A Welsh Vision of Empire? Welsh Imperialists and the Indian Empire

Rhys Owens

Submitted for PhD in the School of Culture and Communication

30 September 2023

Wordcount- 101,376

Abstract

Neither Welsh history nor imperial history has given much attention to the Welsh connection with empire. While English, Scottish, and Irish imperial history have been developed in recent decades, Wales has been largely ignored. In relation to India, there have been projects on missionaries and the East India Company, but little that focuses on Welsh imperialists during the period of Crown Rule. Despite having a smaller presence than other British nationalities, the Welsh were present in India between 1858-1947, and interacted with imperialism in ways which were distinctly Welsh. This research will explore the Welsh in India during this period and how their Welsh identity interacted with the empire to create a unique Welsh conception of imperialism. Constructed in the domestic press, it emphasised Welsh understanding of indigenous peoples through their own experience of being a minority within the UK and attached itself to a strong sense of Britishness manifested in loyalty to the empire. This ideology, however, had limited impact on the ground in India, with Welsh imperialists generally conforming to the racial and class norms of British India. Welsh imperialism remained a prism through which the Welsh thought about themselves rather than a method of action. Examining this experience adds new dimensions to imperial thinking, especially in relation to how faith and language were transported, reimagined, and contested in the colonial sphere. It demonstrates how the British exported their national and regional ideological baggage which continued to influence their thinking, despite being removed from the physical landscape in which they were forged. Welsh people like Sir Lawrence Jenkins and the missionaries of the Northeast of India had tangible impacts on the colonial space which were fundamentally inspired by their Welshness. This greatly adds to our understanding of how British imperialism operated and has implications far beyond India.

DECLARATION This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

Signed: Rhys Owens (candidate)

Date: 21/09/2023

STATEMENT 1 This thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. Where correction services have been used, the extent and nature of the correction is clearly marked in a footnote(s). Other sources are acknowledged by footnotes giving explicit references. A bibliography is appended.

Signed: Rhys Owens (candidate)

Date: 21/09/2023

Statement 2: I hereby give consent for my thesis, if accepted, to be available for electronic sharing after expiry of a bar on access approved by the Swansea University.

Signed: Rhys Owens (candidate)

Date: 21/09/2023

Acknowledgements

Acknowledgements are generally quite self-indulgent exercises which no-one reading is actually interested in, but it would be incredibly rude not to mention a few key individuals who made this thesis possible. My entire dalliance with the Welsh in India was inspired by a book I found on a shelf of the Bodleian Library during my first proper job out of university in 2015. It would not be an understatement to say Huw Bowen's *Wales and the British Overseas Empire* set the challenge to bring the story into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and I am extremely grateful to Huw for his advice and enthusiasm that brought this project to Swansea. Martin Johnes and Gethin Matthews have undertaken their supervisory duties with the utmost diligence and have always provided the perfect balance of challenge and encouragement. I am grateful for their support during an incredibly difficult time for anyone to be starting out in academia. There are far too many archivists who have assisted this project to name individually, and doing so may even detract from a wider truth. Archivists as a profession are fundamental to the work of a historian and without them I can well imagine how several important leads would have turned into me screaming inanely at a long dead imperialist who failed to deposit their papers anywhere intuitive. Whether you're someone who rooted around a dusty room on my behalf, helped me with permission for photographs during a period when access to archives was severely limited, or simply provided a friendly face during thankless hours searching for the one useful scrap among countless boxes, I remember each and every one of you, and I am eternally grateful. Finally, leaving permanent, secure employment to undertake a PhD requires the forbearance of any partner, but when that partner is going through their own PhD experience (one significantly more impacted by COVID lockdowns) it requires many more sacrifices. So, my biggest thank you is to my future wife, Leoma Williams, the most impressive animal behaviour expert I know.

Contents

1

Introduction

On the 27 March 1902 the *Towyn-on-Sea and Merioneth County Times* carried an article which in many ways gets to the heart of Welsh attitudes towards Britain and its empire, the empire's relationship to Wales and the Welsh, and how the inherent contradictions between the two were intellectually resolved. Noting that the article had been taken from an uncredited Indian journal, it begins by arguing that imperialism had '... only served to deepen feelings of pride in the differing nationalities which go to make up the British Empire.' This was true of Australians and Canadians, but especially so for those from 'the Land of the Leek'. Acknowledging that there were far fewer Welsh serving in official roles in the empire than other British nationalities, it nonetheless lauds the '... imaginative and adventurous spirit' without which 'the marvellous expansion of the Empire would not have been so rapidly carried out.' Briefly mentioning the achievements of that tenuous Welshman Robert Baden-Powell at Mafeking, the article goes on to extoll those 'special qualities' that make the Welsh so suited for 'Parliament, the Pulpit and the Press' and lists, most usefully for our purposes here, prominent men who had achieved high positions in the Indian empire - namely Calcutta Chief Justice Sir Lawrence Jenkins, his colleague Justice Stephens, and the late Calcutta barrister Sir Griffith Evans. These men were 'proud to acknowledge their Welsh nationality', with Evans described as 'before everything a Welshmen'. Ending on a speculative note, the article concludes that Wales was unquestionably a nation, but that there existed one no more loyal to the Crown than 'gallant little Wales'.[1]

There is a lot to unpack from this short article, but it immediately points to some of the major themes when considering Wales' place within, and relationship with, the wider British Empire. In the first instance, far from regarding imperialism as the imposition of a foreign power and, by logical extension, a threat to Welshness, the author here regards the empire as a bolster, in both theoretical and practical terms, to Welsh national identity. Using this sense of belonging as a launch pad, it goes on to suggest that the Welsh possess special qualities that have aided imperial expansion, not dissimilar to contemporary rhetoric regarding British qualities at the time, but clearly intended here to be distinct. Lastly, it separates the idea of Wales from that of England through its claim to nationhood, but

[1] 'St David's Day in India', *Towyn-on-Sea and Merioneth County Times*, 27 March 1902: 7.

unambiguously links that nationhood to Britishness under the Crown. The result is a deeply sophisticated conception of Wales' relationship with England and Britain, as well as an uncontested notion of Wales as colonisers and the Welsh as an imperial people.

This article, and its implications, may well shock certain sections of contemporary Welsh opinion. The rise of Welsh nationalism in the late twentieth century and the corresponding increased support for Welsh independence has had a clear impact on how Wales' historic relationship with the United Kingdom and its institutions are viewed. Political nationalism has never been the majority view of the Welsh electorate. Plaid Cymru's representation within the Senedd (formerly the National Assembly) after elections has varied between a high of 17 (at the first election in 1999) to a low of 11 in 2011, out of a total of 60 seats. The highest support ever polled for Welsh independence came in April 2021 with a Savanta ComRes poll putting it at 42% with don't knows excluded.[2] While the post-Brexit period has seen support fluctuate more wildly than usual, the general recent trend has tended to put it within the mid-20s in percentage points, with continued membership of the United Kingdom being the clear current settled will of the Welsh electorate.[3] However, despite nationalism continuing to have a limited political appeal, it has undoubtedly exerted a strong cultural and emotional influence upon Wales as a nation and, alongside a wider British problem of not including the empire on many school curricula, has arguably contributed to a view of the British Empire as being 'English'.

The most publicised recent example of such an opinion came in October 2019 when then leader of Plaid Cymru, Adam Price, speaking ahead of the party's annual conference, called for the payment of 'reparations' to Wales for the plunder of its wealth and natural resources. Price stated:

> Today it's not charity we seek but justice. British rule in Wales has left deep scars. No, it may not have been so bloody, but the human cost in blighted lives is to be measured in the millions... The sun at one time never set on the British Empire – but in the underground of the coalfield it never even dawned. Deprived of our inheritance we were left without the tools – the levers and pulleys – with which to prise ourselves out of the rut of poverty.[4]

[2] 'Savanta ComRes Wales Voting Intention', 29 April 2021, https://savanta.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/Final_38028217-Wales-Poll-20210429_Private.pdf.
[3] 'Should Wales be an Independent Country?', *Statista*, https://www.statista.com/statistics/572299/welsh-attitudes-of-independence-in-wales/.
[4] Quoted from 'UK should compensate Wales for "reducing it to poverty"- Plaid Cymru', *The Guardian*, 3 October 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/oct/03/uk-should-compensate-wales-for-reducing-it-to-poverty-plaid-cymru.

Price subsequently apologised for these comments and for the perceived linking of the Welsh experience of the British state with transatlantic slavery- the latter being most usually associated with calls for reparative justice. In June 2020 Price said:

> We were both a victim of colonisation but we've also been a perpetrator, and that hasn't been sufficiently foregrounded I think in the story that we tell about ourselves.[5]

While Price nuanced his comments by accepting the participation of the Welsh in British imperialism, it is noteworthy that he still maintained his assertion that Wales had been colonised in similar ways to non-European parts of the globe. This view is not uncommon in twenty-first century Wales and represents a clear break with attitudes towards imperialism evidenced in the *County Times* article from 1902. But more importantly than that it suggests a deep lack of understanding of Wales' own imperial role, its 'perpetrator' status, as Price would say, and the distinct and unique ways in which the Welsh participated in a global British world, especially in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While the last few decades have seen the Scottish and Irish explore in ever more nuanced ways their own complicated relationship with the British Empire, increasingly mindful that it was not simply one of victimhood,[6] the Welsh have been left behind, ostrich-like in the sand, allowing contemporary politics to reinvent their past.

This imbalance is what we seek to address here. Wales, as a constituent nation of the United Kingdom, has a long and complex relationship with the British overseas empire. Far from being uninvolved or uninterested in Britain's global role, the Welsh were enthusiastic participants in, and consumers of, imperial endeavours. Through migration, military and civil service, business and religious activities, as well as simply reading about these at home, the Welsh forged deep and purposeful connections with British possessions around the world. While one may immediately think of Welsh settler colonialism, as part of the British colonisation of North America, Australia and New Zealand most especially, and also of specifically Welsh colonising efforts in Patagonia, the Welsh also forged imperial relationships with British colonies of rule. This is particularly true of India, where the Welsh were involved in a wide range of activities throughout the whole period of the East India Company and British Raj. While contemporary

[5] Quoted from 'Plaid Leader Adam Price "sorry" for reparations language', *BBC News*, 21 June 2020, https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-wales-53128269.

[6] See for example T.M. Devine, *Scotland's Empire: The Origins of the Global Diaspora* (London: Penguin, 2012) & '*An Irish Empire'? Aspects of Ireland and the British Empire*, ed. by Keith Jeffery (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996).

Welsh opinion may view the business of imperial rule as something distant to Wales, or something relevant to a few economically inspired settlers, the reality is that the Welsh were intimately and enthusiastically involved with all aspects of governing a vast maritime British empire.

The base objective of this thesis is to take on this attitude of imperial disassociation and position the Welsh of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as an imperial people participating with an imperial purpose. It uses as its case study Britain's most valuable colony, both economically and politically, in this period - India - and tracks its relationship with the Welsh during the period of direct British crown rule (1858-1947). By 1858, when its near loss to a mutiny-turned-uprising led to the confiscation of the country from the East India Company, India was the 'jewel in the crown' of Britain's growing empire. It had long supplanted the former plantation slavery colonies of the Caribbean as the most economically valuable of Britain's possessions based upon its vast cotton wealth which was turned towards supplying Britain's world-leading industrialised textile industry. Within this system India provided Britain with a double boon, not only as a source of its raw materials but also as a vast market for its manufactured products, accomplished through the imposition of free trade which destroyed the advanced textile industries of Bengal. India also provided vast land revenues, one of the primary motivations for earlier East India Company expansion and based upon revenue systems first developed by the Mughals under Emperor Akbar in the late sixteenth century. This vast tax base made the colony virtually self-sufficient, and provided Britain with an enormous standing army which, in the age of steam travel and advanced communications, could be deployed rapidly anywhere in the world. Such economic and strategic value made India a pivotal political prize, and its maintenance and protection was a key plank, arguably *the* key plank, of British foreign policy during the high tide of imperialism.[7]

All this is to say that to Britain and the British, which of course included Wales and the Welsh, India mattered, and maintained prime position in the psychology of British rule. That Britain ruled India was a reality recognisable to all Britons, and that it was right and just for it to do so was a 'truth' only challenged at home in limited ways prior to the twentieth century.[8] As a means of measuring Welsh connection with the formal British Empire, then, India represents the perfect case study.

[7] John Darwin, *After Tamerlane: The Rise and Fall of Global Empires, 1400-2000* (London: Penguin, 2008), pp. 262-9.
[8] Priyamvada Gopal, *Insurgent Empire: Anticolonialism and the Making of British Dissent* (London: Verso, 2019), p. 8.

To do this, the thesis will explore the lives, identities and experiences of those Welsh who found themselves, for one reason or another, active in British India between 1858-1947. These dates represent the period of Crown Rule in India when the colony was ruled under the auspices of the British Government rather than the East India Company. Prior to 1858, vast swathes of South Asia had been ruled by the East India Company as a private enterprise, governed by a Court of Directors based in London. Following Robert Clive's victory at the Battle of Plassey in 1757 which led to the conquest of the prosperous region of Bengal, the Company became the dominant power in South Asia, surpassing the Mughal Empire which had been in decline for some time. By 1857, however, a series of grievances among Indian soldiers boiled over into mutiny and then full-blown rebellion. This was quelled by 1858 through military resources sent by the British Government and following the restoration of imperial control criticism of Company misgovernment led to the annexation of its territories under the British Crown. India was then ruled as a Crown Colony of the British Empire for the next ninety years before power was handed over to an independent Indian Government.[9]

For the most part, Welsh people in Crown-Rule India were individuals whose careers brought them there, be they soldiers, civil servants, missionaries, or some other imperial actor, or indeed their wider dependents. While the empire was an important aspect of British identity throughout this period, it is through these direct imperial agents that we receive the most thorough and sophisticated insights into imperial matters and attitudes and whose commitment to them ensured their survival. In addition, the thesis will also delve into nineteenth and twentieth-century Welsh domestic attitudes to provide a framework for analysing these individuals.

What questions are we asking of our subjects? In order to nuance contemporary views on Wales' relationship with the empire, it will be necessary to capture what aspects of the empire were important to the Welsh. British imperialism had a deep and abiding importance to Welshness during this period. It was a key part of what it was to be Welsh and occupied a space within a broad Welsh identity.[10] Related to this is how the Welsh lived and operated in British India. If Welshness had an impact on ideas of empire, then it is likely to have born some relation to how the Welsh lived their lives in the colonial space. Chapters three and four will capture and conceptualise the Welsh presence in India and will examine their professional and social life in order to compare to their Scottish, English and Irish

[9] Lawrence James, *Raj: The Making and Unmaking of British India*, (London: Abacus, 1997).
[10] Paul O'Leary, 'The Languages of Patriotism in Wales, 1840-1880', in *The Welsh Language and its Social Domains 1801-1911,* ed. by Geraint H. Jenkins (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000), p. 559.

counterparts. Did being Welsh in India lead to a distinctly Welsh experience? Chapter five will examine this Welsh identity in the colonial space, highlighting how the religious and linguistic debates of the nineteenth century which contributed to the Welsh sense of nationhood were experienced among Welsh agents in India.

Chapters six and seven will bring these elements together to explore how Welsh identity and experience culminated in an ideological view of empire which emphasised Wales' unique contribution. Taking the idea of 'Welsh imperialism', these chapters will examine how Welsh linguistic and religious identities formed its foundation, leading the Welsh in India to believe they had a special imperial destiny intimately involved with their 'compassionate' and 'understanding' approach towards indigenous peoples. Chapter six explores the ideological foundation of these claims whilst chapter seven assesses its practical relevance on the ground in India.

The backbone of this thesis is how the Welsh thought about the empire and their place within it. To examine this the methodology will have to focus on capturing Welsh attitude and opinion. The best way to do this for past generations with whom we no longer have direct contact remains the popular press. One of the principal developments of the nineteenth century was the rapid advance of communications which not only aided imperial expansion through commercial, military, and political information, but also allowed popular access to news and current affairs like never before. While newspapers were nothing new, a mass industrial market and an increasingly literate reading public allowed popular expansion of the newspaper industry which was previously a reserve of the middle and upper classes. Sam Hutchinson has argued that print was a means by which the British could imagine their place within the empire and, by facilitating connections and dynamics, could help create imperial identities.[11] Aled Jones and Bill Jones have argued that the Welsh press were pulled into this imperial information system after 1850, and while it reflected the linguistic and religious divides of nineteenth-century Wales, empire was a pervasive topic and presented Wales firmly as part of this imperial metropole.[12] There has long been a debate as to whether newspapers set the tone, or simply reflect the concerns, opinions and experiences of their readers. While it would be naïve to believe that newspapers simply mirrored their readers - they of course had editorial positions which represented the interests of their owners - the British press of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were largely profit-making private businesses

[11] Sam Hutchinson, *Settlers, War, and Empire in the Press: Unsettling News in Australia and Britain, 1863-1902*, (Palgrave MacMillan: Cambridge, 2017), pp. 1-18.
[12] Aled Jones and Bill Jones, 'Empire and the Welsh Press' in *Newspapers and Empire in Ireland and Britain*, ed. by Simon J. Potter (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), pp. 76.

which needed to remain relevant to their audience in order to survive. Within this context, it is helpful to view them as a two-way conversation between the needs and aims of their producers, and the paying customers on which they depended. Hutchinson has argued that while newspapers may not have straightforwardly represented public opinion, they certainly spoke in a language they understood, created the environment in which news was digested, and was the space in which lively public debate took place.[13] While it is important to remember that newspapers were not a mirror-image of their readers, they did reflect in an imperfect way their concerns, opinions and experiences. They will be the primary means through which Welsh attitudes towards the British Empire are established.

For exploring the values and attitudes of the Welsh in India itself, our main sources consist of archival material of letters, diaries, memoirs and other similar items produced by the individuals themselves. This presents an immediate issue of self-selection. For such sources, we are dependent upon the type of people who were likely to commit their thoughts and experiences to written record, and then had the desire, fortune and means with which to preserve said record, and relatives and friends also willing to do so. This skews the historical record towards the highly literate and the wealthy, meaning there is a clear class divide. Of course, the working class also wrote things down, and many of these sources do survive, but the distortion is clear. For the purposes of tracking the Welsh in India this reality is not necessarily fatal. A significant proportion of Welsh agents in British India, like the wider British population, came from this middle- and upper-class world.[14] They were overwhelmingly represented in administrative positions, especially the Indian Civil Service (ICS), and for the Welsh, who often struggled to compete with their English and Scottish counterparts for such positions due to lack of access to patronage and education networks, there was even less chance of a working-class individual making the grade. There were of course Welsh people in India who fitted this latter demographic. Rank-and-file soldiers made up probably the largest single occupational group of Welsh people in India, and there is strong evidence that industrial workers had a more than negligible presence. For these groups, where direct written sources are rare, we are reliant on other sources, such as trade union documents and regimental magazines, to capture experience. However, given that the British population of British India was disproportionately middle and upper class, having the sources skew that way is not as problematic as it would be for other areas and periods.

[13] Ibid.
[14] John W. Cell, 'Colonial Rule', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Twentieth Century*, ed. by Judith M. Brown & WM. Roger Louis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p233.

Our sources are not only written materials. In establishing the demographic extent and breadth of the Welsh population of India, quantitative and qualitative analysis of census data provides the fullest available picture. Chapter three focuses on this task.

Empire is not a word one would typically immediately associate with Welsh history. Despite Wales forming part of the metropole of the largest empire in human history, the academic record has tended to ignore the massive impact this fact had on Wales' society, economy, and politics. To recapture this importance, and place Wales firmly within the historiography of empire, as well as empire firmly within the historiography of Wales, is critical to a well-rounded and full understanding of how Wales as a global nation has interacted with the rest of the world. As the *Towyn-on-Sea and Merioneth County Times* declared in 1902, there existed one no more loyal to the Crown than 'gallant little Wales'.[15]

[15] 'St David's Day in India', *Towyn-on-Sea and Merioneth County Times*, 27 March 1902: 7.

2

Forgotten Imperialists: Welsh History Writing and Empire

In a 2008 article, which represented a broad call to arms for a 'four-nation' approach to Britain's imperial past, John M. MacKenzie wrote:

> Within the Empire itself... there had been no attempt to examine in any systematic way the manner in which imperial rule had been influenced by the local practices, intellectual or religious traditions of the constituent parts of Britain. The supposition seemed to be that Empire was a solvent not a separator....

However, recent changes to the way scholars approached imperial themes had created interest in such an enterprise. He continued:

> ...it is even possible to suggest that the relationships of various British ethnicities to a wider imperial world were, in truth, very important in the maintenance and development of identities. In other words, it is possible to argue that the five principal constituent parts of the British-Irish Council can be seen not as a sudden modern efflorescence, but as a set of phenomena already present in the era of the so-called British Empire.[1]

MacKenzie's article served as a brief summary of some of the tentative developments in Irish, Scottish, Welsh and English approaches to the study of the British Empire. However, it also spoke to a much wider development in imperial history writing which since the 1990s has broken down the idea of the empire as monolithic blocks of metropole/periphery, governed/ruled, white/indigenous and colonised/coloniser.

Known as the New Imperial History, and led by scholars such as Catherine Hall, this new approach repositioned the imperial debate from one of metropole vs periphery to empire being a web of spatial connectivity. Within this framework, empire becomes an interaction between colonised and coloniser which of course emphasises the essential inequality in the relationship but does not view

[1] John M. MacKenzie, 'Irish, Scottish, Welsh and English Worlds? A Four-Nation Approach to the History of the British Empire', *History Compass*, 6 (2008), 1244-63.

colonised peoples as mere receivers of imperial oppression.[2] This approach allows us to recapture colonised voices and understand how they existed, survived, interacted, and collaborated with the imperial superstructure, and how the 'metropole' was dependent upon this agency for survival and renewal.

The breaking down of the traditional metropole/periphery dichotomy has been the most prominent aspect of this turn to spatiality. This is in part due to its developing out of, and in many ways challenging, the postcolonial theories of Edward Said, whose 'orientalism' drew attention to the Eurocentrism of imperial history writing based upon how the West perceived and othered an 'oriental' world.[3] New Imperial History has rejected Said's intense focus on how the colonial was othered and shaped by the metropole and has instead emphasised how Britain and its colonies were co-constitutive and interconnected. However, postcolonialism, defined as the study of the lasting cultural, political and economic impacts of colonialism on respective societies, remained a driving force in the new imperial turn, and can be seen in recent works such as Yasmin Khan's *The Raj at War: A People's History of India's Second World War*[4] and Priya Atwal's *Royals and Rebels: The Rise and Fall of the Sikh Empire*.[5] Both have been part of a trend to shift the narrative away from a westernised perspective that sees the empire as having 'happened' to other parts of the world and towards one that restores agency to colonial peoples.

All in all, these developments have led to the traditional record changing remarkably over the past 20 years. The twentieth century fad for grand holistic theories which attempted to encompass the whole framework of the British Empire, or indeed European empires as a collective, gradually passed away in the new millennium in place of more focused, and arguably more informative, case studies. These have encompassed area studies in which the focus is a particular colony or imperial relationship, with major works produced on India[6] and South Africa to name just two. Or else they have taken a thematic

[2] David Lambert, 'Reflections on the Concept of Imperial Biographies: The British Case', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 40 (2014), 27.
[3] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books, 2003).
[4] Yasmin Khan, *The Raj at War: A People's History of India's Second World War* (London: Bodley Head, 2015).
[5] Priya Atwal, *Royals and Rebels: The Rise and Fall of the Sikh Empire* (London: C. Hurst and Co. Publishers Ltd, 2020).
[6] For example, David Gilmour, *The British In India: Three Centuries of Ambition and Experience* (London: Penguin Books, 2019).

approach, with themes such as gender, race, and sexuality,[7] as well as institutions such as the press,[8] being analysed within the colonial context. Alongside a welcome interaction with postcolonial studies this has created a space where a litany of more diverse voices both within and outside Britain can challenge the traditional record which has been dominated by the voices of white men often from a public-school background. However, whilst providing more focused detail and innovative perspectives, this turn has also fragmented the study of empire, with few studies attempting to draw together the literature into a unified theory along the line of classical voices such as Robinson and Gallagher or Cain and Hopkins. This perhaps represents a more realistic and intellectually honest method of writing history but can also lead to contradictions in our understanding when no attempt to draw together the threads is made. For this reason, these classic grand narrative theories are still useful in providing a theoretical framework for how we think about British and European imperialism, though they must be considered alongside the more diverse work that has come since.

