expedition under the command of the Hon. Ashley Eden to Punakha, the capital of Bhutan, with a view to arriving at some arrangements for the future. Unfortunately for Bhutan, obstacle after obstacle was put in the way of the envoy's progress; the life of the leader of the expedition was almost lost. When Eden reached the capital he was badly insulted and to save his life he signed a treaty with the Bhutanese but added the words to his signature, ' Under compulsion.' On his return a British expedition was sent to punish those responsible for the treatment he had received. It took two expeditions to tame the Bhutanese. To punish the Bhutanese further the British annexed the Daling Hills and the Bengal and Assam Duars. As com-

pensation the British Government paid an annual subsidy of, initially, Rs 25,000, which was to be doubled if the treaty obligations were faithfully fulfilled.

In 1904, when Sir Francis Younghusband was planning his expedition to Tibet, a Bhutanese called Ugyen Wangchuk came to his aid. He accompanied the expedition to Lhasa and assisted in the negotiations. For these services he was created a K.C.I.E. In 1907 the lamas and officials proclaimed Sir Ugyen Wangchuk as Maharajah and made the office hereditary.

Bhutan was, and still is, to a certain extent, governed like the old feudal states in Europe. The chief power was in the hands of the Penlops, or Rulers, of the Districts into which it was divided. There was, in Graham's time, no stable government. The peasants were virtually serfs and there was a great prevalence of diseases such as goitre and leprosy in the country.

Dr Graham's contact with Bhutan flourished and grew, owing to his friendship with a Bhutanese nobleman, Rajah Ugyen Dorji, who was a Minister of State to the Maharajah. Rajah Dorji had lands in Bhutan but lived most of the year in Kalimpong, where he acted as Agent for Bhutan to the British Government. He was a very fine man and greatly respected in Kalimpong. Dr Graham and he were friends for twenty-seven years. The Rajah's son, Tobgay, received part of his education with Dr Graham's daughters. He was one of the family. Ugyen Dorji had plans for his son. He desired above all that his son should have an English education and asked that Tobgay should be allowed to attend the Homes school as a day scholar. He was a shy, timid boy. He remained at school until he had made some progress in English and then he was invited to make his home in the Mission House where he was given a little room adjoining Mrs Graham's. After living there, he went on to school in Darjeeling. From his contact with this family, Dr Graham's interest in Bhutan grew. He was aware of the problem of that underdeveloped

country, for Rajah Dorji often consulted him on matters of state.

On Dorji's death at the end of 1916, Dr Graham wrote to His Highness, the Maharajah of Bhutan:

'May it please Your Highness,

'A great common sorrow binds us together and makes me long to express sympathy with Your Highness.

'Our dear friend Rajah Ugyen Dorji has left us. I know that your heart will be heavy with grief over the loss of your trusted Minister and loyal subject. His devotion to and love for Your Highness were intense. I had him as a friend for 27 years. The longer I knew him, the more I respected and loved him.

'During Rajah Ugyen's last illness he frequently expressed his wish that I should do all I could to help his son Kumar Sonam Tobgay, the Rani and his sister, as well as to further the interests of Bhutan. This I promised and I look upon my friend's wishes as a sacred trust. It will be a satisfaction and a joy to me to be able in this way to express my affection and regard for his memory. And this gives me courage to take the great liberty of expressing to Your Highness certain thoughts regarding the future of Kumar Sonam Tobgay.

'The Rajah told me that he had written to you regarding his son. He had an intense desire that his son might be able to carry on the work he himself had done for Bhutan and that was the thought most prominent in his mind. Kumar Sonam Tobgay is still young—not yet 19 years of age. If Your Highness thought fit to appoint him to his father's position, you would, no doubt, give him for a few years one of your best and wisest Bhutanese Counsellors to guide him.'

The Maharajah replied:

'I could well imagine your sorrow for your friend-

ship with the late Rajah for the last twentyseven years was most intimate and cordial. Although I have not had the pleasure of your acquaintance, yet the late Rajah mentioned your name so frequently that I seem quite familiar with you. He used to tell me that you were his adviser in difficult matters, and that you were ever ready to help him in any way.

'You say that it was the last wish of the late Rajah that his son should be his successor in all matters between Bhutan and the British Government. I agree with your proposal to make his son, Sonam Tobgay, his successor. It is my earnest desire that Tobgay should succeed his father. Although the Rajah is dead there is his son Tobgay and I hope he will follow the noble footsteps of his father in promoting the goodwill between the two Governments. His father knew only Hindi but he knows English and the manners and customs of the English—in which he has more than what his father had.

'As I said before, it is my wish to make him his father's successor, and I hope the British Government will do the same, but if the British Government hesitates, I hope you and all the late Rajah's friends will endeavour to represent the matter clearly to the Government and secure the work for him.

'During the Rajah's lifetime you were his trusted friend and I hope you will help and guide his son. Should he err sometimes I hope you will try to advise and correct him. I hope you will teach Tobgay as much as you can in all matters.'

Through his association with Rajah Dorji, Tobgay and the Maharajah, Graham became involved in the affairs of Bhutan. It is interesting that in writing to the Maharajah he adopted a flowery style, which nevertheless did not hide the sincerity of his feelings or the kindness of his thoughts.

In 1915 a difference arose between the British Government and the Government of Bhutan regarding the sale of intoxicating liquor on the Bengal and Assam frontiers of Bhutan. The country gained a considerable addition to its economy from the profits of grog shops[1] which had been set up on its frontiers to provide cheap liquor to the tea garden employees in the Duars. These grog shops had a very bad effect on the tea garden coolies. On leave days they were the cause of drunken brawls and family disputes, often ending in bloodshed. Because of complaints from the planters the British Government gave notice to the Maharajah that all the grog shops were to be closed. The Maharajah was annoyed because, first, he felt that Bhutan was an independent state as regards internal matters and, second, that the British Government had made no mention of compensation. Dr Graham was asked by Rajah Dorji to speak on behalf of Bhutan to the British Government. This he did, although he found it a ticklish assignment, for he did not approve of the grog shops, having during his missionary trips to the Duars seen the tragic results of this illicit trade.

In a letter to Mr W. R. Gourlay, C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary of the Bengal Government, dated 18th January 1916, he wrote:

> 'The police force has been increased. In the Kazi's [Rajah Dorji's] mind two things are uppermost. He looks upon the army of people on the frontiers as practically a hostile force to compel Bhutan to submit to the will of the Tea Planters, and he in his heart feels it to be a humiliation to his Maharajah and his Country. Then he thinks that in the whole controversy the Government has taken the side entirely of the Tea Planters and has not sufficiently looked at it from the standpoint of Bhutan. They are, he says, a very poor people. He has been working for years to have the

[1] They sold millet beer.

country developed. The country was put on to a sound political basis when the local rulers agreed to curtail their own powers and submit to a maharajah. Part of this was found in the gradually increasing revenues from the grog shops.