Classic Theories of Empire and New Imperial History

The most influential and enduring theory of empire was put forward by Robinson and Gallagher in their classic 1953 article 'The Imperialism of Free Trade' and their later book *Africa and the Victorians*. In these works, they propounded the theory that formal British imperialism was driven by crises on the periphery that disrupted the commercial, strategic, and political interests of the metropole and resulted in the last resort of annexation. Though these crises were often economic in nature, they argued that political considerations, specifically the political stability of the periphery and the relevant transnational relations, were equally important and formal annexation would not have proceeded for merely economic factors.[9] The major contribution of Robinson and Gallagher to the debate rests with their identification of formal empire, in which Britain controlled a colony territorially, as belonging to the same fundamental process as informal empire, in which Britain used a variety of indirect methods to coerce and control a territory that was nominally, or often quite sophisticatedly, independent. According to their research, the British sought to control rather than conquer, and would harness informal methods as the most natural and easiest option, before resorting to formal conquest if the

[7] On gender, see *Gender and Imperialism,* ed. by Claire Midgley (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998). On race, see Jane Samson, *Race and Empire* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005). On sexuality, see Ronald Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality: The British Experience* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991).
[8] For example, Hutchinson, *Settlers, War, and Empire in the Press*.
[9] John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson, 'The Imperialism of Free Trade', *The Economic History Review*, 6 (1953), 1-6.

political situation was too unstable to rely on less direct means.[10] By their calculation there was no 'New Imperialism' of the late nineteenth century. The massive expansion of formal colonial control was simply a more intense application of the same mid and early Victorian process in altered conditions of international relations.[11]

Robinson and Gallagher transformed the debate around imperialism and redirected assumptions away from a focus on the economic conditions of the metropole and towards more political considerations on the periphery. They decentralised historical conceptions of empire and recognised that imperialism was not simply something done to colonies, but that the essential conditions for its expansion lay also within them. Their work influenced the research of subsequent generations of imperial historians, such as D.K. Fieldhouse who argued that imperial expansion was mostly the result of strategic and political considerations. He pointed to concerns about the sea route to India as the reason for East African expansion, and suggested that nineteenth and twentieth century British expansion was mainly the result of specific political and commercial considerations, often fairly petty, that emanated from the periphery at different times.[12] Other historians influenced by the Robinson and Gallagher thesis include Bernard Porter and Ronald Hyam, and in the main the impact of their work has led to a dealignment of imperial causation from economic factors.

However, there has been pushback against this, with the work of Cain and Hopkins being the most prominent attempt to revive the economic school previously represented by J.A. Hobson and V.I. Lenin. According to Cain and Hopkins, metropolitan forces were the drivers behind imperial expansion with 'gentlemanly capitalism' being the primary cause of British empire-building in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This 'gentlemanly capitalism' consisted of financiers and investors in the City of London and Southeast of England who collaborated with the old landed gentry to achieve high societal status and ultimately supplant the latter in terms of political influence. After 1850, 'invisible' earnings in the form of overseas investments became increasingly vital to Britain's economy, and the City quickly became the most dynamic area of economic growth. Seeking higher rates of return abroad, 'gentlemanly' capitalists collaborated with government to secure ideal conditions outside Europe for their investments. In a way reminiscent of the Robinson and Gallagher thesis, financiers penetrated

[10] Ibid, 6-15.
[11] John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson, with Alice Denny, *Africa and the Victorians: The Official Mind of Imperialism* (London: MacMillan, 1961), pp. 1-27.
[12] D.K. Fieldhouse, *The Colonial Empires: A Comparative Survey from the Eighteenth Century* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1966), p. 251.

markets without formal government intervention where possible, but where their activities created crises on the periphery, or where markets were not so easily exploitable, 'gentlemanly' interests pressured government to intervene, and in some cases, formally annex in order to secure the market.[13] Though significantly modernised, the similarities to the theories of Hobson are obvious,[14] with the debate being once again oriented towards somewhat shady financial capitalism emanating from the City of London.

Criticism of the Cain and Hopkins thesis tends to focus on recognition of the relative unimportance of the empire to the British economy right up to the First World War. According to Fieldhouse, what limited benefit the empire provided economically prior to 1914 was mostly in its supply of a few key imports, such as sugar from the Caribbean and timber from Canada. At times of global trading difficulties, the empire also provided a key market for exports, though never to an extent that this consideration drove policy. It was only after the First World War when protectionism became a dominant aspect of British economic policy that the empire became a critical market for overseas investments, and even then, the overwhelming majority of this investment went to the 'neo-Europes' of the white settler empire.[15] By this reckoning, 'gentlemanly capitalism' as a driver of imperial expansion, or even as a major consideration in imperial policy, is belied by its relative economic unimportance through much of the prime periods of expansion.

Cain and Hopkins would themselves not deny this basic analysis of the economic importance of empire. They accepted that this fluctuated over time with different aspects of the British economy being affected. According to Cain, empire was important economically though not dominant compared to Britain's wider application of free trade, and it would not be unreasonable to assume that Britain's industrial power would have seen it achieve its world position if it had never engaged in further imperialism after the eighteenth century. Even within 'gentlemanly capitalism', Cain only saw this as gaining in economic importance after 1850, and though overseas investments as a whole were critically important in his mind to the British balance of payments, he recognised that the empire itself absorbed

[13] P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins, 'Gentlemanly Capitalism and British Expansion Overseas II: New Imperialism, 1850-1914', *The Economic History Review*, 40 (1987), 1-26.
[14] J.A. Hobson, *Imperialism: A Study* (London: J. Nisbet, 1902). See also V.I. Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism: A Popular Outline* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1975).
[15] D.K. Fieldhouse, 'The Metropolitan Economics of Empire', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Twentieth Century*, ed. by Judith Brown and WM. Roger Louis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 96-101.

significantly less than the rest of the world.[16] But the importance of 'gentlemanly capitalism' was not necessarily in its benefits to the wider economy at any given time, but the power and influence of its members in the Southeast of England. The point of the Cain and Hopkins thesis was to place 'gentlemanly capitalism' as the most important interest group operating in the imperial sphere in the late nineteenth century, driving forward expansion in pursuit of its own interests rather than necessarily benefiting the British economy as a whole at all times.[17] And herein lies their main contribution to the debate - the identification of 'gentlemanly capitalism' as an influential interest.

This idea of influential interests driving imperialism was developed by John Darwin, who used aspects of both the Robinson and Gallagher and Cain and Hopkins theses to develop a sophisticated understanding of how individuals and groups in the metropole and on the periphery drove imperial expansion. According to Darwin, the formal relationship that existed between Britain and specific regions of the world tended to represent the full extent of possible British control, limited by military, economic, and geopolitical considerations. Furthermore, these relationships were usually driven by individual circumstances rather than deliberate policy. Where a relationship developed into formal control, it was often as a result of what Darwin termed 'bridgeheads', which would need to exist on both the periphery and metropole in order for annexation to succeed. A bridgehead was a private interest which could be humanitarian, commercial, or political, to name but a few, which operated or had interests on the periphery and would lean on government for support. Where these bridgeheads were strong, and where the periphery was unstable, unbearable pressure could be brought to bear on government through the court of public opinion to intervene and ultimately formally control a territory. Where a bridgehead was weak, and where a corresponding power on the periphery was strong and stable, control would only extend to informal methods. Darwin used the Uitlander interest in South Africa which contributed to the South African War and formal annexation of the Boer Republics as an example of the former, and the often complex informal processes of protecting commercial interests in China as an example of the latter. While combining the peripheral crises elements of Robinson and Gallagher and the importance of metropolitan interests from Cain and Hopkins, Darwin concluded that while there were certainly stronger interests than others, such as the Anglo-Indian lobby, British expansion was

[16] P.J. Cain, 'Economics and Empire: The Metropolitan Context', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Nineteenth Century,* ed. by Andrew Porter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 31-53.
[17] Cain and Hopkins, 'Gentlemanly Capitalism', 2-3.

ultimately a jagged edge of often contradictory and competing interests which at times caused the government to intervene.[18]

While theories of imperial expansion dominated the debate throughout much of the late twentieth century, some historians began looking into the relationship between imperialism and specific themes prior to the onset of New Imperial History in the 1990s. While lacking the benefits of holistic approaches as discussed above, these histories have illuminated the relationship between imperialism and other historical phenomena and have allowed much greater detail to be uncovered. One such area is the debate over the cultural ramifications of empire on Britain itself, and what the cultural output of imperialism meant in practice to ordinary citizens. Over the past few decades this debate has been dominated by the ongoing discussion between John MacKenzie and Bernard Porter, with the former taking the position that empire had a major impact on Britain's popular culture and the latter arguing that ordinary people had little interest in it. MacKenzie argued that empire was a powerful and influential cultural force during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries with an insatiable consumer demand being satisfied through literature, radio broadcasts, and exotic consumables advertised through the Empire Marketing Board, and imperial showcases such as the Wembley Exhibition. The empire was projected and became an important part of the average person's perception of Britain through school and higher education, the church, and the BBC, through which the moral imperative of the empire was popularly distributed. In this sense, the empire was not only widely known among Britons - it was also widely celebrated and occupied an important place in the national psyche.[19]

Porter disagreed with this assessment. In his book *The Absent-Minded Imperialists* he argued that empire was largely a middle- and upper-class affair, with its opportunities and culture dominated by Britain's elite. Though Britain's consumer culture may well have been imperially themed, Porter argued that the presence of the empire on cigarette packets and soap did not necessarily mean that this had an impact on the consumer, and pointed out that the average person's understanding and knowledge of the empire was poor, citing the memorable example of one person naming Lincolnshire as a colony.[20] Porter's analysis is important in reminding us that the opportunities of empire were generally enjoyed by an elite few, and that even in terms of consumables there were obviously large differentials in choice

[18] John Darwin, 'Imperialism and the Victorians: The Dynamics of Territorial Expansion', *The English Historical Review*, 112 (1997), 614-42.
[19] John M. MacKenzie, 'The Popular Culture of Empire in Britain', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Twentieth Century*, ed. by Judith Brown and WM. Roger Louis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 212-32.
[20] Bernard Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 306-22.

between rich and poor. However, his fundamental critique of MacKenzie's work seems to be premised on the idea that one cannot make the leap that just because imperial themes were widespread, they had any kind of major impact on people's attitudes. MacKenzie himself accepted that the full impact of these themes is difficult to gauge in any precise way,[21] and it is of course always important to remember how different classes of people receive and process culture differently. However, to suggest they had no impact on the working class is probably a leap too far.

As the 1990s progressed the study of imperial history became increasingly fragmented and focused on themes. Of these, Jane Samson's *Race and Empire* stands out as an attempt to grapple with an almost embarrassingly ignored aspect of empire up to the 1990s- its vital relationship with the racism which justified and sustained its existence. Samson argued that while racism was not a cause of empire, it certainly sustained it and underpinned some of its major functions. The dispossession of land, systems of indentured labour, authoritarian forms of rule over non-European subject peoples, and the general colonial capitalist environment relied upon racial inequality for its very existence. This intersected with other categorisations of difference, such as gender and class, to further 'other' indigenous people and define the metropole from the periphery in highly racialised terms. While conceptions of race have changed over time, with racial inequality becoming more taboo in most societies, race as constituted through imperialism still continues to influence relations in post-colonial societies.[22] Stand out examples include continuing economic racial inequality in post-Apartheid South Africa, especially around land ownership and access to the professions, ongoing failure to settle Aborigine inequality in Australia and other majority white settler societies, and most devastatingly the genocide in Rwanda which was born out of aggressive racial categorisation by the German and Belgian authorities.

Another fruitful area of specialised study has been that of sexuality. In *Empire and Sexuality* Ronald Hyam described the colonial periphery as an area of sexual adventure and discovery, standing in stark contrast to the prudery and restrictiveness of Victorian Britain. He argued that while imperialism was not driven by sex, it was nonetheless an important means of societal exchange between Europe and the rest of the world and helped forge long-term relationships between alien cultures. Over time, ever deepening racialised attitudes towards indigenous societies led to an importation of British prudery, which by the 1880s created racially divided colonial environments where mixed-race sexual relations were deeply taboo. Race and sexuality intersected to fabricate the idea of 'sexual danger' towards white

[21] MacKenzie, 'The Popular Culture of Empire in Britain', p. 215.
[22] Samson, *Race and Empire,* pp. 4-7.

women, the dangers of 'miscegenation', and the ordering of groups partly based on perceived sexual attributes, such as 'effeminate' Hindus and 'sexually potent' Africans. To Hyam, this switch from the colonial environment as a landscape of sexual opportunity to one of highly racialised and codified sexual ordering was of vital significance, and much like attitudes towards race described by Samson, continued to have a devastating impact in the post-colonial world such as modern sodomy laws in East Africa.[23] Hyam's work has been criticised by feminist historians who have highlighted his often-strident dismissal of feminist critiques of empire and imperial power structures.[24] While these criticisms are legitimate, with Hyam displaying an almost deliberate belligerence towards sophisticated theories of male dominance and exploitation, his integration of sexuality into the debate has vastly added to our historical understanding.

Thirdly, and following on from the strongest criticisms of Hyam's work, there has been the move towards an understanding of gender and empire. Rosalind O'Hanlon has detailed how changes in the colonial economy brought about by imperial capitalist exploitation pushed women out of traditional gender roles and integrated them into these economic systems. The forced migration of men in pursuit of cash wages gave women a far greater role in agricultural production and also drew them into the urban economy as migrant workers themselves. Religious, political, and anti-colonial movements also drew in large numbers of women, though often in controlling ways, and women could find it difficult to cut through these male dominated worlds. Whilst benefiting from women being drawn into the colonial economy, authorities also feared for the breakdown of traditional forms of society and the conflicts that could arise from female economic participation, and in much the same way as they regulated sexual and racial relations, colonial authorities in the later nineteenth century also increasingly attempted to restrict women's activity and encourage them into a more traditional gender role. The Mau Mau uprisings, for example, were interpreted as partly caused by the frustration of delayed family life for young Kikuyu men, and other colonial disasters, such as the Indian Mutiny, contributed to a deeply held view that colonial societies were becoming too disordered. Unsurprisingly, these colonial-era regulations also developed into modern equivalents, such as the idealised image of Hindu womanhood portrayed by some elements of Hindu nationalism as at threat from the Muslim 'other' in modern India.[25]

[23] Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality*, pp. 200-217.
[24] Rosalind O'Hanlon, 'Gender in the British Empire', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Twentieth Century*, ed. by Judith Brown and WM. Roger Louis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 379-398.
[25] Ibid, pp. 379-398.

New Imperial History, Postcolonialism, and the Impact on Welsh History

The impact of spatiality and empire as interconnected has undoubtedly brought much needed detail to the historical record and transformed our understanding of imperial co-dependency and colonial agency. Its relationship with postcolonialism has shifted focus away from what the West did to a defenceless and benighted colonial world and towards a recognition of the ultimate mutuality of imperial relationships, albeit based upon violent inequality. Ironically, recent scholarship which has incorporated spatial connectivity within a postcoloniality has drifted back towards grand holistic theories, though ones which tend towards explaining the imperial legacies within modern British society. Inspired by contemporary social movements such as Black Lives Matter and LGBTQ+ liberation campaigns, works such as Akala's *Natives: Race and Class in the Ruins of Empire*,[26] Priyamvada Gopal's *Insurgent Empire: Anticolonial Resistance and British Dissent*[27] and Sathnam Sanghera's *Empireland: How Imperialism has Shaped Modern Britain*,[28] have all sought to highlight the continuing influence of imperialism and imperial mindsets in the world around us rooted in a powerful understanding of the multifaceted nature of empires.

While the New Imperial History has tended to focus on breaking down dichotomies between metropole and periphery, it has also had the effect of breaking down the idea of a monolithic United Kingdom. MacKenzie's 2008 article spoke to a growing recognition that the constituent nations of the United Kingdom experienced and interacted with the empire differently.[29] For decades scholarship on imperialism ignored the Welsh experience, either subsuming it into a broader British/English experience or, when a four-nation approach has been adopted, relegating the Welsh as irrelevant, not interested, or else simply not present. At best Wales forms a snippet, a side note, such as the small table dealing with Welsh imperial migration in Ged Martin and Benjamin E. Kline's contribution to *The Cambridge Illustrated History of the British Empire.*[30] At worst it is neglected entirely, as has been the case in several volumes of the Oxford History of the British Empire. Even within Welsh history the empire has not been a traditional topic of research, with Welsh historians struggling to emerge from their familiar focus on industrial communities and labour politics. These traditional histories, focused as they often are on exports, class struggle, and industrial conflict, can present

[26] Akala, *Natives: Race and Class in the Ruins of Empire* (London: Two Roads, 2018).
[27] Gopal, *Insurgent Empire*.
[28] Sathnam Sanghera, *Empireland: How Imperialism has Shaped Modern Britain* (New York City: Viking, 2021).
[29] MacKenzie, 'Irish, Scottish, Welsh and English Worlds?', 1244-63.
[30] Ged Martin and Benjamin E. Kline, 'British Emigration and New Identities', in *The Cambridge Illustrated History of the British Empire*, ed. by P.J. Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 265.

Wales as a slave to global phenomena - a place which history happens to - rather than as agents of global change in their own right through the phenomenon of imperialism. Even the classic great narratives of Welsh history fail to give much insight into Wales' imperial past. John Davies' *A History of Wales* barely even mentions the empire in passing,[31] and Kenneth O. Morgan's *Rebirth of a Nation: A History of Modern Wales 1880-1980* only goes as far as discussing the popular enthusiasm for the South African War of 1899-1902.[32] For many years, as far as Welsh history goes, the empire has been seen as a repository for coal, steel, iron and slate, and even this angle has never received much attention.

Wales has not benefitted particularly strongly from this spatiality turn. Of the tiny number of historians who have attempted to create something resembling a history of Wales' relationship with the empire, Gwyn A. Williams' concept of an 'Imperial South Wales' stands out. In *The Welsh in Their History* and *When Was Wales?* Williams attempted to frame Wales' traditional histories of industrialism and class conflict through the underpinning of British imperialism, arguing that the export capitalism of the Welsh economy, and the society that emerged from it, was fundamentally dependent on the markets of the overseas empire.[33] To Williams, this impact went beyond the nature and composition of steel and coal communities in the South Wales valleys, and traced the influence of 'Imperial South Wales' to the very heart of government through individuals like Thomas Jones, Deputy Secretary to the Cabinet under David Lloyd George and subsequent Prime Ministers, and invariably described as one of the most important men in Europe.[34] This approach seems to borrow heavily from the writings of J.A. Hobson, whose *Imperialism: A Study*[35] was also the basis of V.I. Lenin's writings on the relationship between imperialism and capitalism.[36] Like Hobson and Lenin, Williams' approach fails to account for Britain's (and in this case Wales') industrial success outside the prism of imperialism, not recognising that for much of the period Britain's exports were focused on countries outside the formal empire.[37] Whilst providing an excellent counterweight to traditional Welsh histories, Williams does not succeed in providing a compelling evidence base between Wales' export economy and the deeply imperial society

[31] John Davies, *A History of Wales* (London: Penguin Books, 2007).
[32] Kenneth O. Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation: Wales 1880-1980* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 45.
[33] Gwyn A. Williams, *The Welsh in Their History* (London: Croom Helm, 1982), pp. 172-75.
[34] Gwyn A. Williams, *When Was Wales? A History of the Welsh* (London: Penguin, 1991), pp. 220-27.
[35] Hobson, *Imperialism.*
[36] Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*.
[37] Fieldhouse, 'The Metropolitan Economics of Empire', pp 96-101.

he espoused through 'Imperial South Wales', not to mention the immediate problem of a lack of relevance to Mid and North Wales. Williams was a pioneer in this field, but his was not the final word.

Kenneth O. Morgan also put forward ideas on Wales' relationship with the empire, though these do not form an encompassing theory and relate primarily to the South African War. According to Morgan, popular enthusiasm for the war, especially celebrations around key events such as the relief of the siege of Mafeking (the source of a new verb to describe intense jingoistic celebrations), demonstrate that the Welsh were keen supporters of the empire. He argued that the Welsh press, including the Welsh language press, consistently demonstrated pro-war attitudes and this reflected a popular enthusiasm for imperial themes apparent during other conflicts as well as in popular culture such as novels and exhibits.[38] Morgan's arguments are influential, though his writings must be placed in the context of discussions on the Liberal ascendency and domestic politics rather than be seen as an attempt to theorise about Wales and empire more broadly.

More recently this challenge has been taken up by historians such as Huw Bowen and Aled Jones and Bill Jones. Bowen's 2011 edited volume *Wales and the British Overseas Empire: Interactions and Influences, 1650-1830* represents the first major attempt to bring writing on Wales and the empire into one unified and coherent volume, albeit for the period preceding the focus of this study. The volume brought together writing on Wales' relationship with the East India Company, the 'Celtic fringe', its evangelical missions around the world, and the Welsh influence in Asia, the Caribbean, and North America. As a book of essays, it suffers from unavoidable fragmentation, however this is mitigated somewhat by the historiographical essay of Neil Evans and Bowen's enormously helpful speculations which serve as introduction and conclusion. According to Bowen, the Welsh of the eighteenth century lacked the same association with empire as their English, Scottish, and Irish counterparts due to significantly smaller participation, both numerically and proportionally, as well as a hazy dividing line between Wales and England as political and economic entities.[39] In other words, the Welsh were less likely to engage with the empire and when they did, they were not usually considered substantially different to their English colleagues. This is reinforced by Evans, who argued that Welsh writing on the empire often adopted an approach that integrated Welsh history with English before reverting to form with its focus on medieval

[38] Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation,* p. 45.
[39] H.V. Bowen, 'Introduction', in *Wales and* the *Overseas Empire: Interactions and Influences, 1650-1830,* ed. by H.V. Bowen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp. 1-14.

Wales and the period of Liberal ascendency.[40] However, it would not be accurate to assert that the Welsh were completely disengaged with the imperial project during the eighteenth century. As Bowen himself outlined, the Welsh were present throughout the hierarchy and staff of the East India Company during this period,[41] and Andrew MacKillop has suggested that not only were the Welsh able to exploit patronage networks to gain Company employment, but that these and other documentary evidence reinforces the idea of a Welsh identity among them.[42] In terms of the domestic situation, Martyn J. Powell's contribution not only suggested an imperial mentality in Wales, but that this often manifested itself in vocal loyalty to the centre on issues that one might expect would generate a degree of solidarity, such as linguistic concerns and conflict in Ireland.[43] The detail of these case studies will be analysed in more detail later when we look at the specific historiography around Wales and India, but it suffices to say here that Bowen's volume established a Welsh stake in empire in terms of presence and mentality, and this serves as an important springboard for further case studies as well as more holistic research.

The scholarship of Aled Jones and Bill Jones represents the best recent attempt to broadly theorise on Wales and the British Empire. In an exploratory article of 2003, Jones and Jones discussed the idea of cultural transplantation as a means of understanding and taming the unfamiliar and often dangerous colonial environment. This concept, known as 'Little Wales', or the transplantation of a Welsh way of life to the empire, offered for the first time an understanding of how the Welsh interacted with the empire in a way that was peculiarly Welsh. Using settlers in Australia and missionaries in the Northeast of India as case studies, they argued that the Welsh language and non-conformist religion were transplanted to the periphery and used to recreate a recognisably Welsh life, though within the Australian context this melded with an integrationist attitude that resulted in a deep commitment to the trappings of Welsh life rather than a loyalty to Wales itself. These processes were not only heavily influenced by movements

[40] Neil Evans, 'Writing Wales into the Empire: Rhetoric, Fragments - and Beyond?', in *Wales and the Overseas Empire: Interactions and Influences, 1650-1830*, ed. by H.V. Bowen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp. 15-39.
[41] H.V. Bowen, 'Asiatic Interactions: India, the East India Company and the Welsh Economy, c1750-1830', in *Wales and the Overseas Empire: Interactions and Influences, 1650-1830*, ed. by H.V. Bowen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp. 168-92.
[42] Andrew MacKillop, 'A "Reticent" People? The Welsh in Asia, c1700-1815', in *Wales and the Overseas Empire: Interactions and Influences, 1650-1830,* ed. by H.V. Bowen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp. 143-67.
[43] Martyn J. Powell, 'Celtic Rivalries: Ireland, Scotland and Wales in the British Empire, 1707-1801', in *Wales and the Overseas Empire: Interactions and Influences, 1650-1830,* ed. by H.V. Bowen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp. 62-86.

and events back home, such as the campaign for church disestablishment and the collapse of the Liberal ascendency, but also influenced the domestic conception of nationality and contributed to its growth.[44] In later articles, Aled Jones argued that the Northeast mission field represented contested space in which an embittered and beleaguered minority in the form of the Welsh projected much of their cultural angst into demarcating and preserving specifically Welsh spaces.[45] This research was pioneering as the first empirical study of Wales and modern empire. The 2003 article represented a speculative attempt to theorise outwards, rather than a thorough and broader research project on the Welsh and empire. However, the idea of 'Little Wales' is a very compelling one, can certainly be utilised beyond these narrow case studies, and represents the best attempt to date to explain Wales' relationship with the empire.

While there has been little attempt to bring the relationship of Wales and empire together in a broad thesis beyond those outlined above, what has started to thrive in recent years has been case studies into particular regions of the empire, no doubt spurred on by the broader development of area studies. On their own, these have provided detailed pictures of Welsh communities abroad, their cultural maintenance, integration and assimilation, and the mutual impact and exchange between them, their adopted home, and Wales itself. Taken together, they begin to tease out fairly clear themes and comparisons, albeit adapted to specific times and places, which indicate that there is more to be said beyond the narrow confines of the individual case study.

Bill Jones' work on the Australian gold fields in Victoria is one of the most notable of these case studies. Drawing from the Australian Welsh-language press, Jones argued that Victoria, and more specifically Ballarat, became the centre of Welsh cultural life in Australia, with a proliferation of non-conformist chapels, Cambrian societies, Welsh-language publications, and Eisteddfodau (an Eisteddfod is a Welsh language cultural celebration typically involving competition in singing, poetry, and other cultural activities) and other cultural festivities. As well as stimulating a distinctly Welsh way of life in Victoria, Jones also argued that the existence and vitality of these communities stimulated interest in Wales itself, where Australia was portrayed as a 'working man's paradise' and, mirroring contemporary perceptions of Y Wladfa in Patagonia, the best chance of preserving the Welsh language and Welsh

[44] Aled Jones and Bill Jones, 'The Welsh World and the British Empire c. 1851-1939: An Exploration', in *The British World: Diaspora, Culture and Identity*, ed. By Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich (Abingdon: Routledge, 2003), pp. 57-81.
[45] Aled Jones, 'Sacred Spaces: Cultural Geographies of Mission in Welsh Sylhet, 1849-1940', *The Welsh History Review*, 26 (2012), 215-45.

cultural life.[46] These perceptions were closely associated with the idea of the Welsh as a civilising influence, not unlike that seen among the missionaries in Northeast India, and likewise Welsh emigration to Australia was considered a means of preserving Welsh life while benefiting their host society[47] - another case of a beleaguered minority demarcating and preserving Welsh spaces under a distinctly imperial attitude. The relevance of 'Little Wales' here is immediately clear, with the Welsh clearly transporting their home life into Australia as a means of taming the environment. But what also stands out is the Welsh desire to be seen as contributing to Australian society, and to that end a highly exaggerated version of the qualities of the Welsh became an important part of Welsh Australian identity, such as their faith, their work ethic, and their success in the business and political spheres.[48] However, this 'contributionist' approach to Welsh identity in the end contributed to its decline. As Arthur Festin Hughes has written, Welsh communities in Australia, especially outside the main areas of Welsh migration, tended to assimilate to Australian society pretty rapidly, both in terms of adopting English as their primary language and accepting the practicality of attending English non-conformist church services.[49] According to Robert Llewellyn Tyler, this cultural assimilation was linked to occupational mobility. Despite issues surrounding culture being an important factor in Welsh migration, as with most national groups the main pull for the Welsh abroad was economic opportunity, and in Australia this presented itself in the form of gold. The vast majority of Welsh emigrants were employed in mining operations on the Victorian gold field, with important cultural institutions such as the chapel, Cambrian societies, choirs, and sports teams organised around the institution of the workplace. As families became more prosperous, Australian-born sons of miners became more ambitious, less interested in manual labour, and would move into more white-collar or better blue-collar professions. This fractured the cultural integrity of the Welsh population and, combined with lower levels of migration and many first-generation migrants returning home, gradually drew the Welsh into an English-speaking Australian identity.[50] In Australia we see 'Little Wales' in action, buoyed by contemporary angst

[46] Bill Jones, 'Representations of Australia in Mid-Nineteenth-century Welsh Emigrant Literature: Gwlad yr Aur and Awstralia A'r Cloddfeydd Aur', *The Welsh History Review*, 23 (2007), 55-56.
[47] Bill Jones, 'Welsh Identities in Ballarat, Australia, During the Late Nineteenth Century', *Welsh History Review*, 20.2 (2000), 286.
[48] Ibid, 277-88.
[49] Arthur Festin Hughes, 'Welsh Migrants in Australia: Language Maintenance & Cultural Transmission', unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Adelaide, Dept. of Education, (1994), 151-54.
[50] Robert Llewellyn Tyler, 'Occupational Mobility and Cultural Maintenance: The Welsh in a Nineteenth Century Australian Gold Town', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 24 (2006), 277-99.

and a flourishing Welsh culture, but we also see its inherent weaknesses and the constant risk of assimilation once a culture is divorced from its home environment.

Probably the area of greatest academic focus is the Welsh in America. Of course, this was not a straightforward imperial relationship as in the case of Australia and other British colonies. Most Welsh emigration to America took place after independence, and by the time we come to the period in question the United States of America had been in existence for the best part of one hundred years. Some scholarship on colonial era migration does exist, and this focuses on the pull of American religious liberty, as well as the economic and political opportunity perceived to exist across the Atlantic,[51] but for the most part the history of the Welsh in America is one of leaving the British Empire entirely. However, due to the numbers involved, the thematic overlaps, and the significance of the American idea to the history of the Welsh as a globalised people, it is worth highlighting this research here. The story of the Welsh in America is traditionally associated with the flight of religious dissenters to the 'Welsh Tract' of Pennsylvania and surrounding states from around the seventeenth century onwards,[52] and though it is easy to forget that most migrants were driven by the possibility of opportunity rather than primarily fleeing persecution, the religious character of Welsh migration is striking and informed cultural norms within the community throughout this period. The Welsh settled throughout America, and several projects for a 'new Cambria' were initiated from New York, Pennsylvania and other Northeastern states, through to the more westerly states of Kansas and Utah. However, Pennsylvania remained the greatest receiver of Welsh emigrants, with the city of Scranton having the largest and most distinctive population.[53] Building on themes earlier developed in regard to the Australian gold fields, Robert Llewellyn Tyler's work on the Scranton Welsh provides an excellent comparison with Welsh communities in Australia. At its peak in 1880, the first- and second-generation Welsh population constituted 12.4% of the population of Scranton, and represented 38% of the Welsh in America, and were engaged principally in the steel industry. Like in Australia, they sustained a vibrant and buoyant Welsh cultural life which centred around non-conformist religion and the Welsh language, with a significant percentage of the community being monoglots. Also, like Australia, this cultural attachment was facilitated and sustained by occupation, in Scranton's case metallurgy. Though it would appear that occupational mobility was less marked than on the Ballarat gold fields, the eventual decline in the Welsh

[51] James Horn, 'British Diaspora: Emigration from Britain, 1680-1815', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Eighteenth Century*, ed. by P.J. Marshall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 38-39.
[52] H.M. Davies, '"Very Different Springs of Uneasiness": Emigration from Wales to the United States of America During the 1790s', *Welsh History Review*, 15 (1991), 368-370.
[53] Bill Jones, *Wales in America: Scranton and the Welsh, 1960-1920* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1993).

dominance of Scranton metallurgy created a similar process of assimilation into American society that undermined Welsh cultural integrity and led to the decline of the Welsh language and distinctly Welsh institutions.[54] This characterisation coincides with Gethin Matthews' research into the American Welsh. Matthews argued that the Welsh migrant population, particularly within urban areas, assimilated relatively quickly and lost their distinctive cultural markers. Places like Scranton, where the Welsh congregated in great numbers and made up a significant percentage of the populace, were few and far between, and it was mostly in rural areas that the Welsh were able to maintain long-term cultural integrity. This culture was characterised by Welsh festivals such as the Gymanfa Ganu and Welsh-language publishing mostly situated around Utica in New York state. Over time, these institutions became less Welsh in character, and though there were examples of stubborn pockets, like Australia assimilation became the primary theme of the American Welsh.[55] Ron Lewis has traced similar developments among Welsh American coalminers who exported their working-class values and lifestyles to the American environment, with their uncharacteristically successful integration (when compared with the Irish and Eastern Europeans) helping to shape the American coal industry into the twentieth century.[56]

Another example of long-term assimilation, though under radically different conditions, can be found in the case of Y Wladfa colony in Chubut, Patagonia. Like America, this area fell outside of the formal British Empire, but is deeply relevant to the themes discussed above and the colony was certainly greatly impacted by imperial developments. The history and development of Y Wladfa can be characterised as a deliberate rejection of Britishness, or at least a Britishness defined through a dominant English nation. The original and subsequent colonists, influenced by the same cultural angst which drove migration to other parts of the world and is so prevalent in the sources for Australia, America, and many other places, fled religious and linguistic dominance at home to establish their 'Little Wales' on the Argentine frontier. Buoyed by splendid isolation, an initially remote Argentinian state, and the success of the main settlement, Y Wladfa represented probably the most comprehensive example of 'Little Wales' that ever existed, and incorporated the same underpinnings of non-conformism, language, and attachment to Welsh cultural norms which were found on a less profound scale elsewhere.

---

[54] Robert Llewellyn Tyler, 'Occupational Mobility and Social Status: The Welsh Experience in Sharon, Pennsylvania, 1880-1930', *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies*, 83 (2016), 1-27.
[55] Gethin Matthews, 'Miners, Methodists, and Minstrels: The Welsh in America and their Legacy' in Michael Newton (ed.) *The Celts in the Americas* (Sydney: Cape Breton University Press, 2013), pp. 95-110.
[56] Ron Lewis, *Welsh Americans: A History of Assimilation in the Coalfields* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008).

However, the Welsh Patagonians were not immune to the development of an imperial consciousness or the pressures of assimilation, and the latter can be seen as a strong driver of the former.

As Trevor Harris has argued, the Welsh of Y Wladfa always maintained a degree of loyalty to the British state, but this was amplified and expanded through conditions on the ground, the unifying impact of the First World War, and, most decisively, the growing centralising tendencies of the Argentine Government in Buenos Aires. Over time, the latter issue encroached on Welsh language rights, as well as their ability to govern themselves through the imposition of such obligations as military service. By 1914, these factors, alongside a belief in the diversity and laissez-faire nature of the empire, created the perception that contrary to the beliefs of the founding settlers, Welsh life could best be protected and preserved within the comforting embrace of the British Empire, and many colonists sought to emigrate to Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and even back to Wales itself. It should also be mentioned that while many saw the spread of Spanish as an encroachment, other colonists embraced Welsh-Argentine identity, intermarried, and adopted the Spanish language at the expense of Welsh.[57] So, we find here strong imperialist and assimilationist tendencies existing simultaneously and playing off each other, not unlike that observed in Australia and America. Lucy Taylor has attributed some of these attitudes to a settler colonial mentality and the idea that the Welsh were 'colonised colonisers' - themselves fleeing colonisation but seeking to assert themselves self-consciously as colonisers in the Argentine setting in relation to the indigenous population. Taylor has argued that this mentality sprung from conditions in nineteenth century Wales, in which the Welsh suffered under the influence of a domineering British state, but in Argentina benefitted from geopolitical hierarchies of race and civilisation.[58] This concept is a useful explanatory tool as we consider the Welsh overseas and their imperialist ideologies.

Heather Hughes has pioneered some excellent research on the Welsh in South Africa which brings in an additional element that is significantly dampened down, though certainly not irrelevant, in the other case studies - whiteness. According to Hughes, the Welsh represented a distinctive community, particularly around the major cities of Cape Town and Johannesburg. Though quite scattered compared to other global Welsh communities, the South African Welsh organised themselves into Cambrian societies, celebrated St David's Day, and perpetuated festivals like the Eisteddfod which has since grown to become a major national event in modern day South Africa. However, due to the specific conditions

[57] Trevor Harris, 'British Informal Empire During the Great War: Welsh Identity and Loyalty in Argentina', *Itinerario*, 38.3 (2014), 103-17.
[58] Lucy Taylor, 'Global Perspectives on Welsh Patagonia: The Complexities of Being Both Colonizer and Colonized', *Journal of Global History*, 13.3 (2018), 446-468.

of South Africa, the Welsh were far more likely to embrace a British identity, over and above the imperial mindset inherent in other Welsh settler societies, though Welshness received a boost during the South African War (1899-1902). South African politics throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was dominated by race, and being mostly active in heavy industries such as mining, the Welsh quickly organised themselves into the South African labour movement, which was predicated upon improving conditions for white workers, agitating against the expansion of black skilled labour, and maintaining white supremacy in South Africa. Within this environment, particularly once the jingoism of the South African War had died down, this broad British identity was subsumed into the country's racial politics, and to the Welsh, as to most white groups within South Africa, their whiteness became the main foundation stone of their identity in a way that was not replicated in other parts of the empire. In this regard, South Africa stands out as a case study in which racial solidarity outweighed almost all other considerations, to the extent that after the Second World War the Welsh would be likely to describe themselves as English-speaking South African.[59]

These case studies demonstrate that despite the continued focus on the traditional topics of Welsh history writing, some pioneering research has been done on the Welsh overseas and their relationship with the British Empire. These studies position the Welsh as culturally vibrant settler-imperialists, creating 'Little Wales' in most of the areas they went, while maintaining a broad commitment to the values of the empire and a British imperial identity. Over time, many of these communities went on to assimilate into their host societies, losing their language, dampening down the Welshness of their cultural traditions, and often defecting to more overtly English forms of nonconformism, but the important thing to note here is that first and second-generation Welsh emigrants were deeply committed to the idea of Wales and to its place as an integral and valued part of the British imperial project. This was replicated back in Wales. These settler societies do greatly enhance our understanding of the Welsh relationship with and experience of empire, but they do not tell a complete story. The Welsh did not interact with the empire simply as settler, they also interacted as imperial masters, going into the empire to rule as administrators, soldiers, and lawyers. Even when they were not directly involved in the direct rule of indigenous populations, the Welsh, as business leaders, workers, missionaries etc, would be present and active in colonial environs which were very different in purpose to settler colonies like Australia and South Africa. This was the direct business of empire - of colonial rule

[59] Heather Hughes, 'How the Welsh Became White in South Africa: Immigration, Identity and Economic Transformation from the 1860s to the 1930s', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,* 7 (2001), 112-27.

- and it is necessary to understand this form of Welsh involvement to build a fuller picture. The most important of these crown colonies during the period in question was India, and while the topic has been deeply neglected, some snippets of research do exist. Before we tackle these, it is necessary to examine the literature that exists on the British as a whole in India, as this will allow us to see the gaps that a four-nation approach can help to plug and serve as a useful guide for comparative purposes.

The British in India

British social life in India has been a topic of renewed scholarly attention in recent years, though for a long time it had largely dropped off the radar of historians. While studies of the British Empire as a political, economic, and military entity, both as a superstructure and through national or regional case studies, have rarely fallen completely out of fashion,[60] historians have been less interested in the British as a social group within colonies. This lack of interest can perhaps be viewed in the context of post-colonial embarrassment. Deep focus on what was essentially an occupying group transplanted forcefully from Europe in the context of colonial exploitation can seem like an anachronistic area of study, especially within an academic context which rightly emphasises the stories of underrepresented and understudied groups. In the context of India, the age of New Imperial History has ensured focus has shifted to both the colonial setting and indigenous peoples and analysed from the perspective of how the previous dichotomies of 'metropole' and 'periphery' interacted with and impacted on each other.

British social life in India had been a casualty of this intellectually invigorating postcolonial turn. The high point of scholarly focus on British life in India came in the first decades after independence. During the 1950s and 1960s, a number of works of this nature appeared authored primarily by former imperial agents in India, or else those with a personal or familial connection to the British Raj. Chief among these scholars was Philip Mason, who, having served in the Indian Civil Service between 1928-1947, on retirement wrote a two-volume work entitled *The Men Who Ruled India* (under the pseudonym Philip Woodruff)[61] and a study of the Indian Army, *A Matter of Honour*.[62] Mason's works are genuine scholarly

[60] See for example, Denis Judd, *Empire: The British Imperial Experience from 1765 to the Present* (London: HarperCollins Publishers, 1996), Lawrence James, *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire* (London: Abacus, 1995), John Darwin, *Unfinished Empire: The Global Expansion of Britain* (London: Penguin Books, 2013).
[61] Philip Woodruff, *The Men Who Ruled India: The Founders* (Oxford: Alden Press, 1953) & *The Men Who Ruled India: The Guardians* (Oxford: Alden Press, 1954).
[62] Philip Mason, *A Matter of Honour: An Account of the Indian Army its Officers and Men* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1976).

attempts to tell the story of the British in India, and were among the earliest efforts to transform what had largely been memoir and opinion into an academic subject. However, Mason's work suffers from personal proximity, nostalgic loyalty, and a clear and unshakeable belief in the ultimate good of the British Empire in India, despite a few limited attempts to bring the Indian experience into focus. In *A Matter of Honour*, for example, Mason went to great lengths to try and convince his readers that by the final decades of the Raj, Indian troops were not considered inferior to British ones.[63] His respect and commitment to the British imperial project makes it difficult to regard him as an impartial, or at least critical, analyst, despite the undoubted quality of his writing.

A more irreverent look at the British in India comes from Dennis Kincaid, whose work *British Social Life in India, 1608-1937* was released posthumously in 1938, while British India was still very much in existence. Kincaid was also an ICS man, following in the footsteps of his father and grandfather, and while he suffered from the same proximity as Philip Mason, his book does not reveal the same level of respect for the society of which he was a part. Kincaid criticised what he saw as the snobbery and racism of British Indian society, arguing that British officials were distant from Indians and suffered from absurd self-confidence and an extreme sense of superiority. Kincaid's irreverence does at times impact on his analysis, with his desire to poke fun often taking the place of serious assessment. He was also clearly heavily influenced by writers such as E.M. Forster who critiqued the class pretensions of the Raj but often unfairly placed the blame on women, arguing that the increased presence of 'memsahibs' from the middle of the nineteenth century had created a barrier between British and Indian which had not previously existed.[64] As Rosalind O'Hanlon has argued, if women were partly responsible for racial and physical segregation, it was because the state had positioned them that way, and had used them to justify policies formulated by men.[65]

Kincaid's work does point to a few key themes which are perceptive from one so close to the subject matter. He correctly identified the anachronistic nature of British social life, placing the Mutiny as a central reason as to why social and racial hierarchies were so fixed in India as opposed to contemporary British society. He also traced the development of civil service ideology from the nepotism and patronage of the East India Company, when India was seen as a 'land of milk and honey' to be exploited, to the post-competition time of Crown Rule when the institution prized 'inscrutability' and hard work.

[63] Ibid, p. 385.
[64] Dennis Kincaid, *British Social Life in India, 1608-1937* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973), pp. 211-42.
[65] O'Hanlon, 'Gender in the British Empire', pp. 394-5.

Though despite his irreverence it is also clear that Kincaid harboured the same familial respect for certain aspects of the service as Mason did.[66] While his work is certainly useful, it is to later studies we must look for a fairer assessment.

Later work between the 1960s-1990s tended to take a more distant and even-handed approach to the subject matter, but rarely strayed from discussions on institutions. The Indian Civil Service in particular was the main focus of attention during this period. Clive Dewey's *Anglo-Indian Attitudes* was an attempt to understand the 'mind' of the Indian Civil Service through the case study of two prominent members with very different ideals - Malcolm Darling, a cultured humanist who believed in the vitality of Indian culture, and Frank Brayne, an evangelical who believed Indians were sunk in sin and needed to be rescued. Dewey saw the ICS as an extension of the Victorian intelligentsia, arguing that its members took high-minded, middle-class ideals which they had developed in childhood in Victorian Britain and attempted to apply to their work in India. In the isolated and remote regions of India where they operated, in the context of poor communication with authority and the ultimate disinterest of London, ICS men valued character above intellect and action above caution. They were viewed by contemporaries as incorruptible, hard-working, self-sacrificing men of action, and whilst the examples of Darling and Brayne serve to show that these high ideals could be varied, Dewey put forward an image of the ICS as the pursuit of ideals.[67] Even though Dewey's work was released in 1993, it is difficult not to perceive the classic hagiographic view of the ICS creeping into his analysis. The 'inscrutability' of the ICS has long been a common theme in historic study, and it is indeed true that the values of the institution changed dramatically between the mercantilist days of the East India Company into the time of Crown Rule when the bureaucracy became a state one. The ICS did emphasise, and in many ways enforce, the spirit of selfless public service, and there was a strong element within imperial thinking that saw Britain's role in India as one of trusteeship- dutifully looking after the interests of a people deemed unfit or not yet able to do so themselves. Doubtlessly racist and patronising, but from their point of view not exploitative.[68] However, Dewey seemed to take much of ICS self-perception at face-value and did not venture deep enough into its workings to fully understand how Indians were subject to the ICS and

[66] Kincaid, *British Social Life in India*, pp. 211-42.
[67] Clive Dewey, *Anglo-Indian Attitudes: The Mind of the Indian Civil Service* (London: The Hambleton Press, 1993), pp. 3-16.
[68] See for example, Peter Burroughs, 'Imperial Institutions and the Government of Empire', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Nineteenth Century,* ed. by Andrew Porter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 177 and Andrew Porter, 'Trusteeship, Anti-Slavery, and Humanitarianism', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Nineteenth Century,* ed. by Andrew Porter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

experienced and perceived it on a regular basis. Much scholarship on the ICS suffers from this problem of largely disregarding the Indian relationship with imperial institutions.

Despite being released seven years prior to Dewey's work, David C. Potter's 1986 book *India's Political Administrators 1919-1983* took a far less hagiographic approach. Whilst still being a very western-orientated work, Potter's study moved beyond British self-perception and looked at the imperatives of the ICS and state power. Potter argued that the ICS was characterised by isolation, scarce resources and poor communications, alongside the need and desire to be loyal imperial servants in the exercise of vast discretionary powers and on-the-spot decision making. Potter placed much more emphasis on the ICS' role in upholding state power and the interests of the centre, rather than the more typical approach of emphasising their 'inscrutability' and desire to uplift the Indians under their charge.[69] He instead argued that this image of the ICS has been mythologised by an earlier generation as part of a process of renewal which saw the ICS not just survive and flourish within British India, but largely remain intact post-independence as the Indian Administrative Service.[70] The ICS established and maintained a collective identity based on a pool of values, such as public service, the amateur ideal, courage, confidence, and self-reliance. Through political support and training successors, the ICS managed to reproduce these values in order to survive.[71] Leading on from Potter's analysis, it can be argued that much scholarship has simply been a continuation of this process - the reproduction of ICS values as a means of defending its record and legacy - particularly when considering the early decades after independence when much of this work was undertaken by those with strong direct connections to the ICS themselves.