'I feel very strongly that for the future of Bhutan and for the political interest of N.E. India, this matter should not be allowed to rest. The Bhutanese are loyal to the core to the British Empire but they have in them the capacity for strong hate and unless something is done to remove their feelings, I am sure the results will be unfortunate.

'Everything has been going on towards a more intimate connection and I believe that Bhutan will be, in time, a very important prop of the Empire on this frontier.'

Graham went on to assure Gourlay that he did not approve of the grog shops, and added:

'I would like to see an arrangement come to with Bhutan whereby an agreement would be made for all time to keep a three-mile limit from all kinds of grog shops along the whole frontiers touching Bengal and Assam. It would be splendid to get such an agreement made now and I am quite sure it could be done.'

Then he suggested that the issues were so important that some form of compensation would be a welcome gesture.

In a further letter to Gourlay on 31st January 1916, Dr Graham reiterated his desire to have the grog shops disappear, but he also thought the loss of revenue to Bhutan unfair, and once more pressed for compensation.

Rajah Dorji complained that there had been incidents on the frontier, when police from the Indian side had gone into Bhutan and threatened the Bhutanese for smuggling liquor. Dr Graham took up this issue on their

behalf, and on 14th February 1916 he received an official letter from the Bengal Secretariat assuring him that certain preventative measures had been taken. The letter ended by saying that the Government in Delhi had asked for a report and Dr Graham's views would be kept in mind.

As the result of a further plea to the Government of India a compromise solution was reached. The grog shops were removed for a ten-mile strip of the frontier and a yearly subsidy was granted as compensation. So pleased was the Maharajah with the assistance Graham had given that he sent him a gift of silver and Rs 10,000. Dr Graham thanked him for his generosity, but said that he could not accept any monetary gift. The money was later brought by the Agent, who kept it pending the Maharajah's answer. When the Maharajah insisted that he should keep the money, Dr Graham wrote:

'My friend,

'Your most generous gift of Rs.10,000 has been handed to me by my dear young friend Tobgay. I know not how to express my deep gratitude to you for it in an adequate way. I know you sent it because you wanted through it to tell me you appreciated the help I had sought to give Bhutan through your late Deb Zimpon, Rajah Ugyon Dorji and your present Deb Zimpon. Any little service I have rendered has been to me a great joy and privilege because of my affection for your Deb Zimpons and of my keen interest in your country and of my deep respect for Your Highness. I thank you from the bottom of my heart for your kindness, and I look forward to the great pleasure of very soon expressing my thanks to you in person.

'Half of the money has been handed over to Mrs Graham to be used to help forward our Industries for men and women at Kalimpong about which I hope to tell you when we meet. The other half will be applied

to the work of our schools, details of which you will also hear. The money you gave will thus go to help to make more prosperous the Himalayan people and to succour poor and needy children. It would be a great joy to us all if Your Highness could come to see the Schools for whose work your splendid gift will mean so much.

'I trust this finds Your Highness and all your dear ones well. And with all respect and affection, I remain,

'Your Highness' grateful and respectful friend.'

Graham's interest in this slowly developing country increased, although he had not been there. Few Europeans had ever been admitted, for the Bhutanese had, like the Tibetans, jealously guarded their isolation from the outside world. At last, in 1921, he was invited into Bhutan. He wrote fully about his visit, and as a friend of the Maharajah, he was obviously fêted wherever he went. In a letter to Sir Charles Bell he noted some of the Maharajah's strange beliefs:

'He [the Maharajah] said there were 400 Bhutan tenants at Kongri in Tibet, near Mount Everest, and he thinks Everest is in his land.

'He appoints a Lama to the monastery. Long ago, when there was a vacancy, it was arranged that the office should be given to the candidate who would fly to the top of Everest and back in the shortest time. The winner got the appointment.'

In his notes Graham said of his relationship with the Maharajah:

'We had many talks regarding the constitution and Government of Bhutan, and of ways in which the people might be helped. Together with him and the Kumar, I drew up an appeal to the Viceroy.'

This was a plea, dated September 1921, for the Indian

Government to help in the modernisation of Bhutan. It stressed the need for education, for trained foresters to develop the great forests of Bhutan, for medical knowledge, for a printing press, for training in agriculture, for the construction of a hydro-electric plant and good roads. The appeal ended:

> 'We ourselves are able to do very little. Though rich in promise for the future, Bhutan is a very poor country. There is little or no money in the country. We are still in the stage of barter. Revenue is paid in kind and unless we get your help at the present stage, Bhutan must remain in its backward state for many years to come.'

During his visit Dr Graham introduced the use of iodine for the treatment of goitre. Tape worm was another prevalent disease. He was struck by the high incidence of leprosy. Everywhere he went there was a sick parade, and he became very conscious of the great need for skilled medical treatment.

From Bhutan he crossed into Tibet and visited Phari and Yatung. At Yatung he stayed with the British Trade Agent, Mr David Macdonald. Graham conducted a church service there and baptised four adults and six children. He wrote in his notes:

> 'The state of the road over the Jeylap La was awful on the Tibetan side and I wrote a letter on the subject to the Dalai Lama.'

Here is an extract from his letter dated 18th September 1921:

> 'To His Holiness The Dalai Lama,
>
> 'I take a great liberty in addressing your Holiness and I crave pardon for my boldness.
>
> 'Today it was laid on my heart to write direct to you on the subject of the bad state of the road between

the Jeylap La and Chumbi Valley. In going and in returning by it I have been made sad by the evident distress and strain and pain caused to the heavily laden mules as they toiled down and up the steep and rough path and by the anxiety and toil of the muleteers. I know that Your Holiness has a peculiarly sensitive regard for the sufferings of all the lower animals. I am therefore confident that Your Holiness will cause an enquiry to be made with a view to seeing what can be done to minimise the inevitable strain to man and beast leaving and entering Tibet by the Jeylap road.

'I am not an official, I write to Your Highness as a humble private party who holds in high esteem your Person and Office and who is keenly interested in all that affects your land.'