While much work on the British in India post-independence focused on institutions - overwhelmingly the ICS but, as we have seen, also the army- some studies have attempted to explore British life in India more holistically. Francis G. Hutchins' 1967 work *The Illusions of Permanence* delved much deeper into British society and explored the traditions, culture, and pretensions of British life. Hutchins captured the essential isolation and separateness of British life, describing a society deliberately cut off from Indians along racial lines, and which sought to recreate English norms within a constructed English environment. Typical British entertainment in India would consist of British sports and theatre, with leisure time primarily focused on the club which provided such pastimes as dining, drinking, card games, tennis matches, and English newspapers and periodicals. Interactions with Indians themselves were kept to a

[69] David C. Potter, *India's Political Administrators 1919-1983* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), pp. 80-2.
[70] Ibid, pp. 247-8.
[71] Ibid, pp. 80-1.

minimum, and Hutchins' suggested that even those who did spend extended periods interacting with Indians found the experience 'tiresome'. Retreating to their clubs, separate civil lines, and hill stations, the British maintained a class and racial unity that did not exist in contemporary Britain and tended to regard Indians as inferior and child-like. In a similar vein to O'Hanlon, Hutchins broke with the idea that this atmosphere was principally caused by the increase in British women over the course of the late nineteenth century, arguing that the process of separation had started before their mass arrival and that their personal attitudes were as a result of the restricted lives they were required to live.[72] While Hutchins' work is rather dated, its primary arguments have been picked up by more recent historians, with his emphasis on racial distancing providing a significant counterbalance to works which focused on institutional achievements within British India.

Many subsequent studies have continued along these themes. John W. Cell has written about the middle-class, generalist values of the ICS, following Potter's approach in discussing how these values were constructed upon racist attitudes towards Indians and geared towards the interests of the imperial centre.[73] Judith M. Brown's work has further highlighted the racially segregated lives of the British which sought to maintain a distinctly English civility and domesticity.[74] Continuing on this theme, Peter Burroughs has emphasised the physical symbols of this separation, noting that bungalows, hill stations, and cantonments were all physical manifestations of British self-perception of racial superiority. They upheld the consciousness of beleaguered difference, moral ascendency, and the mystique of rule.[75]

All the studies mentioned above featured in the 1999 instalment of *The Oxford History of the British Empire*. These studies were general overviews primarily focused on the institutions of rule, much like their earlier, more hagiographic, counterparts. Indeed, Burroughs' contribution was entitled 'Imperial Institutions and the Government of Empire', and referred to British society only to highlight the values those institutions were built upon.[76] Specific studies into British society itself have been less popular than these broader dives into imperial rule, with only a few significant examples in existence, much of it fairly recent.

---

[72] Francis G. Hutchins, *The Illusions of Permanence: British Imperialism in India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), pp. 101-17.
[73] Cell, 'Colonial Rule', pp. 232-50.
[74] Judith M. Brown, 'India', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Twentieth Century*, ed. by Judith M. Brown and WM. Roger Louis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 423-43.
[75] Burroughs, 'Imperial Institutions and the Government of Empire', pp. 174-84.
[76] Ibid.

Many have focused on specific aspects of British society, such as studies into British Indian children by Vyvyen Brendon in 2005 and a compilation of first-hand accounts of Indian childhoods edited in two volumes by Laurence Fleming at around the same time. Both these works highlight how many British children in India often had closer and more fulfilling relationships with Indians than their parents did, most prominently through an Indian ayah (nanny) but also through their relationship with other Indian servants and their friendships with their children. These relationships were of course deeply unequal, and many accounts in Fleming's volumes highlight how servants would often allow their British charges to get away with most things, and how playing with Indian children was restricted to specific occasions.[77] While agreeing that many children had more equal relationships with Indian servants and their children, Brendon has argued that many also adopted the attitudes of their parents and came to believe in the imperial project and the racial and cultural superiority of Europe over Asia. While children were certainly freer in this respect than their parents, they still existed within a deeply hierarchical society when it came to race and class relations and were rarely able to escape this entirely. British children would usually be sent to Britain for their education, with those educated in India placed in all-European schools. Their entertainments, much like their parents', would be British in taste, with cinema trips, games, and parties with other children largely resembling British pastimes. Parents often went to great lengths to keep their children away from Indians, excluding when they had ayahs, in order to maintain the sense of distance, but also to prevent them from developing an Indian inflection to their accent. While many children were aware of the distance between the races and the class pretensions of British Indian society, with some even being critical of it, this was largely accepted as part and parcel of the only society they had ever known.[78]

There have also been studies focused on women. British women only began arriving in India in large numbers from the middle of the nineteenth century, with the East India Company and the Government of India both seeing value in a more gender-balanced British society. In the aftermath of the Mutiny, and from the 1870s when British moral norms had hardened against mixed-race sexual liaisons, the migration of British women to India was encouraged in order to reinforce the distance between the races and thus British race prestige.[79] Despite there being small numbers prior to this point, some studies do exist on women in pre-Crown rule India, such as *She-Merchants, Buccaneers and*

[77] Laurence Fleming, *Last Children of the Raj: British Childhoods in India: Volume 1, 1919-1939* (London: Dexter Haven Publishing, 2016).
[78] Vyvyen Brendon, *Children of the Raj* (London: Phoenix, 2005), pp. 124-86.
[79] Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality*, pp. 200-17.

Gentlewomen, which was released in 2019 and focuses on maverick women challenging a male-dominated society.[80] For the period relevant to our study, Margaret MacMillan's *Women of the Raj* remains one of the few holistic studies and, similarly to the work of Brendon and Hutchins, paints a picture of a deeply segregated world obsessed with prestige, class precedent, and maintaining an English village life despite the very obvious challenges of Indian reality. British women were held up as the guardians of the race in India- the nurturers of the next generation, and those who maintained a British home life. To this end, women would decorate their homes in English styles, keep up to date with the latest styles and fashions in Britain in order to dress accordingly, and host dinner parties which stuck rigidly to social etiquette. Seating arrangements at dinner parties was a particularly torrid area, with strict, but often contradictory, orders of precedent for senior figures in society. For example, a senior ICS official would often be near the top, whereas a junior army officer would rank somewhere near the bottom, and it was crucially important for appearances that senior wives were placed with their social equals. MacMillan did discuss maverick women in her book - ones whose behaviour went outside the norms of society - but argued that these were almost exclusively aristocratic women whose rank allowed them to get away with such indiscretions. For the greater mass of lower or middling women, many of whom occupied a position in India which far outweighed their status in Britain, conformity was key, and those who refused to do so, or committed some major misdemeanour, could find themselves outcaste from these close-knit groups.[81]

MacMillan agreed with O'Hanlon and Hutchins that British women were not the cause of the greater distancing of the races from the late nineteenth century.[82] Their very presence in India was part of a process of what Ronald Hyam has described as an importation of British prudery, spurred on by the experience of the Mutiny in 1857-8.[83] Women found themselves in a society with ever-hardening attitudes towards Indians, with expectations of sexual danger, and were expected to conform to their position as protectors of the British race and, thus, the British imperial position in India. That these women would develop a heightened sense of racial prejudice in this environment was unsurprising.

David Gilmour's thorough study, ranging from the first contacts between India and the East India Company in the early seventeenth century to beyond independence in 1947, was released in 2019. It

[80] Katie Hickman, *She-Women, Buccaneers and Gentlewomen: British Women in India* (London: Virago, 2019).
[81] Margaret MacMillan, *Women of the Raj: The Mothers, Wives, and Daughters of the British Empire in India* (New York: Random House, 2007), pp. 161-269.
[82] Ibid, pp. xi-xxv.
[83] Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality*, pp. 1-24.

represents probably the broadest attempt to focus in on the British as a distinct social group in India, and certainly the most thorough attempt to do so since the high-point of focused scholarship in the post-independence decades. At times, the work seemed to suffer from a tinge of imperial nostalgia. Gilmour has family connections to British India, and his work betrayed a respect for the 'inscrutability' of imperial servants common in earlier works by writers with imperial connections. However, like Kincaid and Hutchins, Gilmour did not shy away from the less rose-tinted aspects of British Indian society, emphasising the class and racial pretensions within a society of breath-taking arrogance, virulent racism, and bizarre social norms. Like other writers, Gilmour highlighted the 'Little Englands' constructed within this closed off society, dedicating chapters to fashion, homes and pastimes, as well as diving into specific occupations like forestry and Public Works Departments, painting a picture of a highly self-conscious and self-contained society which was not only distant from the rest of India, but also from the Britain ostensibly regarded as 'home'. Gilmour argued that many returnees struggled to integrate into a British society which had moved on considerably in the 20, 30, or 40 years since they had first left, and found their standard of living significantly lower than what they had grown to expect in India. Some returned to independent India. Others struggled along in a society they no longer felt a strong connection to.[84]

The secondary literature on British Indian society thus tends to fall into two categories. The early, post-independence work, often by former colonial servants, which focused on institutions in a fairly systematic, though largely hagiographic, manner. And later studies, more distant and scholarly, which delved a little deeper into the workings of that society beyond mostly institutional histories. These latter studies tended to agree that British Indian society was hierarchical, racially segregated, and organised along class lines that had long softened in Britain itself. British people lived self-confident, privileged lives within their closed off communities, bolstered by the idea that they were racially and culturally superior to the Indians over whom they governed, and largely not afraid to act like it. They maintained what they considered to be English village lives, importing English norms, pastimes and fashions almost wholesale into India, and avoiding contact with Indians and Indian culture as far as was possible.[85] There were exceptions to this. Some British people embraced Indian culture, parlayed with Indians with an attitude of greater equality, and immersed themselves in the history and literature of the land they

[84] Gilmour, *The British in India,* pp. 506-21.
[85] Hutchins, *The Illusions of Permanence*, pp. 101-4.

helped to govern. However, this was rare, and generally excluded to a few higher-class mavericks who possessed the social currency to act with a degree of non-conformity.[86]

Four-Nation Histories of the British in India

There are very few references to Welsh people in the literature. Gilmour only mentioned them on two occasions- once in quoting the soldier Frank Richards' correct assessment that there were very few Welsh soldiers serving in Welsh regiments in India, and then later to argue that the Welsh lacked the imperial kinship networks of the Scottish and subsequently failed to make their mark in India beyond a few notable individuals like the linguist William Jones and the merchant Thomas Parry.[87] Charles Allen's collection of first-hand accounts, *Plain Tales From the Raj*, mentioned that 'Celtic' people were particularly drawn to imperial service, but almost certainly meant Scottish people,[88] and Lawrence James' *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire* barely distinguished the British at all, only mentioning 'Celts' to draw attention to Lord Dufferin's view that Indians possessed a 'Celtic perverseness, vivacity and cunning'.[89] In a scholarly environment where a 'four-nations' approach has been emphasised and much work produced on the Irish and Scottish, the reason for this neglect is undoubtedly numerical. However, the Welsh did exist in India, and in an era where historians like Tom Devine and John MacKenzie have highlighted the specific role, ideologies, and perspectives of Scottish agents in the empire,[90] it would be amiss to assume that the Welsh lived and behaved exactly like their English counterparts. While the evidence base is not as rich, there are certainly conclusions that can be made from what is available.

Turning first to the literature on other British nationalities and empire, Scotland stands out as a focus of much scholarly interest, including in relation to India. John MacKenzie has written how the Act of Union 1707 brought Scotland into an imperial network which, combined with economic and political conditions within Scotland itself, transpired to draw increasing numbers of Scottish soldiers, administrators, merchants, and missionaries into imperial service over the course of the eighteenth century. The central position of Scottish figures such as Henry Dundas at the heart of government during the eighteenth

[86] Dewey, *Anglo-Indian Attitudes*, pp. 12-13.
[87] Gilmour, *The British in India,* pp. 101-2.
[88] Charles Allen, *Plain Tales from the Raj*, (London: Futura, 1976), p. 37.
[89] James, *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire,* p. 232.
[90] See for example T.M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation: 1700-2007* (London: Penguin, 2006) and MacKenzie, 'Essay and Reflection: On Scotland and Empire', *The International History Review*, 15 (1993), 714-39.

century allowed Scottish patronage to flourish, and within an imperial context this allowed the opening up of positions to Scottish people firstly within the East India Company and, later in the nineteenth century, in government institutions such as the ICS. MacKenzie went as far as to call this process the 'Scottiscisation' of India, and argued that the Scottish Enlightenment influenced a generation of administrators to bring Scottish ideas to Indian administration.[91] After Union, Scotland retained a distinct identity, particularly in the legal, educational and banking systems, and these found their expression in India through the pursuance of Scottish legal precedence, missionary schools designed along Scottish lines, and strong Scottish presence in the Calcutta banking scene which engendered Scottish practices. Scottish dominance of certain industries such as tobacco and jute production also ensured that there was a distinct Scottish flavour to these areas, and their dominance of certain administrative roles ensured extreme difficulty for non-Scottish seeking employment in particular areas.[92] One such area was the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, whose government was so dominated by Scots up to around 1911 that it was playfully known as 'Greater Aberdeen'.[93] In his memoir, the civil servant Leonard Owen wrote that in order to secure a post in the secretariat branch of the ICS, it helped to be from 'the right part of Scotland'.[94] So, straight away it is clear that not only were the Scottish numerous and influential within India and the wider empire, but a distinct Scottish method of imperial governance existed inspired by the Scottish Enlightenment.

Empire became incredibly important to the Scottish psyche and sense of self. Marjory Harper has written about how emigration to imperial locations from Scotland, especially Canada in the early twentieth century, created such a large diaspora that by 1931 25% of Scots were not living in the country of their birth. These communities had a range of experience, including assimilation, hybridised identities, and failure to adapt to their adopted countries at all, but from the late twentieth century many of these emigrants returned to Scotland, reiterating the imperial, now Commonwealth, web of

[91] MacKenzie, 'Essay and Reflection: On Scotland and Empire', 713-33.
[92] Bryan S. Glass and John M. MacKenzie, 'Introduction', in *Scotland, Empire and Decolonisation in the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Bryan S. Glass and John M. MacKenzie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), pp. 1-22.
[93] *Census of India 1921, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Vol. XVI, Pt. 1, Report*, South Asia Open Archives, 153; contributed by: E.H.H. Edye, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25430166.pdf?refreqid=fastly-default%3A8091dcd62393d4dd8f5d45d694aadf88&ab_segments=0%2Fbasic_search_gsv2%2Fcontrol&origin=search-results (4 May 2022).
[94] Bangor, Bangor University Archive (BUA), Leonard Owen Papers, BMSS/13531, v. 1, pp. 8-9.

which Scotland was such a strong part.[95] Even prior to these large-scale returns, emigration into the empire had created strong connections which inspired an imperial Scottish identity. According to Graeme Morton, high levels of recruitment into the armed forces, and the deployment of Scottish regiments in imperial settings, led to militarism becoming an important part of Scottish identity.[96] Bryan S. Glass and MacKenzie also highlighted how Scotland's imperially-aligned economy contributed to this imperial self-identity, and how Scottish heroes such as David Livingston reinforced it.[97] The Scottish, therefore, not only had a major impact on the empire itself, but the empire was also centrally important to Scottishness during this period.

The Scottish undoubtedly had an important and beneficial relationship with the British Empire and India during much of its history. A country with a more ambiguous relationship with the empire was Ireland, which, while suffering greatly as a result of often disastrous imperial economic policies and direct military suppression, did find its place within an imperial structure which was beneficial to both individuals and certain groups of Irish people. According to Keith Jeffery, Ireland was both imperial and colonial, and supplied the empire with much of its manpower.[98] Indeed, during the nineteenth century 40% of the British Army was recruited in Ireland,[99] and many of these soldiers saw imperial service in places like India, where between 1825-50 48% of recruits into the Bengal Army were Irish.[100] While Ireland's place within the empire and within the United Kingdom was always contested - Irish nationhood was long established and difficult to counter - Jeffery argued that Irish constitutional questions, even among nationalists, tended to be viewed within an imperial framework for much of the nineteenth century, and both nationalists and unionists supported and saw value in the empire.[101] Focusing on India specifically, T.G. Fraser has argued that the Irish were active in India out of all proportion to their size, and not just within the military sphere. India provided opportunities in a

[95] Marjory Harper, 'Initiatives, Impediments and Identities: Scottish Emigration in the Twentieth Century', in *Scotland, Empire and Decolonisation in the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Bryan S. Glass and John M. MacKenzie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), pp. 25-43.
[96] Graeme Morton, 'Applying the Diasporic Lens to Identity and Empire in Twentieth-Century Scotland', in *Scotland, Empire and Decolonisation in the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Bryan S. Glass and John M. MacKenzie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), pp. 44-64.
[97] Glass and MacKenzie, 'Introduction', pp. 1-22.
[98] Keith Jeffery, 'Introduction', in '*An Irish Empire'? Aspects of Ireland and the British Empire*, ed. by Keith Jeffery (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p. 1.
[99] T.G. Fraser, 'Ireland and India', in '*An Irish Empire'? Aspects of Ireland and the British Empire*, ed. by Keith Jeffery (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p. 77.
[100] Jeffery, 'The Irish Military Tradition and the British Empire', in '*An Irish Empire'? Aspects of Ireland and the British Empire*, ed. by Keith Jeffery (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p. 94.
[101] Jeffery, 'Introduction', pp. 1-24.

number of fields for men with little means, and the Irish were active in the fields of missionary work, medicine, education and administration. During the 1870s, 38% of recruits to the Indian Medical Service were Irish.[102] Jeffery has argued that Irish recruitment into imperial service, particularly the military, was due to economic conditions in Ireland itself, especially around the time of the Great Famine.[103] This is similar to MacKenzie's argument regarding the prevalence of Scottish people,[104] and points towards possible reasons why Welsh imperial service was comparatively rare. Andrew MacKillop has argued that there were greater opportunities for working-aged people in Wales itself through well-paid and skilled heavy industry work, which meant less of a draw towards migration than existed for the Irish and Scottish. MacKillop has also pointed to the decline in the Welsh gentry as a reason for the lack of imperial service,[105] though it must be remembered that while the Protestant gentry of Ireland were more likely to engage in imperial service, there were plenty of examples of Irish Catholics, such as Michael O'Dwyer, who was the notorious Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab during the Amritsar massacre.[106]

Some historians have also pointed towards the Irish impact on India itself. The links between Irish and Indian nationalist movements, the shared experiences of partition, and the longstanding tendency to frame many imperial problems through the lens of Ireland are well-documented. However, T.G. Fraser has also written about how individual Irishness impacted on the colonial sphere. He argued that the Irish upbringing of the Lawrence brothers, a family intimately connected to the Anglo-Sikh wars and the siege of Lucknow during the Mutiny, influenced their actions in India. The historic memory of the siege of Derry was supposedly influential on Henry Lawrence as he organised the defence of the Lucknow residency. Fraser also pointed to Michael O'Dwyer and argued that his harsh tactics in the Punjab were influenced by the Easter Rising of 1916. Irish experiences of Catholic/Protestant antipathy were brought to bear on Hindu/Muslim tensions, and much was made of the similarities between the two countries by both the imperial establishment and the nationalist movements of both India and Ireland.[107]

Englishness and the impact of English people is a much more complicated area of analysis, primarily due to the tendency for English identity to be subsumed into a greater British one. It is an irony of British history that while much energy has been spent attempting to define Scottish, Irish, and Welsh identities

[102] Fraser, 'Ireland and India', pp. 77-93.
[103] Jeffery, 'The Irish Military Tradition and the British Empire', pp. 94-122.
[104] MacKenzie, 'Essay and Reflection: On Scotland and Empire', 713-33.
[105] MacKillop, 'A "Reticent" People?', pp. 143-67.
[106] Jeffery, 'Introduction', p. 24.
[107] Fraser, 'Ireland and India', pp. 77-93.

and experiences as separate to, or at least not defined by, England, it is indeed the English identity that poses the greatest conceptual problems. The real and perceived risks of being engulfed into a greater British identity defined through English norms has contributed to vibrant Scottish, Irish, and Welsh identities which are expressive, well-defined and evocative. However, centuries of English dominance and cultural confidence did not create the same identity crisis amongst the English, though arguably we are currently experiencing that moment within a haze of post-imperial soul-searching. In many ways, when we discuss general British society in India, we are discussing the English, as despite large Scottish and Irish contingents, the vast majority of British people active in India were from England, and the society they created was largely fashioned in their image,[108] with others assimilating into it.

Ian Baucom has written about Englishness and empire in relation to how it impacted on English identities in an era when Britishness was promoted as an imperially useful identity. Arguing that imperial conquest created the need for the English to legitimise and conceptualise their colonial rule, Englishness was defined spatially and made elastic through the tool of Britishness in order to incorporate colonial subjects and spaces. Ideologically, imperialism held that peoples from distant places could become 'English', and this gave an imperial identity coherency. However, as decolonisation gathered pace and the borders of post-imperial Britain became less obvious, this spatial conception of Englishness became unsatisfactory, and empire and its aftermath were seen as a threat to a more narrowly defined conception of Englishness. This conception, which became more powerful as the immediate need for a broader Englishness diminished, defined the identity in racial terms, holding up an English person to be white and 'born here'. There was a sense that the English had lost control of their spaces in the face of governing a global empire. As a first official response to this process, the government of Clement Attlee attempted to maintain the principle of a broad Britishness in a decolonising world. The 1948 British Nationality Act defined Britishness as UK and Empire and separated this from Englishness by conferring identity but not rights. This was initially maintained by the government of Ted Heath but later, in 1981, the government of Margaret Thatcher went further by restricting the idea of Britishness to those with an ancestral connection to the UK, in practice an almost entirely racial definition. Baucom's work demonstrated how the empire left an indelible mark on the idea of Englishness but was constantly shifting and required renegotiation. The English had displaced their identity onto the empire, subsuming themselves into a more elastic Britishness, in order to understand, conceptualise, and legitimise colonial

[108] See for example Hutchins, *The Illusions of Permanence*, p. 104, where Hutchins described Indian hill stations being based upon English villages.

rule.[109] In practice, when dealing with the 'English' in India, it means that one has to contend with a less specifically defined national identity than existed with other British nationalities. While Britishness was crucially important to the Scottish, Welsh, and aspects of Irish society, their identities were never banished within it to the same extent as the English.

Wendy Webster has also written about how an English identity was shaped and defined through imperialism, and how it altered during the period of decolonisation. Focusing on print and visual media, Webster identified three narratives of identity between 1939-1965 which demonstrated the changing relationship between Englishness/Britishness and the empire/Commonwealth. In the first instance, she argued that immediate post-war governments attempted to create the idea of a 'people's' empire to go alongside the 'people's' peace. While the 'people's' war had been about pulling together across divides of class and gender, the 'people's' empire was about pulling together across divides of race and ethnicity, and represented welfare, development, and egalitarianism. This was a multiracial community which would maintain Britishness as a global identity through modernising imperialism.

However, this perception of Britain and its imperial project collided with a much narrower narrative that emphasised a quiet, private, domesticated identity which was small-scale, familiar and, much like Baucom's description of a racialised identity, white. Its quintessential images were the British housewife tending to the home and the British gentleman tending to his garden. Within this conception of Englishness, empire was seen as a threat, with the resultant diversity from Commonwealth immigration generating a siege mentality which sought to define and protect the boundaries of identity and home. This narrative played off earlier imperial themes which regarded women as the guardians of the race, vulnerable to sexual danger and 'miscegenation'. In a period of decolonisation this perception was transposed from settler groups 'surrounded' by indigenous peoples to British people at home 'surrounded' by immigrants.