It would appear that nothing was done about the road, because on a subsequent visit to Tibet, Dr Graham said:

'At Langram—half way to Kapup—we had a merry tea party and all the men got cheered and fortified for the final three miles to the top of the Jeylap (14,000 feet). Oh! it is a heart breaking road and all the time one rides one's heart is sore for the poor animals. It must break the spirit and the heart of many a mule. It was worse than usual for all above Langram was under snow and the road for the most part was a track of slush or frosted snow or even worse. I walked up about 700-900 feet just before the final little climb and was surprised to find little fatigue. The clouds and wind and dry hail were unkind towards the top and we saw nothing but the blast. The walk down to Kapup was delightful. Kapup bungalow (13,000 feet) is the highest in the District. The bungalow has memories of a letter I wrote to the Dalai Lama about the cruelty of the road. When strong feelings have been aroused, the memory is retentive.'

The trip to Bhutan and Tibet lasted fifty-one strenuous days. He was enchanted by Bhutan's beauty, so reminiscent of Switzerland but on a grander scale. After penetrating range after range of mountains suddenly to come upon smiling valleys with sparkling rivers delicately brushed by weeping willows dominated by the walls of a medieval *dzong* or fortress was for Graham an unrivalled experience. The Paro valley looked like a backcloth for an Arthurian legend. The tall houses with their colourful wood-carvings round the windows stood dramatically among the paddy-fields.

The feudal pageantry in the *dzong*, the ritual of the lamas with their religious dances lasting for hours and depicting the age-old conflict between good and evil, the archery contests fought out between teams from neighbouring valleys, transported Graham back to the fifteenth century. It was like stumbling on Shangri La—valleys completely cut off by mountains from the teeming bazaars of India to the south and the wastes of the high plateau of Tibet to the north. The hospitality he received was lavish, and he was more than ever determined to be of assistance in the development of the country.

On 24th April 1922, on his way back to Britain on furlough, he wrote a long letter to the Maharajah listing, at the Maharajah's request, what he thought should be done to develop Bhutan. The first priority, he thought, was to increase the population, while reducing the number of religious people in the country, who were a burden on the economy. Families were small due to the high rate of syphilis. Sanitation and drainage must be improved. Infant mortality must be reduced by the teaching of child care. Each family should take precautions against hook worm and dysentery, which are so prevalent in the Himalayas. He gave suggestions as to how all these diseases could be controlled.

Under the heading ' Animals ', he suggested the breeds which would flourish in Bhutan, and the methods of

countering rinderpest and foot and mouth disease. The forests yielded a large return and he felt that tea would grow well. This would be useful as a source of revenue and might induce the people to drink a beverage other than the country liquor which was causing them so much harm. He suggested that they produce ' brick tea ' which they could exchange with Tibet for mules and ponies.

As regards industries, he felt that improved methods of weaving—the flying shuttle, for example—were necessary. The silk industry could be extended with the cultivation of mulberry silk. He also thought that artistic woodwork, bamboo and cane work had a future.

Education should be given priority so that everyone, male and female, could read and write, and a number of the older boys and girls should also be taught English and the Indian vernaculars.

Another priority was the construction of good roads:

> ' For the development of the country, good roads are indispensable, and no sacrifice is too great to secure these.'

Under the heading ' Government ', he wrote:

> ' I would only respectfully suggest to Your Highness that in Your Highness' life time you should secure the formation of an effective Council of State which should hold regular meetings to discuss matters affecting the country, and that this Council should not only include the chief Provincial Rulers and the chief Lamas, but also representatives of the humbler classes.'

He finished his long letter:

> ' I feel that these thoughts which I put down are very inadequate and I wish I had more time and greater ability to make them more worthy of Bhutan. I have a keen interest in Bhutan and its people and a deep regard and affection for Your Highness, and lively and

grateful recollections of my visit—a trip which was of the greatest value to myself. I shall ever esteem it a privilege to do anything in my power to help Bhutan.'

On 22nd June 1925, Dr Graham wrote again to the Maharajah elaborating on some of the themes that interested him. He complimented the Maharajah on the progress made and stressed the need to train some of the brighter Bhutanese boys as doctors, foresters and tea planters.

The advice given by Dr Graham was practical, but he was probably being idealistic in suggesting so much. Most of his suggestions would have cost a great deal of money; and as the country was still in a feudal state it was difficult to separate the Maharajah's finances from those of the state. Bhutan was then, and still is, a poor country economically.

In early 1927 the Maharajah died and was succeeded by his son, Jimi Ongchhuk. The new Maharajah wrote to Dr Graham to invite him to his Durbar:

'You were my friend in the time of my father; now also my full hope is in you. The Viceroy has sent a letter in which he has ordered me that I should at once take the position of Maharajah and accordingly on the 5th day of the 9th month of our Bhutanese year I assumed the office of Maharajah. In the second month of the Bhutanese year my Durbar will be held at Punakha. On that occasion, my dear friend, at all costs you must be present, whatever happens.'

Dr Graham did in fact attend and wrote fully about that magnificent and colourful occasion. He described the entry into Punakha:

'A second thrill awaited us further down. On the brow of the last hill before we came in sight of Punakha Castle were lined up some of the Maharajah's soldiers to Tobgay—himself, arrayed in the red shawl of his

office—in front. Words fail me to describe the blaze and the beauty of that line of brilliant colour and quaint old-world attire and accoutrements. The soldiers' charming silken dresses were of many colours —blue and scarlet and yellow and green and plum and coral. Their yellow silken head-dresses which would make a fortune in fashionable society in London, fell over neck and shoulders as a protection.'

As for Dr Graham's own appearance:

'In my grand Bhutanese robes and hat and the beautiful boots which Chuni had made for me and the Bhutan Gold Medal, and the C.I.E. and the Kaisar-i-Hind, I tell you, I felt no end of a swell and the crowd wondered who their unknown Bhutanese official was.'

Dr Graham painted a vivid picture of the pageantry of the occasion. Colonel Bailey, who was representing the Viceroy, conferred on the Maharajah the C.I.E. Graham described the installation ceremony:

'A 8 a.m. there was an interesting and significant more private function. Bhutan is in theory a dual Monarchy, temporal and spiritual, and there is a Dharmma [religious] Rajah as well as the political head. The present Dharmma Rajah, a young man of 24, named the Shabdung Rimpoche, is too a hereditary ruler, but in a very different sense from the other. He and all who hold his office are supposed reincarnations of the first Shabdung Rimpoche who lived hundreds of years ago and was the founder of the Lamaistic religion in Bhutan. He was consequently one of the two chief figures in the proceedings. The Maharajah went to give his recognition to the spiritual Ruler within his Kingdom.

'We followed to a room with a naltar in it but he went along into an inner room in which it was said there were relics of the first Shabdung Rimpoche, and

when he came back to the outer room he was wearing the scarf of his royal state. After an interval the present Shabdung joined him. Both stood before the altar and bowed three times to the ground after which the Shabdung, standing, offered a short prayer. The Shabdung's mat was then removed to the inner room where the Maharajah and he again entered and they remained there for a considerable time. In the interval those of us in the outer room were regaled with refreshments. When the Maharajah and the Shabdung re-emerged they went in procession to the large Hall for the public ceremony.'