The third narrative focused on the Second World War and transposed the idea of the masculine imperial adventurer hero onto Britain's wartime struggle. By Churchill's funeral in 1965, imperially inspired notions of Englishness had largely superseded the short-lived vision of a 'people's' empire, with the focus on national identity becoming English heroism that incorporated the empire but found its main sustenance in mythologising the war as the ultimate moment of British glory. This mingled with the 'Little England' narrative to create a racially exclusive story of national struggle and victory, which often

[109] Ian Baucom, *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire, and the Locations of Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), pp. 3-38.

incorporated white Australians, Canadians, and New Zealanders but few others, and came to be associated with the vision of Britain promoted by the government of Margaret Thatcher. Webster has also argued that the 'special relationship' between Britain and America came to be a modern focus of this narrative, providing a vision of English-speaking moral leadership, despite the fears in some quarters of how the relationship represented British national decline.[110]

One further point to be made on Webster's analysis was its self-accepted Anglocentricity. To her, Britishness and Englishness were interchangeable and came from the perceived right of England to speak for the whole of Britain.[111] This is very much the central point when discussing Englishness and empire, including the English presence in India. Above, there was analysis of the literature surrounding British social life in India. To the English people present British social life *was* English social life, moulded in an English image, with British simply meaning an imported version of English village life. It is therefore exceptionally difficult to discuss the English as a distinct social group within the imperial context, as to them, as well as to many other nationalities around them, they represented Britain and defined its cultural and social norms. A study which seeks to peel back the messy monolith that is Englishness/Britishness in the colonial setting, and attempts to define the boundaries between the two, would be a most welcome if incredibly challenging contribution to the debate. As it is, there is little space to take on that conceptual challenge here, and for our purposes it is sufficient to say that where a distinct Welsh, Scottish or Irish identity existed, it was distinguishing itself from a vision of Britain that was considered an expansion of England. For the vast majority of the English of India, this vision of Britain would have been built-in to their mentality.

While there are definite limitations to the study of the Scottish, Irish, and English in relation to the empire broadly and India more specifically, there are clear existing foundations on which to build further study. In the case of Wales, the record is far more scant, with only brief forays into an understanding of the peculiar experience of the Welsh in India.

The main body of this research relates to the eighteenth-century thanks primarily to the work of Huw Bowen. Returning to his edited volume *Wales and the British Overseas Empire*, the contribution by MacKillop suggested that while being small in number and necessarily integrated into alternative patronage networks, the Welsh did possess a self-conscious national identity expressed through wills and other legal documents, and many families in specific geographic regions maintained

[110] Wendy Webster, *Englishness and Empire, 1939-1965* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 2-17.
[111] Ibid, p. 17.

multigenerational links with the East India Company.[112] Bowen goes on to argue that these family connections among the gentry contributed to the imperial integration of the Welsh economy, and led to certain areas, such as Brecon and Powys, becoming centres of imperial wealth and connections, with the most obvious being the Clive family.[113] This theme is also picked up by Lowri Ann Rees who argued that Welsh Companymen formed specifically Welsh networks within the Company, often for practical rather than patriotic reasons, and that there was a sense among individuals of being Welsh. However, while there is evidence that Welshness was celebrated in the form of St David's Day, Rees argued that there was little evidence of the Welsh language being used, and that Welsh Companymen usually subscribed to an Anglo-centric British identity, with family often being more important than nation.[114]

Moving into the period with which we are dealing, I will not rehash the arguments of Aled Jones on the missionary movement's creation of 'Little Wales', but other research does exist in this area. Andrew May has written how the institution of the Welsh Sunday School, and the chapel more broadly, were distinctly Welsh and imparted not just religious teaching, but a sense of national identity through the medium of Welsh, and in fact served as the greatest preserver of the language. In the missionary field, especially in Khasia, the Welsh projected these values into their work and created a Christian environment which was peculiarly Welsh- a similar argument to the 'sacred spaces' of 'Little Wales'. Drawing on contemporary Welsh cultural angst and specifically Welsh forms of nonconformist Christianity, the missionaries created a world in which the Welsh language, Welsh culture, and British imperialism were regarded as purifying influences, with the aim being the recreation of God's country in the hills of the Indian Northeast.[115]

Outside the mission field the research becomes even more scant and, in many ways, can be described as a history of individuals. The work of Russell Davies reads almost like a list of prominent Welsh people throughout the empire and includes India with individuals such as the soldier Sir Hugh Rowlands, the chemist and missionary Gwenfron Ross, and the doctor Sir William Rice Edwards.[116] There have also been some very useful family histories and personal memoirs which capture some of the Welsh

[112] MacKillop, 'A "Reticent" People?', pp. 143-67.
[113] Bowen, 'Asiatic Interactions', pp. 168-92.
[114] Lowri Ann Rees, 'Welsh Sojourners in India: The East India Company, Networks and Patronage, c. 1760-1840', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 45 (2017), 165-87.
[115] Andrew May, 'Mountain Views: Welsh Missionaries, Diaspora and Empire', *The Welsh History Review*, 25 (2010), 239-50.
[116] Russell Davies, *People Places and Passions: "Pain and Pleasure": A Social History of Wales and the Welsh, 1870-1945*, 2015 (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2015), pp. 234-49.

experience in India. W.R. Owain-Jones, who himself served under the Raj, captures the richness of the Welsh presence throughout South Asia. While this piece is framed in the incredibly imperialistic values of the average former British official, even this fact is useful in understanding the Welsh mindset of Welshness reinforced and bolstered by a British imperial identity.[117] A similar piece by D.E. Lloyd Jones recorded the life of his relative David Edward Evans, who was a superintendent engineer with the jute exporters Ralli Bros. in Calcutta. In detailing his involvement with Cymdeithas Gwladol Cymru yn yr India (The National Association of Wales in India), the Welsh society which sprang up in Calcutta at the end of the 1890s, Lloyd Jones unveils a Welsh cultural life swathed in the values of British imperialism.[118] Alongside the work of Owain-Jones, this research, while falling short of a strong analytical foundation, does point the way to a fuller understanding of the Welsh presence in India, and provides an excellent starting point for further research.

We see then that while New Imperial History and postcoloniality have opened up vast new possibilities for the analysis of British imperialism, especially in the exploration of spatial networks between metropole and colony, study of the Welsh in India has not benefitted as an area of focus. A desire to capture previously underrepresented groups within historical study has tended away from studying the dominator and towards colonial agency in the face of domination- an undoubtedly welcome development which rebalances the kinds of voices captured by the record. However, our understanding of British imperialism in South Asia is incomplete without a four-nation analysis which unpicks the heterogeneity of British rule and understands the breadth of approaches from various British groups. Additionally, our understanding of Welsh history requires the centring of the Welsh as imperialist to truly capture the importance and influence of the empire in Welsh life, rather than dismissing Wales as an insignificant or even benighted corner of the imperial metropole.

The next chapter will begin this process by discussing the extent and nature of the Welsh presence in India.

[117] W.R. Owain-Jones, 'The Contribution of Welshmen to the Administration in India', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,* 2 (1970), 250-62.
[118] D.E. Lloyd Jones, 'David Edward Evans: A Welshman in India', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1 (1967), 132-41.

3

Counting the Welsh in India

Before we start to analyse the Welsh in India - their identity, what they thought about themselves and the empire, and whether there were specific occupations they tended to group into - it is important to establish their actual numerical strength in India and its distribution. This presents a number of practical and theoretical issues which will be explored in detail below and relate to the difficulty of identifying Welsh individuals in India Office records which did not typically record national identity or even origin. The purpose of imperial record-keeping was not to benefit future historians, and typically information was only recorded that assisted the needs and motivations of authority at the time. There are also difficulties with how we define 'the Welsh' during a period when being Welsh, British, and part of a global imperial identity made the concept particularly fluid and malleable.

The following chapter uses the imperial censuses of India, taken between 1871-1931, to estimate the numbers of Welsh people in India between those years. Census data is far from perfect, but it represents the only substantial dataset that exists which makes any attempt to record this information. This data reveals not only that there was a clear Welsh presence concentrated in the major Indian cities of Calcutta and Bombay, but also a scattered population across India closely associated with occupations such as soldiering, mining and metallurgy. It also captures the small but persistent presence of the Welsh language in parts of India that maintained a distinct Welsh presence, such as Calcutta and the Kolar Gold Fields in Mysore. Perhaps most revealing in terms of how the Welsh presence was viewed in India are what the censuses tell us about official attitudes to Welshness. Census reports often contained dismissive commentary on data pertaining to Welsh nationality and language. While the Welsh presence throughout India was small in comparison to their English, Scottish and Irish counterparts, establishing their size and distribution allows a foundation for exploring their wider cultural and social life, as well as their personal understanding of their imperial role in India.

Definitional Problems

Census data gives us an opportunity to estimate within broad parameters the number of Welsh people present in India between 1871-1931. The difficulties of such an exercise are multiple and relate to both

conditions in India and the constitutional status of the Welsh at home. In regard to the latter, the status of Wales as a constituent nation of a highly centralised United Kingdom meant that whilst Welsh was a powerful national identity throughout this period, it was always interacting and interplaying with other identities that may at times take priority.[1] While this is true of all identities, the porous nature of interaction between the UK nations makes this particularly complex with regard to Wales. It was perfectly possible for someone born and raised in Wales to think of themselves as British, or even as English, which was commonly used as a byword for Britain, and to record this on official documents. An example of this can be seen in the identity of the Welsh vet Griffith Evans (1835-1935) (no relation to the Calcutta barrister Sir Griffith Evans). Evans was a well-known bacteriologist who first determined that a trypanosome parasite was responsible for surra disease in horses, a discovery he made during his service in India where he was employed to investigate various unexplained diseases. He was first posted to Sialkot in 1877 to investigate an outbreak of anthrax, before moving to Bengal in 1879, Madras in 1880 and Dera Ismail Khan, in modern day Pakistan, later that year. Evans returned to Britain in 1885. During his first three years in India, 1877-1880, he maintained a steady correspondence with his wife Catherine (known as Katie) which provides a rich and detailed insight into Evans' impressions of India, its people, and British Indian society. These letters reveal a hybrid identity consisting of Welsh, English and British which were expressed interchangeably but seemingly never in tension or opposition. In a letter dated 5 May 1878, Evans described himself as English and praised the English-like qualities of Indian soldiers.[2] However, in a later letter dated Christmas Day of the same year, he described his meeting with a Welsh veteran of the Mutiny with whom he bonded over their shared Welshness, particularly their mutual knowledge of the Welsh language.[3] To many individuals, English, Welsh, and British would have been comfortably merged identities.

This attitude was almost certainly combined with the centralised attitude of officialdom which would rarely have regarded 'Welsh' as a fundamentally separate category to 'English' or certainly 'British', and this was reflected in the number of official descriptions of 'England and Wales', or even the complete absence of any reference to Wales or Welsh at all. Even as far back as the eighteenth century official figures on emigrants included separate categories for Irish and Scottish people, but the single category of England and Wales, which suggests that while the state recognised a degree of national

[1] For a discussion of the interconnectedness between Welshness and Britishness, see Wendy Ugolini, 'The "Welsh" Pimpernel: Richard Llewellyn and the Search for Authenticity in Second World War Britain', *Cultural and Social History*, 16 (2019), 185-203.
[2] Bangor, BUA, Letters of Griffith Evans, BMSS/2854, pp. 159-60.
[3] Bangor, BUA, Letters of Griffith Evans, p. 269.

distinctiveness for the former two, Wales was widely considered to be an appendage of England for administrative and political purposes, an attitude which originated from Henry VIII's Acts of Union which politically incorporated Wales into the English Crown.[4]

British Indian officialdom was not exempt from these attitudes, and, in many ways, they were exacerbated in the Indian environment. Welsh national identity was undoubtedly a vibrant and flourishing force in India throughout the period in question, but it combined with and existed within a strong British imperial identity. So, the domestic issue of multiple potential labels of 'British', 'English', and/or 'Welsh' existed here too, coupled with an official attitude of a single, united 'ruling race' in which distinctions were not only irrelevant to the Indian environment but perhaps even actively unhelpful to the cause of displaying strength and prestige to the populace. This latter point flows through the whole history of the British in India. Prestige was considered to be the principal force binding India to Britain and maintaining control over the indigenous population. This was particularly true following the Mutiny, after which many officials believed that clear delineated lines asserting European racial superiority would keep Indians in order and make the idea of another uprising farcical.[5] To this end, anything which could damage or undermine that prestige was aggressively countered, and British residents who deviated from even the most trivial social norm could find themselves cut off from British society. This is vividly portrayed in Margaret MacMillan's book *Women of the Raj*, in which she detailed the conventions British women in India had to conform to in order to avoid disapproval, such as respecting rank, avoiding Indians, and maintaining traditional gender roles.[6] In this environment, the idea of a powerful, united, 'British' ruling race became an almost religious ideal, and while one might celebrate small national differences within polite society, the priority was always to portray that unity and power to Indians. It can therefore be seen why emphasising a distinctive Welshness may not have been regarded as wise, and certainly in the official world the only distinction that mattered was that one was British and a member of the ruling race. So, already, we have a group for which 'Welsh' may not have been their go-to self-description, and an official mind apathetic towards it.

And this is before we even consider what the term 'Welsh' means. Are we referring to the Welsh-born, which is probably the most straightforward indicator? That immediately ignores those born outside of

[4] See Table 2.1 in Horn, 'British Diaspora', p. 31. The table goes as far as to separate Highland and Lowland Scots, but groups 'England and Wales' as a single category.
[5] Burroughs, 'Imperial Institutions and the Government of Empire', p. 184. See also Robin J. Moore, 'Imperial India, 1858-1914', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Andrew Porter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 431.
[6] MacMillan, *Women of the Raj*, pp. 31-51.

Wales who may well have a lived experience of Wales or an inherited identity from their parents. Are we talking about those who were educated or lived in Wales for any reasonable length of time? The parameters of this would be difficult to judge and comes up against the issue of thousands of English immigrants who lived and worked in the steel and coalfield communities of Wales who may well have maintained a primarily English identity rather than adopting any meaningful Welsh one. And surely, we are not talking about a linguistic categorisation from the perspective of the twenty-first century. From the middle of the nineteenth century the numbers of Welsh speakers began to decline substantially so that by 1900 only around 50% of the population could speak it. The census of 1891 was the first to record data on the language and returned 54.4% of the population as Welsh speakers. Despite the overall numbers of Welsh speakers increasing, the proportion continued to drop and was below 50% in the 1901 and 1911 censuses, with the industrial areas of the South Wales coalfield seeing particularly marked decline.[7] So, to define Welshness linguistically would involve discounting a very large proportion of the population of Wales, from some of the most heavily populated regions.

These are just some of the definitional problems we are faced with. The approach I take in the wider thesis is to centre individual agency and self-definition, thus adopting a broad definition of being Welsh. According to this definition, one is Welsh because they explicitly or implicitly imply it, which avoids many of the conceptual problems of birthplace, language and parentage. Ultimately, I believe national identity to be a personal instinct subject to adjustment over time, and while some individuals may carry more of the traditional markers of national identity, the variety even within these can be so great as to render a definition based upon language, religion, origin or even ethnicity problematic. In keeping with this wider definition, I have approached the censuses in a spirit of generosity. If there is a clear connection with Wales in the data, through nationality, birthplace or language, which are the primary indicators that the census records, then these have been included in my figures. This of course leaves open the possibility that an individual born in Wales who nonetheless, through parentage or lived experience, did not have a primary Welsh identity will be captured as Welsh. Given the unlikelihood of this representing a large proportion I have considered it a justifiable risk which still however captures the breadth of Welsh connection to the empire. It also recognises that no definition of national identity, no matter how detailed, captures the true complexity and malleability of people's lived experience. Welshness is ultimately highly personal, and adopting a broad definition ensures that far more of its components are considered than when defined narrowly.

[7] Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation,* p. 95.

Census Returns: Literature and Theory

The best sources we have at our disposal to estimate the numbers of Welsh people in India are census reports. These are not immune to any of the issues outlined above and suffer from the further difficulty of varying standards of practice and data collection across time and place, as well as regional variations in what information was actually gathered. These will be dissected further below. Despite these limitations, census records offer the only systematic attempt to record and categorise the entire population of India in a single place and are some of the only documents that do appear to recognise, in a stuttered and inconsistent way, Welsh and Wales as separate categories to English and England and British and Britain. For analysis here the published census reports, including the written reports and tables, will be used throughout.

Before getting into what the censuses conducted from 1872 tell us about the Welsh population of India, it is important to consider the general scholarship that exists on them in order to understand their purpose, context, strengths and limitations. The literature on censuses emphasises their inherently political nature. They are formulated to serve the purposes - be they administrative, economic, military etc - of the state and the ruling elite, and not necessarily to understand and serve subject peoples. Ram B. Bhagat has argued that censuses are politically constructed exercises designed through the preconceptions of those involved, rather than an objective academic survey of an area. They impose order and assumptions upon identities which are highly contested, and do not often reflect the lived experiences and realities of those on the ground. This was a particular problem in a country like India, in all its enormous diversity, not least due to the central importance of caste as a social identity and determinant - a concept which in everyday experience was incredibly fluid and malleable.[8] Caste itself is usually broadly defined through the four Brahminical *varna* - the *Brahmin*, or priestly caste, the *Kshatriya*, or warrior caste, the *Vaishya,* or mercantile caste, and the *Shudra*, the lower castes that included what were traditionally termed untouchables but who largely self-identify as Dalits. However, in reality these groupings were so broad as to be almost irrelevant and were divided up in copious numbers of sub-caste divisions, many of which consisted of very few members. Furthermore, sub-divisions which to all extents and purposes were fairly similar were known by different designations in different places, meaning that anyone attempting to codify them was faced with an impossibly complex challenge. Bhagat wrote that the British incorporated the Brahminical framework into their censuses,

[8] Ram B. Bhagat, 'Census and Caste Enumeration: British Legacy and Contemporary Practice in India', *Genus*, 62.2 (2006), 119-20.

meaning that the categories used, and the data recorded, would be fairly meaningless to the ordinary Indian. This was due to the British desire to organise Indians along caste lines, to impose a hierarchical view of society, and to promote those groups which the British relied upon for power.[9] So, not only is there an immediate example of how inaccurate and problematic census data can be, but it can also be seen how censuses can reflect the prejudices, assumptions and interests of the ruling power.

Crispin Bates has also emphasised the assumptions and prejudices of British official ideology in Indian censuses and argued that these were primarily set through the prism of race. Tracing the development of European 'anthropometry', Bates argued that social scientists in nineteenth-century Britain and Europe looked to race to explain everything from criminality to linguistic differences. Adopted by British officials in India, societal groups were separated out from each other using crude pseudo-scientific techniques, such as skull structure, to create a racial hierarchy which in the Indian context placed Brahmins at the top and Adivasi peoples (heterogenous 'tribal' groups) at the bottom. Despite an attempt by commissioner Denzil Ibbetson in the 1881 census to move caste away from racial definitions and towards occupational, these hierarchical conceptions of race pervaded Indian censuses up to independence. While bodily measurements as racial indicators fell out of fashion during the First World War, British officials continued to racially define the Indian population through reference to ancient texts, and saw Indian diversity through the immensely persistent idea of successive waves of mass migration into India over many thousands of years.[10] Therefore, not only were societal categories within the censuses outwardly imposed by the British, but they also heavily relied upon European ideas about race.

Sumit Guha on the other hand, whilst accepting that the colonial state penetrated and modified society, argued that they could only do so along already existing lines of division. Arguing that a belief in British-imposed social categories suggests that historical agency is fundamentally Western, Guha traced the development of British perceptions of Indian society from the administrative practices of the early Mughal Empire. While Guha was primarily arguing against the perception that modern caste divisions were wholly a consequence of British rule, his analysis also tempered the idea that the categories adopted in colonial-era censuses were a fabrication which bore no relation to facts on the ground. According to this analysis, Emperor Akbar in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries classified

[9] Ibid, 120-24.
[10] Crispin Bates, 'Race, Caste and Tribe in Central India: The Early Origins of Indian Anthropometry', *Edinburgh Papers in South Asian Studies*, 3 (1995), 1-35.

landholders through the ethnic community to which they belonged. These ethnic identities were fluid but were increasingly fixed and enforced for administrative purposes in order to accurately maintain ethnic hierarchies beneficial to the state. Despite this, Guha argued that enumeration was simply one way in which identities became sharply defined, and prior to state enumeration efforts different ethnic groups and communities would have been aware of the divisions between them. While censuses during British rule did suffer from chaotic categorisation and Western-imposed notions about race and religion, Guha reminds us that identities can rarely be imposed from above and that British officials were interacting with long-existing fissures in society when constructing their assumptions.[11] The censuses can therefore be seen as the product of interaction between European and Indian notions on enumeration rather than entirely British imports.

So, what was their purpose? The British authorities found it useful to categorise the population in order to create a hierarchy for administrative purposes, in much the same way the Mughals did. But the primary difference between the two was that while the Mughals were satisfied with counting households, the British dug down into individuals and took detailed data on age, occupation, birthplace, and many other areas.[12] The reasons and justifications for such an exercise were complex and varied over time. In essence, they developed from a relatively straightforward means of assessing the population for land revenue purposes into a broad, and often vague, exercise to aid the authorities to carry out their paternalistic tasks, such as famine relief, educational and health provision.[13] The important point to note here is that the censuses were never intended to be an academic exercise in sociology, but an administrative tool to understand, tax, and control the populace, whether that be to pacify 'unruly' groups on the North West Frontier or to instigate plague measures in Bombay. Whatever the given justification in any decade, censuses served the interests of the rulers.

The first all-India census was published in 1872 and was such a poorly conducted exercise that it is often regarded as not a real census at all. In the first instance, it did not cover the entirety of then British India, with many of the remoter regions of the North West Frontier and the Northeastern hill regions not being attempted due to transport, communication and safety issues. Secondly, the census was not synchronous, as it had been conducted between 1867 and 1872, depending on the region. So, while the

[11] Sumit Guha, 'The Politics of Identity and Enumeration in India c. 1600-1990', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 45 (2003), 148-167.
[12] Ibid, 156.
[13] Timothy L. Alborn, 'Age and Empire in the Indian Census, 1871-1931', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 30:1 (1999), 69-70.

Punjab census was collected in 1868, it would not be possible to compare like for like the results to the Mysore census which was taken in 1871.[14] A further difficulty noted by the report authors was the reluctance of European communities to take part - a complaint made in subsequent years and apparently related to the idea that Europeans did not appreciate the government asking them questions about their lives.[15] In relation to the Indian population, the difficulties mostly lay in the sheer racial and linguistic diversity of the country, which was badly understood in the 1870s with commissioners uncertain how to categorise certain castes, languages, and races, leading to inconsistencies and poor data collection. For example, the census of Bombay Presidency of 1872 subscribed to the traditional Brahminical view of caste identified by Bhagat as a serious flaw in representing the true caste boundaries of India.[16]

Following these early attempts which, though providing some interesting data, cannot be considered anywhere close to definitive, the first sufficiently accurate census was conducted in 1881 and then followed every ten years within the colonial era until 1941 - the data of this last one never being fully released due to coinciding with the Second World War.[17] These all-India censuses were compiled from and published alongside provincial ones, the latter often providing greater detail.

There are other challenges in using the data. Firstly, in a country of several hundred million people which throughout this period suffered from poor transport and communication networks as well as huge diversity in language and cultural norms, taking a truly definitive census was always going to be difficult.

Secondly, despite some efforts in later censuses, a truly centralised system of data collection and entry was never fully adhered to, meaning different censuses across regions and time captured and recorded different information, and it is not always possible to compare like for like.[18] By and large, the provincial

[14] *Memorandum on the Census of British India of 1871-72,* South Asia Open Archives, 5; contributed by: Henry Waterfield; Great Britain, India Office, Statistics and Commerce Department; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25057647.pdf, (30 November 2021).
[15] *Memorandum on the Census of British India of 1871-72,* 29. See also *Census of India 1921, Vol. 8, Bombay Presidency, Pt. 1, General Report,* South Asia Open Archives, 5-6; contributed by: L.J. Sedgwick, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25394130.pdf, (30 November 2021).
[16] *Census of the Bombay Presidency, taken on 21 February 1872,* South Asia Open Archives, 108-10; contributed by D.A. Blane, Revenue Commissioner's Office, Government of Bombay; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25057641.pdf, (30 November 2021).
[17] *Census of India 1941, Vol. 1, India*, South Asia Open Archives, 2; contributed by M.W.M. Yeatts, Census Commissioner for India; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.28215532.pdf, (30 November 2021).
[18] The Census Commissioner for India did draw up the *Code of Census Procedure* to guide provinces, but these were altered according to local conditions and circumstance.

governments hired enumerators to go door to door with questionnaires which they would fill out themselves in the course of an interview. From 1901 enumerators used a 'slip' system adopted from Germany, in which the more straightforward possible responses were represented by colour-coded paper, i.e. a certain colour for religion, marital status etc, with the more complex information recorded by hand on the slip itself. Prior to 1901 a 'tick' system was employed, in which enumerators would tick a pre-existing category according to the answers given. However, India's diversity made this an extremely complex exercise with sheets that were often so enormous as to be ungainly, hence the 1901 change. The enumerators would record as accurately as possible the information given by the individual, though these were later tabulated and collected under broader headings set by commissioners.[19] For example, the breadth of languages used in India is huge, and opinions varied on what constituted a language or which were important to record. In many cases, British languages other than English were recorded, such as was usually the case in Hyderabad.[20] However, in other regions, such was the case in Baroda in 1881, English was prioritised and other British languages were even subsumed into these figures.[21] And other areas of the censuses were not consistent across space. For example, whereas the census of the city of Calcutta would regularly record 'Welsh' as a nationality category and 'Wales' as a birthplace category (with the incumbent issues of those categories described above),[22] the census of the North West Frontier Province would consistently employ the category of England and Wales, with commissioners absorbing any figures on Welsh people into this broader category.[23]

Furthermore, to include 'nationality' in the final reports was a comparative rarity, and quite strangely some later censuses actually grouped it together into a single question of 'nationality/caste' or 'race, caste or tribe'. According to Bhagat, the definitions of any of these terms were never clearly defined in any census, and their usage suggest that British officials were unsure themselves of their own thinking

[19] *Census of India 1901, Vol. 1, India, Pt. 1, Report*, South Asia Open Archives, XX-XIV; contributed by H.H. Risley and E.A. Gait, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25352837.pdf, (1 December 2021).
[20] *Census of His Highness the Nizam's Dominions 1881, Vol. 1*, South Asia Open Archives, 187; contributed by Sir William Chichele Plowden, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/saoa.crl.25057663?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents, (1 December 2021).
[21] *Report on the Census of Baroda Territories 1881,* South Asia Open Archives, 196; contributed by Gajanan Krishna Bhatavadekar, Census Superintendent; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25057669.pdf, (1 December 2021).
[22] See for example *Census of India 1901, Vol. 7, Calcutta: Town and Suburbs, Pt. 4, Report: Statistical*, South Asia Open Archives, 34; contributed by J.R. Blackwood, Corporation of Calcutta; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25318673.pdf, (1 December 2021).
[23] For example, see *Census of India 1911, Vol. 13, North West Frontier Province: Pt. 1, Report: Pt. 2, Tables,* South Asia Open Archives, L; contributed by C. Latimer, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25394102.pdf, (2 December 2021).

between what they termed one's 'tribe' and one's 'caste', or even if a caste represented a race in itself. Broadly, census authorities tended to regard caste as a purely Hindu phenomenon (which is certainly inaccurate in regard to low-caste Muslim and Christian converts from Hinduism), and thought about Muslims and other religions in terms of 'race' and 'tribe', and foreigners such as Europeans and those from other parts of Asia in terms of nationality.[24] However, this evolved over time, and by the end of the period some censuses were assigning a caste to everyone. So, for example, the 1921 census of Cochin grouped Europeans together as a caste rather than a race or nationality.[25] Far more common was the birthplace question, which appeared on virtually every census, but was recorded exceptionally inconsistently as 'Great Britain and Ireland', 'England and Wales', sometimes just 'Wales', and, perhaps most bizarre of all, the occasional instance of all English-speaking countries being grouped together, including the United States.[26]

Lastly, Indian provinces were created, abolished, and altered over time, so comparing provincial returns for different decades can be difficult. The North West Frontier Province, for example, was only created in 1901, and up until 1937 Burma was treated as a part of British India. Furthermore, some provinces did not undertake censuses every ten years, with Mayurbhanj only conducting its first successful one in 1931.[27] So, it is clear to see that there are a lot of limitations with the data.

Timothy Alborn, in his case study on the age returns of the Indian censuses, highlighted a number of further issues when considering the accuracy of the data. Throughout the period India was largely an illiterate society with significantly worse public records than European countries. In this context, many Indians were not aware of fairly basic information about themselves, such as their age or place of birth. There were also significant cultural differences which meant that certain questions which may be fairly ubiquitous in Europe had radically different meanings and implications in India. For example, detailed questions on age, the number of children, or the exact form of a person's name often came across as overly bureaucratic and it was not widely understood why the government wished to possess this information. Suspicion about government motives could easily lead to inaccurate data, with examples of

[24] Bhagat, 'Census and Caste Enumeration', 121-3.
[25] *Census of India 1921, Vol. 19, Cochin: Pt. 1, Report: Pt. 2, Tables,* South Asia Open Archives, 63; contributed by P. Govinda Menon, Superintendent of Census Operations; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25430172.pdf, (2 December 2021).
[26] See for example *Operations and Results in the Presidency of Bombay, including Sind 1881, Vol. 1,* South Asia Open Archives, 107; contributed by J.A. Baines, Bombay Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25057677.pdf, (2 December 2021).
[27] *Census of Mayurbhanj State 1931*, South Asia Open Archives, IX; contributed by Mohammad Laeequddin, Census Officer; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25352830.pdf, (2 December 2021).

individuals lying about their children's ages because they believed there might be tax or relief benefits involved. Lastly, in a country repeatedly affected by high incidences of disease and famine, creating accurate graphs of an 'ordinary' Indian life span was incredibly difficult, with successive generations of commissioners and actuaries complaining about their inability to make any meaningful conclusions due to famine years.[28] Many of these limitations did not directly affect the data returns for the European population, though they are highlighted here in order to cast light on some of the general issues with census taking in the Indian environment.

So, it is clear from the analysis that censuses are not straightforward recorders of valueless information. The physical conditions of India, as well as its complex religious and caste structures, represented significant obstacles to the effective recording of information. Furthermore, the lack of meaningful central standardisation across time and space, with questions differing from census to census and each province interpreting categories differently, makes like-for-like comparison, even in a single census year, exceedingly difficult. However, with these issues in mind it is possible to create a broad if incomplete picture of Welsh presence.

Numbers

With the above limitations in mind, the analysis can move on to consider what the censuses conducted under British rule can reveal about the Welsh population of India.

Figure 1

Census Year	No. of Welsh (by birthplace, nationality, or caste) in India
1872	198
1881	202
1891	699
1901	229
1911	189
1921	395
1931	68

[28] Alborn, 'Age and Empire in the Indian Census', 61-89.

The main headline of the Indian census reports between 1872-1931 is the confirmation that the numerical strength of Welsh people was significantly lower than their English, Scottish, and Irish equivalents, and this remained the case throughout the period in question. The report of the first all-India census in 1872 (and it must be remembered that these figures are highly suspect) recorded 198 Welsh by 'nationality'. This compared with 7,085 Irish, 3,745 Scottish (or Scotch as most censuses tended to describe the nationality), and 64,706 English. From the report it seems clear that a question on the specific British nationality of individuals was asked by enumerators, though the differing methods of provinces was highlighted by a comment in the report that in Punjab enumerators had recorded all British people as 'British' rather than separating out the data.[29] This would undoubtedly cause limitations in the data as Punjab regularly contained the greatest number of British troops in any province, so it is reasonable to take the Welsh figure as a lower end estimate.

The 1881 census did not include an overall figure for Welsh people, but by working through and adding up the provincial reports for those that provided a figure, we can record 202 Welsh people by 'birth' or 'nationality'[30] out of a total British-born population of 89,015 and what the census described as 'pure British' population of around 150,000, which would appear to be an attempt to separate white Britons from those of mixed British-Indian heritage, the latter self-identifying as Anglo-Indians.[31] The limitations here are fairly clear. Whereas almost every census report asked for someone's place of birth, some went further and asked for their nationality. These are very different questions, with the latter category capturing an individual's national identity in a way that cannot be done through birthplace data alone. For example, someone who was born in India to Welsh parents and had inherited their parents' Welsh identity. We can reasonably assume that census reports that only recorded birthplace underestimated the potential number of people who identified as Welsh, with nationality being a more accurate, though less used, category. Furthermore, many of the provinces which did not return a figure for Welsh people would have contained significant populations, such as Bombay. So, again, 202 must be considered a lower end estimate for the true population.

[29] *Memorandum on the Census of British India of 1871-72,* 55.
[30] Provinces and states which returned a figure were: Madras, Assam, Bengal, Mysore and Baroda.
[31] *Report on the Census of British India, taken on the 17 February 1881*, South Asia Open Archives, 199; contributed by Sir William Chichele Plowden, Census Commissioner; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25057655.pdf, (2 December 2021).

By 1891 we see a pretty notable increase in the Welsh population to 699,[32] which by some way was the highest figure reached during the period, out of a total British born population of around 100,000.[33] A possible reason for the substantial increase was underreporting in 1881. Several more states and provinces returned a figure for Welsh people in 1891 than a decade before, most notably Punjab where the bulk of British soldiers were generally based.[34] Other provinces and states which returned a figure in 1891 but did not in 1881 were the North Western Provinces and Oudh, Hyderabad, Central India, Kashmir and Travancore. What is most notable here was the lack of data for Bengal and Calcutta, which typically held the largest numbers of non-military Welsh people, and as a result had the highest long-term Welsh population.[35] The 1880s was also a period in which Wales was receiving more recognition as a nation and by 1891 was deep within the throes of the Welsh cultural revival. It is possible that by the time of the census more Welsh people in India were willing to describe their national identity as Welsh rather than British or English. Overall, like the 1881 data, it is reasonable to assume that the figure for 1891 was an underestimate.

This increase could also partly be explained by a general increase in British-born people, though as the census itself speculated the quite substantial increase was most probably due to the presence of the Royal Welsh Fusiliers at Peshawar that year which, although heavily recruited outside of Wales, nonetheless would have increased the Welsh-born population of an area quite substantially.[36] The Punjab census, adopting a unique category, counted 302 people under 'caste: literate Welsh', 301 of which were classified as 'Welsh knowing English', suggesting perhaps the presence of a monoglot or probably more likely someone who was illiterate in English.[37] This accounted for nearly half the Welsh people recorded in the census, and emphasises the proportion of the population who were soldiers and also how much the presence of a Welsh regiment could swell the overall Welsh population. The Royal Welsh were present on campaign in Peshawar between 1890-93, with their casualties being

[32] Provinces and states which returned figures were: Baroda, North Western Provinces and Oudh, Hyderabad, Central India, Madras, Kashmir, Punjab, Assam and Travancore.
[33] *General Report on the Census of India 1891,* South Asia Open Archives, XXXI; contributed by J.A. Baines, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25352825.pdf, (2 December 2021).
[34] *The Punjab and its Feudatories,* App. C, Ab. 61, LXXIII.
[35] See for example *Census of India 1901, Vol. 7, Calcutta: Town and Suburbs, Pt. 4, Report: Statistical,* 34.
[36] *Census of India 1891, General Tables for British Provinces and Feudatory States*, South Asia Open Archives, 376-7; contributed by J.A. Baines, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25318666.pdf, (2 December 2021).
[37] *The Punjab and its Feudatories, Pt. 1, the Report on the Census*, South Asia Open Archives, App. C, Ab. 61, LXXIII; contributed by Sir Edward McLagan, Census Commissioner; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25318668.pdf, (2 December 2021).

commemorated at St John's Church in the city. Postings to Peshawar were common for a British regiment as for many years the only real active combat that took place in India was against 'Pathan' groups in the North West who operated along the border with Afghanistan and would often raid towns and push back against British incursions.[38] The regiment was based in Peshawar again on at least one other occasion in 1930.

At the 1901 census the numbers settled back into earlier trends with the all-India census returning 229 under 'caste'. It recorded the distribution as being Assam, Burma, Madras, Punjab and Rajputana, though the provincial censuses recorded Welsh people additionally in Kashmir, Central India, Ajmer-Merwara, the North West Provinces and Oudh, Bengal and Bombay, with the latter two being the most significant populations outside Punjab.[39] This further highlights the discrepancies that could exist between provincial and national censuses. Both Scottish and Irish returns were between 3000-4000 each and English were around 40,000, the decrease being due to the absence of soldiers fighting in the South African War.[40]

By 1911 the overall numbers of British people had recovered though the total number of Welsh returned provincially dipped to 189.[41] By this stage the inconsistency in data collection becomes apparent. Whereas regions such as Madras Presidency and the City of Calcutta returned data on Welsh people fairly consistently,[42] other regions returned data very sporadically and in any given year the ones that would do so would be fairly random. For many regions, such as the Andaman and Nicobar Islands which returned 5 Welsh-born people in 1911[43] but which returned a single category of 'England and Wales' in other years, this was certainly due to the number of people returning themselves as Welsh in some way being zero. However, for areas like Bombay, for which there was a consistent Welsh community throughout this period,[44] the reasons for inconsistent reporting are less obvious. A likely answer, and this is reflected in some of the attitudes expressed in various census reports, was that the

[38] Richard Holmes, *Sahib: The British Soldier in India, 1750-1914* (London: Harper Perennial, 2006), p. 86.
[39] *Census of India 1901, Vol. 1A, India, Pt. 2, Tables*, South Asia Open Archives, 591; contributed by H.H. Risley and E.A. Gait, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25352838.pdf, (2 December 2021).
[40] Ibid.
[41] Provinces and states which returned figures were: Rajputana and Ajmer-Merwara, Madras, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Bihar and Orissa, and the City of Calcutta (the Bengal census did not include this data).
[42] Calcutta, for example, recorded some data on the Welsh population at every census year between 1872-1931.
[43] *Census of India 1911, Vol. 2, Andaman and Nicobar Islands: Pt. 1, Report: Pt. 2, Tables;* South Asia Open Archives, 144; contributed by R.F. Lowis, Superintendent of Census Operations; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25393760.pdf, (3 December 2021).
[44] See for example 'Mr T.J. Extance Dead: President of Welsh Society of Bombay', *The Times of India*, 17 January 1933: 3.

numbers were considered either statistically insignificant (and several census authors expressed the view that Europeans as a whole were statistically insignificant),[45] or else they did not believe that the Welsh represented a group that needed to be separated out from the English or British (a view which is also found in several reports).[46] It is also worth bearing in mind the multifaceted nature of Welsh/British identity. While it is unlikely that every member of the Welsh community in Bombay would return their nationality or birthplace as something other than Welsh in one census year but as Welsh the next, as the difference between 1911 and 1921 might have us believe,[47] it would certainly be the case, especially in the Indian environment, that a certain number of Welsh people would return English or British as their nationality. This could have been particularly true of Bombay though the report did not discuss this.

This tendency for the Welsh population in India to buck the overall British statistical trend continued into 1921 when, despite large reductions in the number of British people in India as a result of the mass demobilisations following the First World War, the numbers of Welsh people returned went up to 395.[48] These figures reveal the severe concentration of the Welsh population by this time, with nearly 350 of the total figures renumerated in the City of Calcutta and Bombay Presidency, primarily the City of Bombay.[49] These had always been the main bases of the Welsh population, but the sheer proportion of Welsh based there by 1921 demonstrates not only the overall reduction of British people (and their

[45] *Report on the Census of British India, taken on the 17 February 1881*, 199.
[46] *Census of India 1901, Vol. 25, Rajputana, Pt. 1, Report,* South Asia Open Archives, 32; contributed by A.D. Bannerman, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25366888.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A83836c800f7640ec70db637c2713231b, (3 December 2021). In this census a footnote indicates that the Welsh were included in the figures for the English.
[47] In 1921 Bombay Presidency returned 193 Welsh by nationality, see *Census of India 1921, Vol. 8, Bombay Presidency, Pt. 2, Tables: Imperial and Provincial*, South Asia Open Archives, 188; contributed by L.J. Sedgwick, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25394131.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3Ab2f4a5144cfb423876bbdb149c101ce5, (3 December 2021). In 1911, the figures were subsumed into an England and Wales category, see *Census of India 1911, Vol. 7, Bombay, Pt. 2, Imperial Tables,* South Asia Open Archives, 184; contributed by P.J. Mead and G. Laird MacGregor, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25393770.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3Ae5068f2d243c3d12b9a356e297e9ac84, (3 December 2021).
[48] Provinces and states which returned figures were: Assam, Bihar and Orissa, City of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay Presidency.
[49] *Census of India 1921, Vol. 6, City of Calcutta, Pt. 2, Tables,* South Asia Open Archives, 49; contributed by W.H. Thomson, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25394127.pdf, (3 December 2021). Also *Census of India 1921, Vol. 8, Bombay Presidency, Pt. 2, Tables: Imperial and Provincial,* South Asia Open Archives, 188; contributed by L.J. Sedgwick, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25394131.pdf, (3 December 2021).

grouping in the major cities), but also the lack of Welsh regiments in India following the war, as often their presence would contribute a Welsh population to Punjab and Bangalore.[50]

By the 1931 census both the national and provincial censuses by and large stopped producing data related to Welsh people. Only the City of Calcutta and Hyderabad separately recorded Wales or Welsh as birthplace or nationality respectively,[51] and though separate data continued to be collected on the Scottish and Irish (including a new category of Northern Irish reflecting partition),[52] the 1931 exercise was notable for the number of provinces that simply returned UK or UK and Ireland figures.[53] The number of people explicitly returned as Welsh, in Calcutta and Hyderabad, dropped to 68, with only two of these outside Calcutta.[54] As well as census commissioners being more likely to group British people together into single categories as the Raj drew closer to its conclusion, it is also possible that a shrinking British population, nationalist and communal political disruption, and a growing realisation that the British would eventually leave India, may well have created a bunker mentality which pushed national identities towards Britishness rather than Welshness.

It is clear that throughout the time of Crown Rule Welsh people remained a tiny fraction of the overall British population, but that, except for a spike in 1891 associated with the Royal Welsh Fusiliers, their numbers remained steady. What is also notable was their distribution. That Calcutta was the centre of

[50] *Report on the Mysore General Census 1871, Vol. 2*, South Asia Open Archives, 359; contributed by A.W.C. Lindsay, Mysore Commission; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25057651.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A240a1a08f2eec1556314eb3a190c8428, (3 December 2021). There was a British Army base at Trimulgherry in Secunderabad throughout the period. The 2nd Battalion The Welsh Regiment were based there from 1893 until deployment in the South African War.

[51] *Census of India 1931, Vol. 13: H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions (Hyderabad State), Pt. 1-2,* South Asia Open Archives, 249; contributed by Gulam Ahmed Khan, Census Commissioner; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25793213.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A8645e83a64b9d5904e2e2cf352f9960f, (3 December 2021); *Census of India 1931, Vol. 6, Calcutta,* South Asia Open Archives, 176; contributed by A.E. Porter, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25793232.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A8a001c8c2a6314e924cf3dba5d3d2ca3, (3 December 2021).

[52] See for example *Census of India 1931, Vol. 16, Delhi*, South Asia Open Archives, Tab. 6, XIII; contributed by Khan Ahmad Hasan Khan, Superintendent of Census Operations; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25793230.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A92eebd6d6c1b393a4e40cedf782192b1, (3 December 2021).

[53] See for example *Census of India 1931, Vol. 24, Jammu and Kashmir State, Pt. 2, Imperial and State Tables*, South Asia Open Archives, 26; contributed by Rai Bahadur, Pt. Anant Ram, Census Commissioner; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25797120.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A80f1300206490b6be73a1cab5b2f5e62, (3 December 2021).

[54] *Census of India 1931, Vol. 13: H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions (Hyderabad State), Pt. 1-2,* 249; *Census of India 1931, Vol. 6, Calcutta,* 176.

Welsh life in India is confirmed by their strong presence there,[55] though Bombay also contained large numbers (sometimes more so)[56] and, to a lesser extent, Madras,[57] suggesting that Welsh life in India was largely an urban one in the main presidency cities.

The 1891 spike in Peshawar, which formed part of the North West and later North West Frontier Province, also revealed a concentration of Welsh people in areas with military cantonments, mostly areas like the North West, the United Provinces, and Hyderabad.[58] Though what did appear to be distinct about the Welsh was that soldiers did not make up anywhere near the massive proportions of their numbers as they did for the English, Scottish, and Irish. Throughout the period most British people in India at any given time were soldiers,[59] with the Irish making up around 40% of the British Army in the middle of the nineteenth century.[60] However, despite Welsh units like the Welsh Regiment and the Royal Welsh Fusiliers having their primary recruiting districts in Wales, Welsh soldiers rarely made up a majority of their number and they tended to look elsewhere, even as far away as Dublin, to make up their contingent.[61] The reasons for the lack of interest in the army in Wales were complicated, but the Welsh industrial landscape, which tended to provide decently paid and relatively secure employment for workers at home, unlike somewhere like Ireland where long-term economic issues and periodic food shortages induced large numbers to sign up, probably provides the best explanation.[62] Whilst Welsh regiments did still possess a decent percentage of Welsh soldiers, with the Peshawar spike indicating that they would have an impact on local Welsh populations, the Welsh in India tended to find themselves more in the hustle and bustle of the presidency cities rather than within the steady rhythm of cantonment life.

The Peshawar spike also indicates that the proportions of different British groups could be impacted by the presence of specific regiments. The 1921 City of Calcutta census, for example, reported that troop

---

[55] *Census of India 1931, Vol. 6, Calcutta,* 112.
[56] *Census of India 1911, Vol. 7, Bombay, Pt. 2, Imperial Tables,* 188.
[57] *Census of India 1911, Vol. 12, Madras, Pt. 2, Imperial and Provincial Tables*, South Asia Open Archives, 114; contributed by J. Chartres Molony; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25393786.pdf, (8 December 2021).
[58] *Census of India 1891, Vol. 23, His Highness the Nizam's Dominions*, South Asia Open Archive, 608; contributed by Mirza Mehdy Khan, Provincial Superintendent of Census Operations; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25352822.pdf, (8 December 2021).
[59] Gilmour, *The British in India*, pp. 16-17.
[60] Fraser, 'Ireland and India', pp. 77-93.
[61] Martin Johnes, 'Welshness, Welsh Soldiers and the Second World War', in *Fighting For Britain? Negotiating Identities in Britian during the Second World War*, ed. by Wendy Ugolini and Juliette Pattinson (Peter Lang: Oxford, 2015), pp. 65-88.
[62] MacKillop, 'A "Reticent" People?', pp. 143-67.

rotations meant that an Irish regiment had been replaced by a Scottish one, which had in turn been replaced by an English one by the time of the census being taken. It subsequently found that the English population had increased rather substantially at the expense of the Irish and Scottish.[63] A Welsh regiment, bearing in mind the relative lack of Welsh soldiers, would not have such an impact as an Irish, Scottish, or English one, but it does show how local populations were affected by the movement of troops.