The public ceremony consisted of offerings of homage and gifts:

'The placing of the actual gifts was not without a dramatic element. A great bundle of cloths would be thrown on the floor with a tremendous thump and then the assistants with wonderful alacrity unrolled it and cast it on the heap in front so as to display the variety and richness of the contents—the gay silks coming out on top.

'And so the great space in front was gradually filled with presents of heterogeneous kind. Bags and bags of grains and bundles of iron, and other more prosaic offerings were thrown seemingly helter skelter upon the miscellaneous dump. Baskets of flesh and other edibles added to the grand total though not the pleasantness of odour. A number of horses were included in the gifts brought by a Kazi representing the Maharajah of the neighbouring State of Sikkim as well as by others, but these were not presented in the Hall. It was an amazing scene and intensely interesting to the onlookers as well as thoroughly enjoyed by the officers.'

Everywhere he went in Bhutan, Dr Graham was

obviously gracious and interested, and the account of his trip not only shows great insight into the character of the Bhutanese he met but also reveals much about Graham himself. He was a tremendous ambassador. He enjoyed his talks with the officials and the lamas:

> 'I then went to the Shabdung Rimpoche and had quite a nice little talk with him. He said he had never before met a European and he was evidently impressed by us all because he gave me a warm welcome back and said he would like to have a good long talk with me.'

Mrs Betty Sherriff, on a plant-collecting expedition with her late husband, Major George Sherriff, in 1949, had a long discussion with Ashe Wangmo, the sister of the then Maharajah. Ashe Wangmo produced a well-thumbed copy of the Memorial Number of the Homes Magazine and said, " You can hardly make out the writing or the photographs in this book now because I have looked at it so very often." Mrs Sherriff had to explain all the photographs to her and was most touched when the Princess referred to Dr Graham as " our father ", meaning Mrs Sherriff's and hers. It transpired that she had met Dr Graham only once, when he went to Bumtang for the installation ceremony. She said that he was so sweet to her and held her hand and teased her, and she could never forget him. She showed Mrs Sherriff a little Tibetan orphan girl she had adopted because she remembered that " our father " had adopted so many orphan children.

Graham was particularly interested in the Bhutanese *dzongs*:

> 'At Ha and at Paro we came across specimens of those Dzongs or Castles which embody the feudal system. Each section of the country has its Dzong in which the district ruler lives. That at Paro is one of

the strongest—a massive stone structure built for strength on the side of the river, supported from behind by three strong towers placed high up the mountain-side to guard the roads leading to the Dzong.

'Within the walls is housed a large population of officials and servants and soldiers and lamas. Between the two courtyards of the laity and the clergy is the central "keep" which is the dominant feature and towers above the other buildings. The Chapel is a large, lofty, handsome and highly decorated apartment.'

It is noteworthy that, almost without exception, the suggestions which Dr Graham made for the development of Bhutan have now taken place, although some of the work has still to be completed. It was Tobgay's son, Jigmi, who brought about a radical change in the country, as he sought to bring it into the twentieth century. This he attempted to accomplish with Indian financial assistance. First of all he developed roads and communications, and then turned his attention to education, medical services, forests and the expansion of trade. It was almost as if he was following the plans suggested by Dr Graham thirty years previously to his father, Tobgay, and the then Maharajah. The son of Tobgay could not but be influenced by the ideas his father had imbibed from this extraordinary Scotsman who seemed to be just as much at home in a Bhutanese *dzong* as he was in his own home. Unquestionably, Dr Graham exerted a tremendous influence on Bhutanese policy and was treated as a true and reliable friend. In 1935, indeed, when the Maharajah and Maharani of Bhutan visited Kalimpong, Dr Graham played a prominent part in the official welcome to the royal couple.

Obviously distressed at the lack of funds forthcoming from the British Government to help in the development of Bhutan, Dr Graham wrote on 5th November 1938 to the Foreign Secretary of the Government of India, putting

forward Bhutan's case and stressing the strategic need for a strong, rich Bhutan:

> 'The welfare of Bhutan is of much importance to the neighbouring Buddhist States of Tibet and Sikkim, and is also important to Nepal and the Nepalis who are now the preponderating element in Southern Bhutan.
>
> 'Bhutan is a valuable buffer between British India and the country lying on its east. It would be a loyal ally should there come any danger from the China side. It would also be helpful in the event of any misunderstanding with Nepal or with the Nepalese inhabitants now resident in Bhutan.
>
> 'The country is at present a poor one. It could be made a rich one if there was money to develop it.'

His mention of China as a possible threat in the future showed remarkable foresight, for in 1938 the Chinese were involved with Japan and there was no obvious threat from that quarter. Graham went on to suggest how the country could be developed if financial help was forthcoming: opening up of roads, industries, etc. He appealed for a sum of 13 lakhs of rupees over a ten-year period, and added:

> 'It is a large sum to be spent on one small country. It might be deferred for a year or two or spread over a longer term. There is much at stake; the existence of an independent country, the removal of one of the most malignant centres of syphilis in the world, and the setting up of an example to surrounding countries. Many clamant considerations call to immediate action —religion, charity, brotherhood, politics, economics and common sense.
>
> 'I have written strongly on the subject because I feel strongly. I have every hope that you will advise the Government of India to give grants commensurate with Bhutan's needs.'

The Bhutanese had to wait a long time for sufficient financial aid to carry out the plans outlined by Dr Graham. About twenty years after Graham's letter to the Foreign Secretary, the Indian Government saw the strategic importance of Bhutan as a buffer state between India and a militant China. Thanks to that and to Jigmi Dorji's Western outlook, Bhutan in the mid-1950s began the slow and painful process of emerging from the fifteenth century into the twentieth.

Graham's contacts, interest and plans for Bhutan mark him out as different from the normal missionary. His interests were unusual in their scope. Bhutan was an exclusively Buddhist country, jealously guarding its people from any Christian influence; and yet Graham was the friend and adviser of the King. No European has since had so much influence in the country's affairs. In his early days in the Mission he had seen Bhutan and its heathen ways as the greatest challenge, but when he visited it and met the Bhutanese people, all he wanted to be was helpful in a practical way. There is no evidence that he tried to influence any Bhutanese towards Christianity during his visits. He seemed rather to take an intelligent interest in Buddhism.

It seems strange when missionaries normally have to be so careful about dabbling in politics of any kind that Graham should have acted openly as an ambassador for Bhutan—a relationship which appears to have been acceptable to the Bengal Government. Normally Government officials do not take kindly to missionaries being involved in any kind of politics.