A further point to be made about distribution is the already highly researched contingent of Welsh in the Northeast, especially Assam, which throughout Crown Rule remained fairly consistent at around 20-50.[64] These would have mostly included missionaries, who it should be noted would be far more likely to record their nationality and language as 'Welsh' due to its importance to their nonconformity. The Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church in particular regarded their Welsh identity as essential to their faith, and the Welsh language itself as an almost religious purifying force.[65] It would therefore be no surprise that Welsh identity was emphasised by missionaries on the census, and the numbers returned were generally consistent with the missionary population. However, missionaries were not the only Welsh people in Assam, and it is important not to forget about the small number of Welsh who operated as tea planters in the northern tea estates, such as Albert E. Farmer and his wife Gladys who were attached to the Jokai Assam India Tea Company at Dibrugahr during the 1920s.[66]

Lastly, the census figures captured a small but persistent group of Welsh people who worked on the Kolar Gold Fields of Mysore, which coincides with other evidence which suggests a small but steady stream of Welsh miners and workers from other notably Welsh industries, such as tinplate manufacturing, travelled out to India to take on skilled jobs in emerging industries. Indeed, 80 such workers were contracted to set up the Tin-Plate Company of India mill at Golmuri in Bengal in 1924, some of whom may have been captured in the 1931 census if the detail had been greater.[67] The Kolar Gold Fields were a major employer of European labour throughout this period, with the censuses

[63] *Census of India 1921, Vol. 6, City of Calcutta, Pt. 1, Report*, South Asia Open Archives, 74; contributed by W.H. Thomson, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25394126.pdf, (8 December 2021).
[64] *Census of India 1891, Assam*, South Asia Open Archives, 137; contributed by E.A. Gait, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25352804.pdf, (8 December 2021).
[65] Jones and Jones, 'The Welsh World and the British Empire', p. 65.
[66] 'Welsh Weddings', *Western Mail,* 4 March 1926: 8.
[67] 'Welshmen in India', *Western Mail*, 13 November 1924: 6.

emphasising that most Europeans in Mysore were either soldiers or gold miners.[68] Unfortunately, the census reports did not record exact numbers of Welsh by nationality or birthplace, but the 1911 census does reveal Welsh language use on the field (an aspect of the census which will be discussed below). That year there were 6 Welsh speakers in residence on the gold fields, and assuming that a certain proportion of the Welsh workforce would be English speakers (probably the larger group), or else returned their household language as English, an assumption can be made that that figure would represent a lower estimate of the overall numbers.[69] So, the census data reveals that Welsh people could be found, in larger or smaller numbers, throughout India and in a broad variety of professions, most notably soldiering, missionary work, mining and other heavy industries.

Welsh Language Proliferation and Maintenance

The census returns also contained information on the Welsh language and its use in India. While it is reasonable to assume that those who spoke Welsh, and certainly those who returned it as their primary language, had some sort of Welsh self-identity, the data is not tremendously useful at establishing fuller numbers of Welsh people as by the time these censuses were conducted many people in Wales were not fluent or even partial Welsh speakers.[70] The enumerators asked about the language an individual spoke in their home, so while it might be expected, as the census itself suggests, that some Welsh people would record Welsh as their home language out of some sense of patriotic duty,[71] one could expect that only those with Welsh-speaking family living with them in India, or soldiers in barracks with any Welsh-speaking soldiers, would do so consistently. The Calcutta judge Sir Lawrence Jenkins, for example, was a first-language Welsh speaker from Cardigan, but his wife was a South African-born English-speaker.[72] Though it is not possible to know for certain how Jenkins returned his census in the

[68] *Census of India 1921, Vol. 23, Mysore, Pt. 1, Report*, South Asia Open Archives, 23; contributed by V.R. Thyagarajaiyar, Superintendent of Census Operations; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25430178.pdf, (8 December 2021).
[69] *Census of India 1911, Vol. 21, Mysore, Pt. 2, Tables*, South Asia Open Archives, 95; contributed by V.R. Thyagarajaiyar, Superintendent of Census Operations; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25394113.pdf, (8 December 2021).
[70] Morgan*, Rebirth of a Nation*, p. 95.
[71] *Census of India 1901, Vol. 1, India, Pt. 1, Report,* South Asia Open Archives, 341; contributed by H.H. Risley and E.A. Gait, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25352837.pdf, (13 December 2021).
[72] D.L. Baker-Jones, 'Sir Lawrence Hugh Jenkins of Cilbronnau, Cardiganshire: his Family Background and Career', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,* 1 (1968), 131.

years applicable, if answering the question correctly it would be expected he returned English as the language of his household.

Figure 2

Census Year	No. of Welsh Speakers (India)	% of total Welsh (see Figure 1)
1872	Not recorded	N/A
1881	205 (including Burma)	N/A (Figure 1 figures do not include Burma)
1891	245	35
1901	12	5
1911	11	5.8
1921	10 (all in Assam)	2.5
1931	153	Insufficient data (1931 census records Welsh speakers but only limited Welsh by birthplace or nationality)

So, while the figures are revealing, they should not be relied upon to estimate numbers of Welsh people. However, they are evidence that the Welsh language was spoken in India, albeit in small numbers, and not just by those celebrating St David's Day in the big cities. At the 1881 census 205 Welsh speakers were recorded throughout India and Burma. Though it was noted that 146 of these were returned in Burma and were attached to a Welsh regiment,[73] this fact in itself reveals how the presence of working-class Welsh people could increase the numbers of Welsh speakers. And this was a pattern that was repeated throughout the country and throughout the period as areas where Welsh workers were recruited often had the strongest contingent of Welsh speakers. The 1911 census of Mysore, for example, recorded seven Welsh speakers, 6 of whom were returned from the Kolar gold fields,[74] an industry known for attracting skilled Welsh labour, such as Jacob Thomas, from Llanfyrnach

[73] *Report on the Census of British India, taken on the 17 February 1881*, 199.
[74] *Census of India 1911, Vol. 21, Mysore, Pt. 2, Tables*, 95.

(Pembrokeshire), who was employed as a captain at one such mine during 1902.[75] Another example can be seen in Assam, where the various missionary movements, most notably the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Mission in the Khasia and Jaintia Hills, by the twentieth century consisted mostly of working-class women.[76] In 1901 the Assam census returned 9 Welsh speakers, all of whom were based on the mission field.[77] By 1931 this had increased to 31.[78]

Turning to the figures for the whole of India contained in **Figure 2**, some clear patterns stand out. 1881 was the first census in which British languages other than English were recorded, and it has already been noted that the 205 Welsh speakers recorded were primarily made up of soldiers serving in Burma. Both the numbers and the reasoning behind their distribution remained similar into 1891, with 174 of the 245 Welsh speakers being returned in Punjab where the Royal Welsh Fusiliers were based (as noted above).[79] The large representation of soldiers within the overall figures for Welsh speakers became critically important into the 1901 census, when only 12 were recorded in a year when many regiments, including the Welsh Regiment based at Trimulgherry in Secunderabad, were serving in South Africa.[80] Of these 12, 9 were missionaries in Assam[81] which, combined with the 1921 figures which returned all 10 Welsh speakers in Assam,[82] highlights how, in the absence of soldiers, Welsh missionaries tended to make up the bulk of Welsh speakers. 1911 represented an interesting outlier year in this respect, as 6 of the 11 Welsh speakers returned were workers on the Kolar gold fields.[83] By 1931, Welsh regiments had finally returned to India, with the bulk of Welsh speakers spread out across areas which contained military bases, such as Bihar and Orissa, the North West Frontier Province, and Punjab. A presence was

[75] 'Frenni Fawr Notes', *The Pembroke County Guardian and Cardigan Reporter*, 3 May 1902: 2.
[76] Aled Jones, 'Welsh Missionary Journalism in India, 1880-1947', in *Imperial Co-Histories: National Identities and the British Colonial Press*, ed. by Julie F. Codell (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2003), p. 256.
[77] *Census of India 1901, Vol. 4, Assam,* South Asia Open Archives, 62; contributed by B.C. Allen, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25352836.pdf, (13 December 2021).
[78] *Census of India 1931, Vol. 3, Assam, Pt. 1, Report*, South Asia Open Archives, 176; contributed by C.S. Mullan, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25797113.pdf, (13 December 2021).
[79] *Census of India 1891, General Tables for British Provinces and Feudatory States*, 376-7.
[80] *Census of India 1901, Vol. 1, India, Pt. 1, Report*, South Asia Open Archives, 341-2; contributed by H.H. Risley and E.A. Gait, India Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25352837.pdf, (14 December 2021).
[81] *Census of India 1901, Vol. 4, Assam,* 62.
[82] *Census of India 1921, Vol. 3, Assam, Pt. 2, Tables,* South Asia Open Archives, 66; contributed by G.T. Lloyd, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25394123.pdf, (14 December 2021).
[83] *Census of India 1911, Vol. 21, Mysore, Pt. 2, Tables*, 95.

still notable among the missionaries with 12 Welsh speakers returned across Assam, and also on the Kolar gold fields with 8 being returned in Mysore.[84]

Returning to the large urban centres, the presence of the Welsh language was clear but often sporadic. In 1881 no Welsh speakers were recorded in the city of Calcutta,[85] whereas in 1891 there were 9 returned.[86] This figure had returned to 0 by 1901.[87] In 1881 the Madras Presidency contained 22 Welsh speakers, almost all within the city itself,[88] but by 1891 this had reduced to 14.[89] The city of Bombay never returned Welsh language data in any census, despite having among the largest concentration of Welsh people anywhere in India, though the 1881 Presidency returns did include four Welsh speakers in Karachi and one in Surat.[90] These figures must be viewed as a base level rather than an accurate representation of the levels of Welsh language knowledge. A clear reluctance to record Welsh as a separate language comes through most of the census documents, even within those in which commissioners had done so, suggesting that in many cases those that spoke Welsh were simply listed as English speakers. Some census documents even went so far as to state that their English language returns included Welsh, such as the report into the 1881 Bombay Presidency census which had a category of 'English (Welsh and Irish)'.[91] Irish and Scottish language returns also suffered from this prejudice, though it is notable how many more documents contained these two linguistic categories but not Welsh. So, for example, the 1901 census for Rajputana recorded 58 Irish speakers, 69 Scottish speakers, and 400 English and Welsh speakers, without separating out the latter two.[92] This is perhaps not surprising given the number of birthplace records under the category of 'England and Wales', and

[84] *Census of India 1931, Vol. 1, India, Pt. 2, Imperial Tables*, South Asia Open Archives, 506; contributed by J.H. Hutton, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25793234.pdf, (14 December 2021).
[85] *Report on the Census of the Town and Suburbs of Calcutta, taken on the 17 February 1881*, South Asia Open Archives, XL-XLI; contributed by H. Beverley, Special Census Officer; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25057670.pdf, (13 December 2021).
[86] *Report on the Census of Calcutta, taken on 26 February 1891*, South Asia Open Archives, 26; contributed by H.F.J.T. Maguire; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25318673.pdf, (13 December 2021).
[87] *Census of India 1901, Vol. 7, Calcutta: Town and Suburbs, Pt. 4, Report: Statistical*, 72.
[88] *Imperial Census of 1881: Operations and Results in the Presidency of Madras*, South Asia Open Archives, 119; contributed by Lewis McIver, Madras Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25057664.pdf, (13 December 2021).
[89] *Census of India 1891, Vol. 14, Madras: Tables 1 to XVII-C, British Territory,* South Asia Open Archive; contributed by Harold A. Stuart, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25352817.pdf, (13 December 2021).
[90] *Operations and Results in the Presidency of Bombay, Including Sind 1881*, *Vol. 2,* South Asia Open Archives, 41; contributed by J.A. Baines, Bombay Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25057678.pdf, (13 December 2021).
[91] *Operations and Results in the Presidency of Bombay, including Sind 1881, Vol. 1,* 107.
[92] *Census of India 1901, Vol. 25, Rajputana, Pt. 1, Report*, 32.

the general official tendency to lump the two nations together. It must also be remembered that though many Welsh speakers sought out opportunities to speak Welsh in India,[93] and though the language was used at Welsh festivals such as St David's Day,[94] it is difficult to imagine that many even first-language speakers had much occasion to speak it in their everyday lives. It must be borne in mind that the specific question related to the language spoken in the household, which even for first-language Welsh speakers would most likely be English in India. In these circumstances, and within an imperial context in which English was viewed as the imperial language, it can be supposed that many first-language Welsh speakers returned their home language as English, as in India this indeed would have been the language they used most. Newspaper reports which focused on the Welsh language in India would often remark on how impressive it was for an individual to retain it after so many years away from regular contact,[95] and the vet Griffith Evans thought his encounter with another Welsh speaker so notable that he dwelt on it in his letters at length.[96] It is therefore reasonable to suppose that knowledge of the Welsh language was more common than the census figures suggest.

Official Attitudes

A final point to be made about the census returns regards the attitudes towards Welsh and other minority British nationalities that they reveal at an official level. It has already been touched upon that the majority of the returns did not record Welsh as a category in any meaningful way, with most using the category of 'England and Wales' for birthplace, or even just 'British and Ireland' or 'United Kingdom'.[97] It has also been noted that commissioners were reluctant to record languages other than English as being spoken among the British contingent. In the report to the 1901 census the commissioners wrote 'The Keltic (sic) languages are probably returned in some cases by people whose home language is good English, and whom patriotism has induced to show themselves as more familiar with Welsh, Gaelic, or Irish, than they really are'.[98] The Madras census went further, arguing that 'Irish and Welsh were probably returned by 'facetious Anglo-Saxons. Perhaps in 1911 we shall find

[93] Bangor, BUA, Letters of Griffith Evans, p. 269.
[94] 'Wavell's Welsh Secretary', *Western Mail*, 27 March 1945: 2.
[95] 'Penmark', *The Cardiff Times*, 16 September 1864: 6.
[96] Bangor, BUA, Letters of Griffith Evans, p. 269.
[97] *Operations and Results in the Presidency of Bombay, including Sind 1881, Vol. 1,* 107.
[98] *Census of India 1901, Vol. 1, India, Pt. 1, Report,* 341.

"Billingsgate" among the languages of the household'.[99] This type of treatment can also be found in other years. In 1881 the all-India commissioners wrote 'There are also a certain number of persons who might more properly have been classed with English, but have been shown in the statement for languages according to the languages they professed to speak'.[100] In the census for Punjab Pashto was described, in hindsight excessively prematurely, as a dying language akin to Welsh or Scottish - 'There can be no doubt that under English rule Hindustani is rapidly superseding Pashtu (sic), and that this language is doomed to die out in these parts as assuredly as the Celtic of the Scotch and Welsh Highlands'.[101] These comments not only reflected official apathy towards non-English British languages at the time, but also explain why the data for both language and birthplace were not systematic.

Census data does not provide perfect information on the numbers of Welsh people and Welsh speakers in India during the period in question. It has been outlined above the inherent issues with these documents and the official prejudices which underlined their compilation. However, they are indicative of the presence, size and spread of the Welsh population, and alongside other sources can confirm what kind of roles the Welsh in India played. They provide some of the only examples of solid, high-level data and makes the story of the Welsh in India more than just one of individuals. Most importantly, they provide a starting point from which one can delve deeper and start to tease out the stories behind some of the numbers.

The Indian censuses reveal a small but consistent Welsh population concentrated mostly in the major cities of Calcutta and Bombay, but also scattered across the whole of India. This population rose and fell depending on the international situation, with war in Europe and South Africa having the biggest impact on overall numbers of Britons and, consequently, the Welsh. They also reveal a pattern of Welsh language use which saw influxes of Welsh speakers during periods when Welsh regiments were deployed, and limited pockets of Welsh speakers in the cities. However, they also provide a critical insight into how the Welsh were viewed as a people by British Indian officialdom. Several census reports provide dismissive commentary on the Welsh language, and disregard data which indicates a Welsh community in favour of wider British categorisations. At times it seems as if commissioners were battling between their desire to record accurately and their prejudices against the idea of individual

[99] *Census of India 1911, Vol. 12, Madras, Pt. 1, Report*, South Asia Open Archive, 95; contributed by J. Chartres Molony, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25393785.pdf, (13 December 2021).
[100] *Report on the Census of British India, taken on the 17 February 1881*, 199.
[101] *Report on the Census of the Panjab taken on 17 February 1881, Vol. 1,* South Asia Open Archive, 167; contributed by Denzil Charles Jelf Ibbetson; https://www.jstor.org/stable/saoa.crl.25057656?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents, (13 December 2021).

British nationalities. More often, these comments reflect their belief that this kind of information was irrelevant, and in so far as the census was an exercise in supporting orderly British rule in India, they were correct. The next chapter will go beyond the raw numbers to attempt to piece together the lived experience of Welsh people in India.

4

Playing the Game: Welsh Occupations and Social Life

If one were to construct a mental image of the Welsh in India based upon existing literature, the subsequent image would no doubt be of a nonconformist missionary, probably Welsh Calvinistic Methodist, tending to their Khasi, Lushai, or Sylheti flocks in jungle regions of the extreme Northeast stretching down to the plains of what is now Northeast Bangladesh. It is hardly surprising that a nation which defined itself so intimately with its faith in the late nineteenth and very early twentieth centuries came to have that faith as a major focus of scholarly work, especially in Welsh historians' limited forays into the global. However, this image of the Welsh in India, of a Christian crusader taming the 'heathen', was only true of a small proportion of the total population at any given time between 1858-1947. In truth, the Welsh, though small in number, were diverse in occupation, and included soldiers, industrial workers, civil servants, lawyers, judges and housewives, to name some of the larger groups.

As the last chapter showed, census data captured pockets of Welsh population which either heavily hinted at their roles, due to specific geographies, or else went into detail due to their prominence. The main categories broadly put were concentrations of Welsh soldiers who moved around, but were mainly based in major military cantonments in Hyderabad and the Northwest, smaller pockets of missionaries in Assam, most notably the Khasi and Lushai Hills, and similarly small numbers of heavy industrial workers in metal-producing regions of Bengal and mining districts of Mysore, and, lastly, denser concentrations of urban-dwelling Welsh who would most likely be occupied in professional services, such as the civil service, the judiciary, and business. It is this final category, due to the diverse nature of urban life, that census data gives us the least detail. Even for roles that were more geographically determined, census data tends to be limited to raw numbers, and we must rely on alternative sources to give any kind of detail on lived experience.

This chapter will look in more detail at the professions of the Welsh in India, using press sources, personal papers, and other source material to analyse any potential occupational patterns. It will also examine their wider social life to examine whether being Welsh made any conceivable difference to the types of activities they pursued. Ultimately, in both the private and professional spheres, the Welsh were much too small a group to assert themselves as a collective in any field outside missionary work.

Welsh civil servants, lawyers, judges, and other professional grades were often lone Welsh people in a wider industry of English, Scottish, or Irish dominance, and were therefore unable to pursue any conceivably distinct Welshness in their profession, even if at any stage they felt inclined to do so, for which there is little evidence. In their social lives, the Welsh conformed to the standards of British Indian society and participated in the social gatherings, sporting pursuits and hobbies which were considered acceptable to the ruling race. While mavericks existed, they did not do so at a greater rate than other British nationalities. This chapter will establish that in their social and professional lives, the Welsh were conspicuous in their conformity.

Missionaries

Missionary work is the establishment of ministers and religious teachers amongst a population outside of that religion in order to convert and maintain within the faith. In the Indian context, missionaries regarded Indian faiths such as Hinduism, Islam, and traditional indigenous religions as barbaric and heathen doctrines and sought to 'civilise' Indian society through Christianisation. The Welsh missionary connection was as old as the British missionary connection, with Welsh denominations participating in the activities of the London Missionary Society (LMS), an interdenominational evangelical missionary group which began establishing missions overseas in 1795. The LMS was in fact initially established under the initiative of the Welsh nonconformist minister Eric Williams. However, by the 1830s tensions between the LMS and Welsh chapels over the perceived lack of Welsh representation in the overseas missions inspired efforts towards a specifically Welsh missionary enterprise which was established under the auspices of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists in 1840. The first Welsh missionary under the endeavour was Thomas Jones, who left for India in 1840 and established a mission in the Khasi Hills. He continued to serve as a missionary until his death in 1849, though by this stage scandal involving his marriage to his second wife, as well as entanglements with local officials such as Harry Inglis whose monopoly of the lime and orange trade in the Khasi Hills caused conflict with the mission, had led to his expulsion from the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist mission. Until his death, he operated as an independent missionary outside the formal mission field.[1]

[1] Andrew J. May, *Welsh Missionaries and British Imperialism: The Empire of Clouds in North-East India*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), pp. 13-48.

Until the abandonment of the Welsh mission field in the 1960s, Welsh missionaries from numerous nonconformist denominations operated across India, though they established a specifically Welsh field of influence in Assam and northern Bengal, with major centres of missionary activity in towns such as Aijal, Sylhet, Kalimpong, and Shillong. These missions were small. The overall number of Welsh missionaries in Assam averaged around 50 throughout the period, with increasingly large numbers of these being working-class women into the twentieth century.[2] The Welshness of the mission field, as well as its relationship with British imperialism, will be explored in later chapters. For this section, we shall look at the nature of missionary work and the everyday experience of those who heeded the call to India.

Aled Jones' work on the Welsh mission field imagines it as a 'sacred space' - tiny populations of missionaries living semi-autonomously, in close proximity with indigenous peoples, but separated by colonial norms of racial and gendered segregation.[3] Missionaries were undoubtedly agents of British imperialism, spreading Welsh religious and European social and cultural norms among populations whom they considered fundamentally inferior, dependent on the formal trappings of imperialism for their functionality, but at the same time outside the hierarchy of officialdom and often occupying a contested space between their imperial and pastoral roles. Andrew May's work on the first Welsh missionary, Thomas Jones, captures this contested reality, rooting it in modern Khasi memories of Jones and his role as 'protector' of indigenous rights against that of monopoly capitalism and imperialism in the form of Harry Inglis.[4] Indeed, many missionaries occupied this contested space, and it is important to remember that when treating them as Welsh 'imperialists' abroad, their relationship with both the imperial centre and other imperial agents was significantly affected by remoteness. Those operating in the Northeast especially contended not only with a tiny missionary population, but an even smaller non-missionary group, with most of the tangible trappings of colonial power often many days or weeks journey away.

That being said, the work of Jones highlights how the racial segregation of wider British Indian society was replicated on the mission field, not of course as rigidly as one might expect in many cities and towns of urban India where certain groups, especially women, would have less need to interact with Indians. It would be difficult to tend to your flock, preach, heal, educate, without a large degree of contact with the

[2] Aled Jones, 'Missionary Journalism in India, 1880-1947', p. 256.
[3] Aled Jones, 'Sacred Spaces', p. 217.
[4] May, *Welsh Missionaries and British Imperialism,* pp. 248-68.

colonial other. Nevertheless, where possible, missionary groups maintained and enforced the clear line of othering between conqueror and conquered, and this defined their daily lives.[5] Lilian Edwards, a missionary with the Baptist Missionary Society, who spent around 15 years in India between 1906 and the early 1920s, epitomised more than most this gendered and racialised environment. Her work was primarily within zenanas, that part of an Indian home in which women in purdah are separated from men, teaching the Bible alongside Indian Christian women. She later founded a day school in Calcutta and took responsibility for the pastoral care of child congregants. Rarely does her book mention interactions with Indian men, especially non-Christian men, towards which she maintained a suspicion and unabashed sense of superiority.[6] Such attitudes will be explored in later chapters. For now, it is important to note the extremely gendered nature of Edwards' work, and the racial hierarchy in which it was carried out.

The segregation of the mission field was also reflected in the diary of future Liberal MP Herbert Lewis (1858-1933) who visited it as part of his world tour in 1884. Going beyond the simple segregation of 'native' and European, Lewis described how Indian Christians were segregated from non-Christian populations in order to prevent 'slippages' and temptation back to 'heathenism'. On visiting the mission village of Shangpoong in late December 1884, Lewis noted not only the separate buildings for Indians and Europeans, but also the stark differences between Indian Christians and non-Christians. He described the latter as 'drunk and immoral', noting that the Christians were teetotal, and this was policed severely. He also noted how Christians were better dressed and the children better nourished and educated, contrasting sharply with the 'miserable little waifs' of the non-Christian village.[7] Lewis' writings were no doubt tinged with self-righteous bluster and deep prejudice towards Muslims, Hindus and traditional Khasi belief systems, and his pronouncements on Indians should not be taken at face value. However, it does demonstrate how the daily life of the mission field reflected the racial norms of British Indian society, albeit on a smaller scale and with different motivations.