In 1929 Dr Graham and his daughter Betty visited Nepal. They were very fortunate to be invited to that most exclusive state. No European was allowed in without the permission of the Maharajah. The journey to Khatmandu was accomplished by train to a point twenty-four miles from Raxaul on the India-Nepal Frontier. From there a motor service carried them the next twenty-six

miles, after which the remainder of the journey to the capital was completed by horseback and on foot.

Because of his interest in the Nepalese in Kalimpong and his ability to speak the language, Dr Graham had a fascinating time in Nepal. He wrote an unpublished note on the history of the country and its connection with Britain through the recruiting of Ghurka soldiers for the Indian Army. He was also intrigued by the life and works of Nepal's greatest Prime Minister, Jung Bahadur—a hero, a strong and powerful ruler, who lived a full-blooded life in the tradition of rulers of that day. Dr Graham was impressed by the way Jung Bahadur had sent Ghurka troops to help in the relief of Lucknow during the Indian Mutiny.

There is a section in his note called 'Nepal and Buddhism', in which he described Buddha's pilgrimage to the Valley in the fifth century B.C. and the resultant struggle between Buddhism and Brahmanism. The visit of the mighty Asoka in 249 B.C. from his capital, Pataliputra (Patna), to Khatmandu is also described.

It was the people, however, who interested him most, and as usual he was graciously received wherever he went. In his notes are his usual keen observations on husbandry:

> 'The outlying sections are now covered with wheat just tinged with yellow, and as soon as the rains come, the rice which is their chief crop, will take its place on the terraces. The wonder of that wonderfully efficient cultivation in the plain is that it is almost wholly done with the spade, though buffaloes are seen occasionally drawing the plough.'

The real ruler of Nepal in 1929 was the Prime Minister, the King being simply the titular head of state. The Prime Minister at that time was the Maharajah Chandra Sham Sher, a nephew of Jung Bahadur. He had held office since 1888. In October 1920 the Viceroy of India addressed the Maharajah by the courtesy title of 'High

Highness'. This symbolised the recognition of the unique position of the Prime Minister and Marshal of Nepal. It raised him to plenipotentiary rank and implied direct and permanent representation of his sovereign—an honour that no other public office in the world bestows, except as a temporary dignity. Dr Graham had a twenty-five minute audience with the Prime Minister, which he described as follows:

> 'He left on me the impression of a kind and courteous gentleman and a devoted servant of his people. He lives in a magnificent palace, the reception hall of which is thought by some to equal, if not surpass, in distinction that of any ruling prince in India, yet he himself has the mien of a humble unassuming man. His is no bed of roses and his long tenure of office, the anxieties and burdens of State (he is now almost 66 years of age) have left their mark on him. His recent abolition of the status of slavery in Nepal won the approbation of the world, and from his conversation I gathered that a project which lies very near his heart at present is the building of a large sanatorium to combat tuberculosis which is a scourge in Nepal.'

The two elderly men discovered a mutual interest—a love of children. Dr Graham met the Prime Minister's little ten-year-old grand-daughter at the Palace. Unfortunately she was a victim of infantile paralysis and unable to walk. The grandfather was very fond of her and this endeared him to Dr Graham, who invited the little girl, Nani, to visit him at the Residency, where he was staying. This she did and impressed him tremendously by her intelligence.

On Dr Graham's return to Kalimpong he wrote to the Prime Minister and received the following reply on 5th July 1929:

'Dear Friend,

'Need I say what a great pleasure it was to me to

have your kind letter. I wish to add that of feelings of grateful appreciation of all that you have said in connection with your visit to this place, coupled with all the good wishes so very touchingly conveyed in the concluding paragraph of your letter.

'Nani is happy at your kind remembrance. It is such a pity that she is stricken so hard as to make the amelioration in the condition so very slow and difficult and we cling to the hope that she is not yet past recovery of sufficient strength in her limbs to make her quite cheerful and happy.'

Dr Graham's visit to Nepal was a holiday one. The country excited him tremendously. He had a great sense of adventure and was delighted to find in the Residency Visitors' Book that only forty Europeans had visited Nepal before him. In his note on Nepal he had the following to say about Hinduism and Buddhism and the banning of Christian missionaries from the country:

'Buddha was born at the foot of the mountains in now what is Nepalese territory and Buddhism which in time lost its place in India, has maintained it in Nepal to the present day in conjunction with Hinduism. There is a remarkable combination of images and rites in temples devoted to Hindu worship as well as in Buddhist foundations like those at Swayambunath and Bodhnath which are still visited by crowds of Buddhist pilgrims from Bhutan and Tibet. One feels that the whole valley is bound together by religious rites and numerous festivals and the great crowds of men and women present at a Car festival or a bathing festival seemed full of interest.

'This religious basis of the State makes the Rulers averse from any open propaganda of any other religion except Hinduism. The open proclamation of Christianity is forbidden. Some years ago an educated Kalimpong Christian family gave up everything to

preach the Gospel in Nepal. Their arrival was made known to the Maharajah who in a kind but firm way told them they must return, and at the same time handed them a considerable sum to help with their expenses. All round on three sides there are Missions seeking to enter to influence the Nepalese. The great majority of the inhabitants in the hill portion of our Eastern Himalayan Mission are immigrants or descendants of immigrants from Nepal.'

About political relations between British India and Nepal, he wrote:

'What is the relation between British India and Nepal? A good answer to this question was given by a member of the Government of India to a British journalist who had asked him what was the policy of the Government towards Nepal. "We have no policy. We have only friendship."

'The British envoy is there not to interfere but to further that friendship.'

Dr Graham's connections with Tibet were confined to two visits to Yatung on his way out of Bhutan in 1921. Among the most interesting of Dr Graham's documents is a translation of a testimonial given to a Tibetan lama by the head of his monastery:

'Testimonial given to Kusho Thupten Namdrol, late Private Secertary to the deceased Thirteenth Dalai Lama of Tibet, by the Ninetythird Ganden Ti Rimpoche, the present head of the Ganden Monastery.

'To all those Kings and lesser Monarchs who reside in all parts of the world, and to the General Public, particularly in India, the British Empire, China, Mongolia, Japan, Russia, Hong-hen [Holland?], England, Germany, Italy, America and Nepal: also to Ministers

of both high and low rank, and to other Officers of State, to Merchants, and to the Heads of Wealthy Families.

'Please bear the following in mind.

'The bearer of this letter, Ku Char Thupten Namdrol, was a disciple of His Holiness the Great Thirteenth Dalai Lama, the Guardian of the Entire Doctrines of the Buddha, the Incarnation of Chhak-na Pad-mo, and the Patron of the Three Worlds. The Ku Char served the Great Protector for many years.

'He received letters from the Victorious Buddha himself, and has also received much instruction in the Religion, especially with regard to religious discipline and monastic vows. He is a man of great perseverance, and full of strong faith. By reason of his love and mercy he takes pleasure in doing much for the benefit and happiness of others. He made gifts every year to nearly twenty thousand monks at the Great Annual Prayer Festival in Lhasa. These monks assembled there from many large monasteries of Tibet. Moreover he has made large monetary deposits for the carrying on of prayers in the great monasteries.

'After the passing of the soul of His Holiness the Thirteenth Dalai Lama for a short time to another world, for the benefit of other creatures, the bearer of this letter received many further instructions about religion from many learned lamas of Tibet, and has faithfully observed his vows of chastity and followed his instructions. Furthermore he is desirous of paying visits to places of pilgrimage and interest in other countries, and is now on his way.

'Will all persons concerned kindly render him such assistance as lies in their power, to the best of their ability and help him. All persons who do this will acquire much spiritual benefit, and will enjoy good fortune.

'Is it not said "The fruit of conferring benefits on

others is happiness; the fruit of harming others is misery."

'The law of Cause and Effect must work unfailingly. By conferring benefits happiness comes to the giver thereof. Furthermore the religion of Tibet teaches that by good deeds, all our desires will be fulfilled.

'It is certain that all who help the bearer of this letter will obtain much benefit now and in future existence. Let all whom it may concern bear this in mind.

'In order to establish the bearer's bona fides, this testimonial is given on the auspicious day of the auspicious month of the Fire Mouse Year by Yeshe Wong-Den, the Ninetythird Ganden Ti Rimpoche, who is Omniscient and Perfect in the Sutras and Mantras of the Fourth Buddha.'

Appended to this is a covering letter from Dr Graham. It is prosaic in comparison but nevertheless helpful. After introducing him, he wrote:

'He is eager to see as much of the rest of the world as may be possible and to come into contact with people of other races and creeds and civilisations. He is a man of wide sympathies and altruistic outlook.

'The Kushno has impressed me as a gentleman of fine character and attractive manners during his short stay at Kalimpong.

'I have pleasure in commending the Kusho to all who can help him in realising his ambition. In doing so they will be doing a service to him which will be appreciated by his friends in Tibet and in India.'

Dr Graham also travelled extensively in the State of Sikkim, but in his papers and diaries he recorded little in the way of impressions of that country. He enjoyed cordial relations with the ruling house and visited the Royal Palace in Gangtok on a number of occasions. On his trips to

Bhutan and Tibet he passed through Sikkim and knew the route between the Jaylup Pass and Kalimpong very well. He also knew the British Residents in Sikkim, from Sir Charles Bell to Sir Basil Gould.

Perhaps one reason why so little mention was made of Sikkim was that it was easily accessible to travel, while Bhutan, Nepal and Tibet were closed lands. Another reason was that Sikkim was looked upon as the territory of the Scottish Universities Mission, and therefore Graham might not have liked to appear to poach on their preserves. Although connections between the Scottish Universities Mission and the Kalimpong Mission were close, there were from time to time differences of opinion. The head of the Scottish Universities Mission was naturally represented on the Eastern Himalayas Mission Council. How close the co-operation was at any particular time depended to a large extent upon who were the respective heads of the two Missions.

APPENDIX II

Stray Thoughts on the Possibility of a Universal Religion

In 1936 Dr Graham received a letter from an old friend, a Brahmin, Professor Bannerjee, Professor of English at Calcutta University. The letter, which bore Christmas greetings, touched Graham profoundly and made him realise that many of the intellectual Hindus were not far from Christ. The letter shows the respect that many educated Indians held for Graham. Professor Bannerjee wrote:

> 'Unaccountably, like the poets' or seers' inspiration, which no one knows why and when it comes and again goes, this last morning of the departing year impels me to think of the dear and revered "Grand old man" of Kalimpong, a place dear to me for its own sake.
>
> 'The Christ-ideal became implanted even then in me by my old friend and companion; though I could, as a true Brahmin tracing his pedigree to the ancient sages of India, like the great prophet—Seer Sandilya Rishi whose name gives me the gotra [Brahminical family mark], never think of conversion to Christianity. I have ever adored that ideal, nay The Ideal.
>
> 'So today I send my most sincere greetings to another devoted adorer of The Ideal—deep calling unto deep —soul to soul.'

Dr Graham's letter in reply reveals much of the man and his philosophy of life. He wrote:

> 'I have been much touched by your tender and

brotherly Christmas greetings and my heart responds to the call of Love which they breathe.

'You write of the ennobling influence made upon you as a boy of 13 by Professor Seeley's " Ecce Homo ". This interests me much for I, too, came under its spell while a theological student and it exercised a profound influence on my thought regarding Him who was my Master.

'I was brought up in Scotland—a land noted for its freedom of thought and its liberty for individual expression, at a time when the theological outlook was by a hard development of Calvinism, which to my mind had done much to produce, among many, a self-regarding predestinarianism which is fatal to freedom of thought. A kindlier outlook which had begun to dawn about the middle of the nineteenth century got a big accession of strength on the publication of " Ecce Homo ". It helped me to look upon Jesus from what was to me a new point of view, from the humanitarian rather than the hard and fast previous theological expression, and it brought me into closer touch with Him as a man and to love Him as the highest manifestation of the eternal Spirit I had found on earth, and that, in the light of further study of His life and actions, led me to a new idea of the Divine Man. It led, too, to a kindlier and more generous regard and respect for the other great Founders of other religions, who, according to their age and circumstances and gifts, had, in their own way joined in the search of the Eternal. It broadened one's spirit immensely to have the desire to sit at their feet too, to listen to their answers to the riddles of our perplexing existence in this modern period of the world. This led to an interest in the movements for probing and harmonising and unifying the different teachings of the Great Thinkers of all ages, and for the spiritual federation into one brotherhood of all the races of mankind.

'The more I was taught on this plane, the more devoted and loyal was I towards my own Spiritual Master the Lord Jesus Christ, in whose teachings rightly understood there is no crabbing or jealousy of any rival religion, but, on the contrary, the deepest interest in and appreciation of their contribution to the common search and a warm feeling of love to all who would give a fresh vision of God.'

Obviously the views expressed in this letter were sincere and deeprooted, for the following year Dr Graham produced a pamphlet dealing basically with the thoughts expressed to Professor Bannerjee.

Of all the writings of Dr Graham, the one that interested him most and the one he was proudest of, was this pamphlet entitled *Stray Thoughts upon the Possibility of a Universal Religion and the Feasibility of Teaching it in our Schools.* The contents of the pamphlet are two lectures given at the invitation of the All Bengal Teachers' Conference in Jalpaiguri in 1937.

In the foreword he admits the difficulty of the subject, but since the lectures were well received by the delegates of all faiths who were unanimous in their agreement that a living religion should be taught, he decided to have the texts printed for a wider reading public.

Dr Graham began his lecture by explaining:

'In a general way—and more and more definitely as I have during my 48 years in India, been brought more and more into direct contact with the adherents of other great religions of the world as well as through a deeper and wider insight into my own Christian position—I have longed for a synthesis of the higher distinctive contributions made towards the realisation of a religion in which the more spiritually minded of all the well known and tenaciously held faiths of the world had found that spiritual fellowship and that

inspiration which had linked them in one great brotherhood through a Common Heavenly Father God, whose nature is Love.'

He then traced the evolution of his own spiritual experience through his discovery of the higher nature of God, and his conception of God as the loving and just Father of all men. Graham stressed that God revealed himself through human personality, and he felt this was true of all religions, not just Christianity and Judaism.

In his lecture he quoted liberally from Ramakrishna, for whom he had the greatest admiration. Ramakrishna was steeped in all the major religions, and in turn tried to live according to their preachings. He was searching in a practical manner for eternal truth. The keynote of Ramakrishna's teaching was the ideal happiness, and the keynote of his life and teaching was optimism.

Universal toleration had been preached at the Sessions of the Parliament of Religions in Calcutta on the centenary of Ramakrishna's death. Graham quoted from Sir Francis Younghusband, from Sir Mirza Ismail and Ngah Rimpoche from Tibet. All praised Ramakrishna and the foundation of his missions, which were to propagate religious harmony, social tolerance and racial concord.

Graham felt that in all the major religions there was a common section which he called ' Common Understanding '. This part included basic thoughts of the Heavenly Father Who loves all His children with an equal love and Who calls them and helps them to love Him and to love their fellows and to live the life of love towards all. Of this idea Graham wrote: ' To attain the ideal is possible, but to reach it within a few years is an impossibility.' He went on to criticise the tendency in Christianity and other religions for a great deal of ritual and apparatus to surround worship, and for the too frequent worship of the organisations rather than the truths which they embodied. In all religions he felt there had arisen a worship

of buildings—the Temple in Jerusalem, for example. Christ constantly preached against this.

Graham expanded on his theme of synthesis:

> ' Synthesis is defined as the putting together of parts or elements so as to make up a concrete whole. The idea of God is the result of a synthesis and many have been the contributions to its formation. In reaching forward to it, many searchers of many races and creeds have been employed in bringing to fruition the aspirations of man to be realised in the midst of throbbing and pain in their search for the attainment of the worship of God and the freedom of God's children. To this great hope embodied in their being, the beckoner and the guide was the Spirit of God, Who, throughout all the ages, has been the source of the increased vision vouchsafed to those who were the contributors to the desired synthesis. All of us are called to help with the formation and consummation of this glorious hope. No one else can contribute in our stead. If we fail, then there is delay in the complete synthesis. Yet it must come—this has been the dream of mankind all down the ages—a dream which has been progressively —a dream which has been dreamt in all lands and among all races—a dream which has been based on the prophets and religious leaders of every generation. It is a dream which has been dreamt not only by those considered the great ones of the earth. It has been dreamt by the village folk and the unknown of all lands.'

He then quoted Rabindranath Tagore's beautiful poem on the same theme:

> ' " Leave this chanting and singing and telling of beads! Whom dost thou worship in this lonely dark corner of a temple with doors all shut? Open the eyes and see thy God is not before thee!

> ' " He is there where the tiller is tilling the hard ground and where the pathmaker is breaking stones. He is with them in sun and in shower, and His garment is covered with dust. Put off thy holy mantle and even like Him come down on the dirty soil! " '

Dr Graham felt that God's love could permeate a man's soul to such an extent that he could have perfect insight into life and death:

> ' Thus can we make our big contribution to the great synthesis—God's kingdom, a kingdom both in the world and in heaven, a kingdom not of time, a living kingdom—everlasting, because it has the life of God to maintain it, and because it is of God, will go on growing grander and grander—far beyond what it is possible for us now to fathom. It is a kingdom which will claim in ever-growing measure the contributors to an ever-greater synthesis, because it is founded of Love, which is God, Who as He has no beginning has likewise no end.'

Dr Graham referred once more to the Parliament of Religions and quoted from one of the main speakers, Sir Brojendranath Seal, who said:

> ' " Our ultimate objective today is a Parliament of Religions. But in my view this is only a prelude to a larger treatment, the parliament of man, voicing the federation of world cultures, and what this will seek to establish is a synthetic view of life, conceived not statistically but dynamically as a progressive evolution of humanity." '

Dr Graham finished this part of his talk by stating:

> ' Belief spreads not by arguments, but by contagion. All contagious believers in God are helping to save the world.'

The second section of his talk concerned the practical application of his theory to schools and the methods of teaching a Universal Religion in the classroom. He took as his example the village school in Scotland and the tremendous influence for good that the dominies of the old type had had in the community.

The ideal person to teach the universal love of God must be a lover of men and especially of children. 'Love,' said Graham, 'is the one unfailing medium of instruction.'

As regards religious instruction, he felt that the formation of an acceptable creed would be a unifying influence. He suggested the following simple statement:

> 'God who is the Father and the Creator of all men is Love. All His true children are pledged to love Him and to love one another.'

Graham felt that the true teacher would have a fellow feeling for the suffering round about him and would help in the fight against disease and all matters pertaining to public health. He would also guide the local *panchayats* (councils), organise Village Co-operation Banks, and speak against alcohol, narcotics and gambling. He would help with better methods of cultivation and cattle breeding.

Dr Graham was a mite naïve, for the above list would leave little time for teaching. A Graham might be able to cope with these multifarious activities, but the ordinary village teacher could hardly be expected to assume such extra-curricular responsibilities, which obviously demanded some specialised training. The teacher would have difficulty in that he would be treading on the toes of all kinds of Government officials if he tampered with the health services and local government.

Suggestions concerning more nature study, more astronomy, biology and botany, and the greatness of God's universe were more realistic.

Graham's ideas may have been naïve, but Gandhi was already teaching the importance of basic education—an

education based on nature and the village unit. Gandhi insisted on craft instruction, so that the goods manufactured by the village children could be sold to help finance the schools. Graham was not far from the same scheme. After Independence, Indian education became more and more basic in the rural districts. It has not been an unqualified success, largely due to the great number of unskilled teachers and the lack of equipment and facilities in the rural districts.

Stray Thoughts was sent to a wide circle of his friends and to men in the Church whom he thought would be interested. He asked all recipients to make comments. Most of them replied complimenting him on his breadth of vision. Typical of many replies was the following from Professor John Baillie:

> 'I thank you sincerely for your letter and for the "Stray Thoughts" which I have read with the greatest interest. Your idea of a universal religion that is ready to learn something from the non-Christian cults as well as from Christianity, is in striking opposition to the Barthian tendency which is more and more gaining ground in Scotland, and yet I believe that you have some right on your side as against the Barthian exclusiveness. I profited much from what you had to say.'

Professor Baillie had earlier written two books, *Interpretation of Religion* and *On the Roots of Religion in the Human Soul*, which might have encouraged Dr Graham to think that Baillie would be sympathetic to his views.

The production of Graham's pamphlet in 1937 was unfortunate, for his views were not generally acceptable in the Church at that particular moment. The views of Karl Barth had caused a complete rethinking of the missionary attitude which found expression in the World Missionary Council held in Tambaram, Madras, in 1938.

H. Kraemer, in his *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World*, which was prepared for that Council, wrote:

> ' Whenever the problem of the missionary attitude towards the non-Christian religions is discussed, " the point of contact " inevitably appears on the scene. The task of a good missionary is naturally considered to be that of eagerly looking for points of contact. Every missionary who has his heart in his work is all his life deeply concerned about points of contact. . . .
>
> ' Nevertheless, the curious thing is that there is always confusion in the atmosphere surrounding the problem of the point of contact. This confusion is particularly nervous at present, because Barthian theology true to its vocation to be a purifying storm, has acted like a thunder-stroke by the sentence, " There is no point of contact ". Barth himself does not, of course, deny that there is a point of contact between God and man; because the fact that faith in God's revelation occurs presupposes that it can be communicated to man and apprehended by him as revelation coming from God. Nevertheless he puts outside the domain of theology the question as to what this point of contact is and how man can act in regard to it. It belongs entirely in the field of psychology and pedagogy. Therefore the sentence: " There is no point of contact " is asserted with fierce emphasis'.

Kraemer felt that the only point of contact was ' the disposition and the attitude of the missionary '.

To Kraemer, the problem of approach and adaption of Christianity to Hinduism was complicated by the fact that Hinduism is eminently a social religion of group solidarity and stamps every religion as foreign which does not fit into its socio-religious system. He wrote:

> ' Although permitting its adherents to think what they like, it is very intolerant as to what they deliber-

ately do or neglect in the realm of socio-religious customs and ceremonies. Christianity can never come to terms with this attitude, for two reasons. In the first place because it belongs to its genius as a prophetic religion not to have a pragmatic or social conception of religion, but to conceive it primarily and emphatically in the terms of truth and in those of the objective reality of the objects of its faith. In the second place although Hinduism permits one to think what he likes provided he does so without repudiating the socio-religious and ceremonial aspect that is demanded by the community, its customs and ceremonies presuppose and imply various religious apprehensions (idolatry, a polytheistic attitude, etc.) which are wholly compatible with the pragmatic and relativist temper of " naturalist " Hinduism but are absolutely incompatible with " prophetic " Christianity. With all due recognition of the great religious and moral sincerity that can be found in the practical manifestations of Hinduism, Christianity cannot but apprehend this fundamental " relativist " attitude of Hinduism as revoltingly insincere, and Hinduism cannot but apprehend the fundamental " absolutist " attitude of Christianity as offensively exclusive. Christianity never can give up its much criticized exclusiveness, because if it did it would deny its prophetic core, that is to say, its life and essence.'

The findings of the International Missionary Council Meeting were much in line with Kraemer's view, although not quite as strongly expressed:

' The end and aim of our evangelistic work is not achieved until all men everywhere are brought to a knowledge of God in Jesus Christ and to a saving faith in Him. . . .

' There are many non-Christian religions that claim the allegiance of multitudes. We see and readily recognise that in them are to be found values of deep

religious experience and great moral achievements. Yet we are bold enough to call men out from them to the feet of Christ. We do so because we believe that in Him alone is the full salvation which man needs. Mankind has seen nothing to be compared with the redeeming love of God in the life, death and resurrection of Christ. What He is for us, judge and redeemer, teacher and friend, brother and Lord, we long to see Him become also for others.'

The Report stressed that the Church must be deeply interested in the religious life of those to whom it goes:

'Learning to know their ideas, their sentiments and their experiences, it will find many ways of commending the Gospel. For it is not sufficient to present the Christian truth in terms that satisfy Western theologians alone, but the Gospel has to be proclaimed in terms and modes of expression that make its challenge intelligible in actual life situations. Adaptation in this meaning of the word is a natural and essential method of approach to the mind and heart of the non-Christian. It must not in any way impair the integrity of the entire Gospel of Christ.'

Dr Graham's pamphlet, therefore, was in complete opposition to the theological view current at the time—a fact of which Professor Baillie was obviously aware. Dr Graham had, however, lived in India for almost fifty years, and he was in this pamphlet seeing the unrestricted view of God's love for all men, unhampered by religious doctrines and systems.

The Rev. Marshal B. Lang of Haddington wrote about *Stray Thoughts*:

'A universal Religion is a great idea—but, as you show, not impossible—and already in embryo. It were good if all our ministers at home could get to the centre you reach. Then we would be able to raise a cenotaph

> to Anglicanism, Presbyterianism, Roman Catholicism and all other "isms" with an inscription "Raised to the sad memory of all that separates from the love of God".'

The interesting feature of the pamphlet, written in the twilight of Dr Graham's ministry, is the tolerance and liberalism of his views. The views expressed here are no longer those of the early Graham who talked of the 'miasma of heathendom' and 'the contagion of heathendom'. Over forty years in India had mellowed his opinions, and his love of his fellow-men, regardless of their creed, had broadened his outlook. As he was at pains to point out to Professor Bannerjee, this in no way meant a dilution of his own faith, but rather that his love, like Christ's love, was not confined within limits.

Gandhi said once: 'Missionaries and Christians must begin to live as Christ.' Tagore, in a letter to a young missionary, expressed it as follows:

> 'You cannot do something good before you are yourself good. You cannot preach Christ before you have become as Christ.'

Graham saw God's love as for all men. He felt strongly that non-Christians like Ramakrishna, Gandhi and Tagore were approaching the same goal by another path, and that their path and his were not necessarily exclusive. The theology expressed in Dr Graham's pamphlet might be unacceptable, but the motive for writing it was love for his fellow-men.