Forms of segregation not only sought to distance European from Indian, but also defined roles within the missionary movement itself. The work of Edwards emphasised that her primary daily duties consisted of working with women and children, and this reflected the gendered segregation of roles within the mission field which, like racial segregation, tended to mirror the norms of British Indian

[5] Aled Jones, 'Sacred Spaces', p. 233.
[6] Lilian Edwards, *A Welsh Woman's Work in India* (Caerphilly: self-published, 1940), pp. 10-23.
[7] Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, J. Herbert Lewis Papers, B62-74, Book XI, pp. 1-7.

society.[8] In her diaries, the Khasi and Lushai missionary G.M. Mendus regularly complained about the strict gender norms of the mission field. In late November 1935, shortly after her arrival in the Khasi Hills, Mendus complained bitterly that wives were not permitted to join the proceedings of the Missionaries' General Council, recording that a protest was made and sardonically suggesting that the women should take up Gandhi's method of lying across the threshold.[9] During her time in India between 1935-44, Mendus' roles were similar to that of Edwards'. In February 1936 she was put in charge of the missionary school at Aijal, despite her protestations that she was not qualified, and thereafter was primarily occupied in education.[10] Her other duties included organising and leading women's meetings consisting of Indian Christian women, a task she initially struggled with due to her difficulties learning the Khasi language but which she was eventually able to undertake with some independence.[11] Mendus often complained about feeling useless or idle, and this no doubt reflected the limited role she was expected to play on the mission field, regardless of her particular suitability for such work. Mendus was perhaps more resistant to such gender norms than other missionaries. She was a self-declared socialist and complained about both gender and racial segregation in India - an aspect of her life which will be discussed in detail in a later chapter.[12] However, her daily routine, and her ultimate acceptance of her role, demonstrates further both the nature of the Welsh mission, and its conformity with wider British India.

Soldiers

The daily lives of missionaries were highly regulated by both the rules and values of the home church and, though more indirectly, by the prescriptions of wider British Indian society. Another highly regulated existence in India was that of soldiers. It was noted above that while this occupation formed the largest British group in India, the proportion of Welsh soldiers in Welsh regiments was low and they rarely made up a majority even for regiments where their principle recruiting districts were in Wales. Between 1883-1900, for example, only 28% of Welsh regiments were recruited from Wales.[13] Nonetheless, Welsh soldiers were still a substantial part of the Welsh population of India, and

[8] Edwards, *A Welsh Woman's Work in India,* p. 59.
[9] Aberystwyth, NLW, Journal of Mrs G.M. Mendus, HZ1/3/1-31, Book 1, p. 53.
[10] Aberystwyth, NLW, Journal of Mrs G.M. Mendus, Book 4, pp. 6-7.
[11] Aberystwyth, NLW, Journal of Mrs G.M. Mendus, Book 2, p. 97.
[12] Ibid, p. 61.
[13] Johnes, 'Welshness, Welsh Soldiers and the Second World War', pp. 65-88.

understanding their daily lives is crucial to understanding the Welsh Indian experience. A number of Welsh regiments served at varying times in India, including the Welsh Regiment throughout the 1890s on various cantonments such as Secunderabad and Madras,[14] as well as a stint in Peshawar during the 1930s, and the Royal Welch Fusiliers during the first decade of the twentieth century, as well as during the Second World War. The highly regulated nature of that life means that drawing a general picture of how the average Welsh soldier would have lived is relatively straightforward. Richard Holmes' highly detailed study of the British soldier in India is the best work available in this area and paints a vivid picture of army life. In such a hierarchical organisation the kind of social activity open to you was often dependent on rank, with officers able to enjoy pleasures of the officers' mess, the more exclusive local social clubs, and invites to the loftier dinner parties hosted by local European dignitaries. However, Holmes argued that for the most part, soldiers' lives in India were characterised by large amounts of free time, and subsequently combatting boredom became both a personal and official goal. Most cantonments, especially those based in larger population centres, would contain various sellers to cater to soldiers' needs - cigarettes, sweetmeats, drinks etc. Shows were also a common feature of cantonment life, with regimental glee clubs and concert groups which performed music, comedy, recitals, and amateur dramatics.[15] *The Men of Harlech* magazine, the soldier-led publication of the 2nd Battalion The Welsh Regiment, regularly reviewed such occasions, with patriotic musical performances reflecting the regiment's Welsh roots being firm favourites. In February 1897, for example, the regiment's Glee Club, at that time stationed at Madras, gave a concert consisting primarily of Welsh songs which was attended by the Governor of Madras Sir Arthur Havelock.[16] Sport was also a major part of army recreation, with Holmes highlighting sports such as shooting, pigsticking, association football, rugby, and polo as particularly popular. Pigsticking was a gruesome sport which involved chasing a wild boar by horse over open field and trying to kill it with a lance. While the boar was always at a clear disadvantage, victory for the human was never guaranteed, with fatalities from the 'game' reported regularly. In lieu of much actual fighting inside India itself during this period, aside from a few small-scale campaigns in the Northwest, army life, according to Holmes, was fairly monotonous, with such activities described above breaking the grinding routine of parade and drills.[17]

[14] During this period the 2nd Battalion of the Welsh Regiment published a monthly magazine, *The Men of Harlech*, which recorded much of army life.
[15] Holmes, *Sahib,* pp. 138-177.
[16] 'Madras Notes', *The Men of Harlech*, February 1897: 4.
[17] Holmes, *Sahib*, pp. 157-77.

The memoir of Frank Richards, a soldier of the Second Battalion Royal Welch Fusiliers, provides not only a distinctly Welsh perspective on army life but, more revealingly, a rank and file one. Richards was a private throughout his army career, refusing all promotion right through to the end of his active army life at the end of the First World War. In 1936, Richards wrote a memoir of his time serving with his regiment in India between 1902-1909 which is perhaps the most candid biography of life in India anyone is likely to come across. He does not shy away from the seedier aspects of army existence, describing in vivid detail his encounters with sex workers as well as epic drinking sessions for which soldiers in India became infamous.[18] His account chimes with Holmes' depiction of a quiet, routine life in which soldiers were constantly in need of entertainment to stave off boredom, with Richards filling the hours through sport - he was a deft shot and also enjoyed watching hare-hunting with dogs - but primarily through the act of drinking.[19] His book is replete with tales of drinking exploits with various comrades, but especially one he referred to as the Prayer-Wallah. On one occasion, Richards tells of a drinking session at a signal station in Agra near the end of his time in India when he became so drunk he climbed to the roof where the signal lamp was located and danced along the precipice, fortunately falling, according to one of his terrified comrades, in the 'right direction', though causing the concerned soldier a rather nasty bump on the head as he attempted to catch him.[20]

Richards' memoir is a wonderful insight into army life in India in the early years of the twentieth century, unusual for being from a rank-and-file soldier and immensely useful as Richards was indisputably Welsh, having grown up in Blaina. What it reveals, alongside other source material such as *The Men of Harlech* magazine of the Welsh Regiment, was that Welsh army life was essentially identical to that of other nationalities, which should come as no surprise given the highly regulated nature of the armed forces. The average day of the average Welsh soldier looked no different to that of the average English, Irish, or Scottish soldier, and indeed the Welsh were far more likely to be interacting with large numbers of those nationalities, including within their own regiment, than they would with large numbers of fellow Welsh. Welsh Regiments did, however, maintain a strong Welsh identity which was evident in the everyday activities of soldiers, though this will be explored in greater depth in a later chapter on wider Welsh identity in India. For now, it suffices to say that being a Welsh soldier in India led to no significant difference in your everyday existence over your English, Scottish, and Irish comrades.

[18] Frank Richards, *Old Soldier Sahib* (Uckfield: The Naval and Military Press Ltd, 2003), pp 179-91.
[19] Ibid, pp. 191-207.
[20] Ibid, pp. 256-9.

Industrial Workers

The last group for which we can claim a degree of organised collectivity is Welsh industrial workers, specifically the Welsh gold miners of the Kolar Gold fields in Mysore and the metalworkers who were recruited to establish and maintain the Tin-Plate Company of India factory at Golmuri in the early 1920s, a company which still exists under the ownership of Tata. Tata's founder, Jamsetji Tata, established the city of Jamshedpur in the nineteenth century, of which Golmuri is a part. For both groups, very little record exists aside from press reports and census data. The discussion above established that there was a consistent though small band of Welsh miners in the Kolar Gold Fields of Mysore, tracked through Welsh language data, though beyond this it is impossible to establish a complete picture of Welsh presence on the goldfields.[21] In 1944, H. Frederick Oldham, an active RAF serviceman, founded the Kolar Welsh Society. He had previously been instrumental in founding the Delhi Welsh Society and established the Kolar branch after being stationed there. However, despite Oldham leaving behind an extensive history of the Delhi Society, he wrote very little in his account about Kolar as much of the history was continued after he left by another Delhi member.[22] It is likely, given the nature of war-time Welsh societies which were primarily established to cater to Welsh soldiers serving in India, providing them with entertainment and support, that the membership of Kolar was primarily fellow servicemen like Oldham.[23] It is difficult to establish whether industrial workers would have been among its membership.

Beyond this then, we are dependent on press reports which offer little snippets into individuals who worked on the gold fields, though these only really highlight individuals being present rather than give any real insight into daily life. On 2 May 1901 the *Welsh Gazette* mentioned the visit of C.R. Bennetts to his hometown of Aberystwyth. Bennetts was the financial agent and commercial manager of the Kolar Gold Fields and had recently returned after 11 years in India.[24] Bennetts evidently returned to a role at the Ooregum Gold Mining Company, as 7 years later the *Welsh Gazette* reported his marriage at Bombay, though this time referring to him as Charles Barratt Bennets.[25] It seems unlikely these are not the same people. Aside from this, we have the aforementioned Jacob Thomas of Llanfyrnach, Pembrokeshire, who went on to die in his role in India in 1906.[26] On 9 February 1907 *Baner Ac Amserau*

[21] See for example *Census of India 1921, Vol. 23, Mysore, Pt. 1, Report,* 23.
[22] Aberystwyth, NLW, The Delhi Welsh Society, Cardiff MS 4. 1012, pp. 15-16.
[23] See, for example, 'Poona Welsh Society', *The Times of India*, 30 March 1945: 3, which discusses the aims of the society as serving Welsh soldiers.
[24] 'Aberystwyth', *Welsh Gazette and West Wales Advertiser*, 2 May 1901: 8.
[25] 'Aberystwyth', *Welsh Gazette and West Wales Advertiser*, 8 October 1908: 8.
[26] 'Frenni Fawr Notes', *The Pembroke County Guardian and Cardigan Reporter*, 3 May 1902: 2.

Cymru reported the death of David Morgan, formally chief engineer of the Abersychan Iron Works in Pontypool who had taken up a role in the gold mines.[27] These press references simply record the appointments, marriages and deaths of individual Welsh people who made a career on the gold fields and give little insight into their daily lives and activities. It is a curse of archival history that the working class, even those in well-paid and highly skilled employment, were significantly less likely to leave written accounts of their experiences and were less likely to preserve such accounts. It leaves a tantalising aspect of the history of the Welsh in India, that of industrial workers, sadly largely out of reach.

There is, however, more evidence available for another group of Welsh industrial workers in India, those who set up and maintained the Tin-Plate Company of India factory in the Golmuri area of Jamshedpur. The factory was formally established at the very end of 1922 after several years of planning and in response to the disruption to tinplate importation, mostly from Wales, during the First World War.[28] It consisted of, according to press reports, 80 initial Welsh workers who were tasked with making the factory operational.[29] Commenting on recruitment in January 1923, the Swansea-based engineer John Mort, who had been involved with designing the factory, was quoted by the *Western Mail*:

> We had no difficulty at all in getting the men we wanted; in fact, we could have got hundreds more. They have been drawn from all parts of the Welsh tin-plate district, from Kidwelly to Newport, and are mostly married men, who have left their families behind them. The Welsh mill man has about the hardest work of any industrial employé (sic), and the high wages and better conditions offered made the engagement of the necessary 80 men a very easy task. At present we do not intend to add to the number.[30]

The mill clearly had a large degree of Welsh involvement from the beginning, reflecting the large number of skilled metalworkers operating in South Wales during the early twentieth century. The Welsh press took a degree of interest from the start, with the *Western Mail* article taking a good deal of pride in Welsh workers being recruited to this new industry in India. However, three years previously the same paper, when the project was in its early stages, suggested it could be detrimental to Welsh exports, arguing that British tinplate exports to India would be adversely affected if India started its own

[27] 'Pontypool', *Baner Ac Amserau Cymru*, 9 February 1907: 7.
[28] Warwick, The Modern Records Centre (MRC), University of Warwick, 'Making Tinplate in Jungle Land', article from *Iron Trade*, MSS.36/I32 J32/11, pp. 1173-6.
[29] Warwick, MRC, Correspondence and Reports on the Tinplate Company of India Ltd, Golmuri, MSS.36/I32 J32/12.
[30] 'Tin-Plate Making in India', *Western Mail,* 17 January 1923: 9.

industry, albeit under the auspices of British company Burmah Oil working alongside Tata.[31] The *Western Mail* continued to take an interest in the factory and its Welsh connection as late as 1940 when it reported the death of its general manager, W.D. Russell, from Morriston.[32] But one article from November 1924 allows slightly more insight into the lives of its Welsh workers than is possible for the miners of the Kolar Gold Fields. On 13 November 1924, the *Western Mail* reported that Welsh workers at the mill had formed the Golmuri Welsh Concert Party, a singing group which performed across Bengal, including Calcutta.[33] While the article provides little detail, this appears a familiar set up to Welsh choirs formed in industrial communities in other parts of the empire, such as the Victoria gold fields as described by Bill Jones,[34] and among migrant communities outside the empire, such as the Welsh steel workers in Pennsylvania as described by Robert Llewellyn Tyler.[35] Though scant on detail, this article suggests that the Welsh workers at Golmuri participated in collective social activities and cultural maintenance. The maintenance of Welsh norms in India will be examined in the next chapter.

However, our knowledge of Welsh tinplate workers at Golmuri goes beyond press reports mostly due to an industrial dispute which arose almost immediately in early 1923. The Welsh workers at Golmuri were mostly represented by the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation (ISTC), the largest metalworkers' union in the UK after forming through a series of mergers in 1917. This union negotiated the conditions of employment, specifically for the Welsh millmen, in 1922 ahead of the factory starting operations on 29 December 1922.[36] Contrary to press reports, the union counted 67 Welsh workers in the initial Golmuri recruitment drive, rather than the 80 quoted by the *Western Mail.* On the face of it, these workers were getting an excellent deal. According to union documents, rates of pay were significantly higher than the monthly equivalent in South Wales, with rollers in India receiving approximately £63.12s.3d per month compared to £26.2s.6d in Wales, heaters receiving £44.12s.3d compared to £19.14s.2d and roughers receiving £42.16s.9d compared to £19.1s.4d, though these figures may have inflated slightly the average wage in Wales. These were comparative figures based upon an output of three tons, or 62.22 boxes of tinplate per shift at base rates, plus 7.5% special sliding scale bonus.[37] Workers also had their outward

[31] 'Serious Menace to Welsh Export Trade', *Western Mail,* 24 May 1920: 8.
[32] 'Welsh Chief of India Tin-Plate Company', *Western Mail*, 11 December 1940: 3.
[33] 'Welshmen in India', *Western Mail*, 13 November 1924: 6.
[34] Bill Jones, 'Representations of Australia in Mid-Nineteenth-century Welsh Emigrant Literature', 55.
[35] Robert Llewellyn Tyler, 'Occupational Mobility and Social Status: The Welsh Experience in Sharon, Pennsylvania, 1880-1930', 1-27.
[36] Warwick, MRC, Modification of Agreement with Welsh Millmen, 1924, MSS.36/I32 J32/9.
[37] Warwick, MRC, Schedule of Rates, MSS.36/I32 J32/5.

fares paid for and were paid two thirds' wages during the voyage. The Tin-Plate Company of India would contribute generously to their voyage home at close of contract.[38]

However, within a few months of opening relations began to sour. A letter from W. Fred Cooke, a union official representing the Golmuri men, to the ISTC General Secretary Arthur Pugh, dated 8 February 1923, detailed how a new bonus system proposed by the company would drastically limit the workers' pay despite high living costs in India. The letter further said that despite the high pay packages promised, many men had got into debt and were angry that they could not afford to bring their wives to India. Cooke finishes his report with 'they are in an impetuous mood and it will be with difficulty they will be restrained from taking drastic action'.[39] This 'drastic action' eventually materialised in April 1923 when the workers engaged in a seven-day strike over the implementation of the bonus system.

This strike seemingly brought the company to the negotiating table. By June 1923 another union official in India, R. Gibbs, wrote to Pugh that the newly negotiated bonus system had alleviated some of the issues, but that it was too early to properly assess. His letter touched upon many of the issues the union was having at the Golmuri site, including lack of recognition from the mill's management, who according to Gibbs were not willing to engage in any discussion with trade union representation. There had also been issues with organising the men into a branch, with Gibbs lamenting that his efforts had been thwarted by seven 'non-unionists' from Cwmfelin, Swansea, and the opposition of other men from Pontardawe and Pontypool. There were also apparently men who had previously been employed in the United States who had learned anti-union sentiment from their time there.[40] This situation was recognised by the ISTC leadership as late as 1928, when in a branch circular from 1 February they told secretaries that the Golmuri men had set a very bad example in terms of organising abroad.[41] However, despite the newly negotiated bonus scheme, relations continued to decline due to changes to working hours, which by Autumn 1927 had been lengthened twice from the original 1922 agreement. At least seven Welsh members, mostly from Llanelli and Pontypool, returned home in October 1927 as a direct result of these changes.[42] Even before this stage, a note scribbled on the margins of a newspaper article

[38] Warwick, MRC, Modification of Agreement with Welsh Millmen, 1924, MSS.36/I32 J32/9.
[39] Warwick, MRC, Correspondence and Reports on the Tinplate Company of India Ltd, Golmuri, 1924, MSS.36/I32 J32/4.
[40] Warwick, MRC, Correspondence and Reports on the Tinplate Company of India Ltd, Golmuri, 1924, MSS.36/I32 J32/7.
[41] Warwick, MRC, The Tinplate Company of India: Circular to Welsh Branches on Members Employed in India and set of Replies, MSS.36/G14/2, 1 February 1928.
[42]Warwick, MRC, The Tinplate Company of India: Circular to Welsh Branches on Members Employed in India and set of Replies, 24 April 1928.

contained in the union's documents related to the dispute tells us that by 1925, 40 of the original 67 Welsh workers had left India.[43]

The records of this industrial dispute are a rich insight into the international and colonial dimensions of the British trade union movement, as well as a rare, though limited, glance into the lives of Welsh industrial workers who went to India during the time of Crown Rule. The fact that so many tinplate workers were recruited specifically from the South Wales metallurgy regions demonstrates an international market for Welsh industrial skills, not dissimilar to the earlier recruitment of Welsh labour to the steel mills of Pennsylvania and the gold fields of Victoria, though the tinplate workers of India were abroad for a much shorter period and did not seek to settle there. The transitory nature of their employment, in which, according to the terms of their employment, they were to train Indian workers to fulfil their roles,[44] meant that cultural maintenance had a different meaning to American and Australian Welsh, many of whom had no intention of ever returning to Wales and whose children became Americans and Australians.[45] While the Golmuri workmen formed their concert party in 1924, bringing Welsh music to the concert halls of Calcutta and wider Bengal, it is likely this reflected general occupational fellowship and the need for leisure activities and the relieving of boredom, rather than a longer-term attempt to maintain Welsh cultural norms, though of course nostalgia was doubtless a motivation for the endeavour. This was a key difference between industrial workers in crown colonies as opposed to settler colonies. There was no real permanence to their roles, even less so than civil servants who would at least expect to spend their working lives in India, and thus no incentive to engage with their temporary society. This could be reflected in attitudes towards their Indian colleagues. In his June 1923 letter, Gibbs complained of the scattering of 'experienced' men across multiple mills, meaning that once the proposed four mills had been set up there would only be four white men overseeing operations at each. Gibbs described Indian labour as inherently 'inefficient', and seemingly reflected the attitudes of the Welsh workforce who regarded themselves as inherently superior to Indians.[46] Class was evidently not a clear determinant of racial prejudice.

By 1928, by which time the vast majority of the original Welsh deployment had left India, the ISTC were insisting none of their members take employment in India, or indeed anywhere abroad, without first

[43] Warwick, MRC, Correspondence and Reports on the Tinplate Company of India Ltd, Golmuri, 1924, MSS.36/I32 J32/12.
[44] Warwick, MRC, Modification of Agreement with Welsh Millmen, 1924.
[45] Tyler, 'Occupational Mobility and Cultural Maintenance', 277-99.
[46] Warwick, MRC, Correspondence and Reports on the Tinplate Company of India Ltd, Golmuri, 1924, MSS.36/I32 J32/7.

consulting the union hierarchy.[47] They had instigated an investigation into the working practices at Golmuri, and to this purpose had sent circulars to their South Wales branches asking for the names and details of any members who had worked in India from 1923 and whether they had since returned to work at a local works. The union received responses from at least 78 of the 87 branches contacted, and these questionnaires provide an immense amount of detail on individual union members employed at the Golmuri works, to the extent that we have the names and roles of the vast majority and a good level of detail on what happened to some of them post-India.[48]

Out of the 67 men known by the union to have been contracted to work in India, the questionnaires and subsequent communication with branches captured information pertaining to 52 of them. A letter of 18 June 1923 from Gibbs to Pugh further mentions an additional seven, but not by name, from Cwmfelin, 'all laggards and non-unionists', who were not mentioned by the corresponding branch, presumably because they were not members of the union.[49] This leaves open the possibility that the 67 men counted by the union were simply the ones who were, or had been, members, and that there were additional Welsh workers not captured in this data due to their anti-union sentiments. This may include the dozen or so workers also mentioned in Gibbs' letter who had developed anti-unionist ideas from past work in the United States. The 80 workers estimated by the *Western Mail* and rubbished by a note in ISTC documents referenced above is likely a more accurate figure of Welsh millworkers at the Golmuri plant if those who were not members of the ISTC are counted.

The information captured by the questionnaires included the individual's name, their job role, the mill they worked at in South Wales, and the last known information as to their whereabouts and employment. Taking a particularly detailed entry from the Melingriffith works in Cardiff, the branch secretary returned three workers from the mill who had taken up employment in India in 1923 - G. Frost, first helper, S. Lewis, second helper, and T. Winn, second helper - and one who had gone out in 1924 - W. Hobbs, doubler. The entry states that Frost returned to work at Melingriffith, followed by Lewis who returned in 1926. Winn apparently also returned in 1926 but was at that time unemployed,

[47] Warwick, MRC, The Tinplate Company of India: Circular to Welsh Branches on Members Employed in India and set of Replies, 1 February 1928.
[48] Warwick, MRC, The Tinplate Company of India: Circular to Welsh Branches on Members Employed in India and set of Replies.
[49] Warwick, MRC, Correspondence and Reports on the Tinplate Company of India Ltd, Golmuri, 1924, MSS.36/I32 J32/7.

with Hobbs also returning to unemployment in 1927.[50] Another South Wales works for which there is significant detail is New Elba in Gowerton. No previous workers at New Elba were part of the initial wave of recruitment to Golmuri, but several went to work there on their return from India. These were roller William Lodwick, who had also worked at the Victoria works in Ebbw Vale, doubler E. Williams who had gone out to Golmuri from the Kings Dock works in Swansea, and furnaceman David Williams, a non-unionist, who had also worked at Kings Dock as well as Cwmbwrla in Swansea.[51]

Out of the 87 branches to which questionnaires were sent, 52 returned 'no' answers to both questions, indicating that none of their current or past members had been employed in India. This does not necessarily mean the actual number from the works was 0. The union only captured a small number of non-members in their data, and it is possible that men were recruited from these works who were not known to the ISTC branches. Other branches returned less detailed questionnaires than the ones cited above. This included Pontymister 2 works, near Newport, which returned one worker, Luther Jones, who had at that stage not returned to the works.[52] Similarly, Ynysderw near Swansea returned second helper Ed Young, who had worked as a rougher in India and had, like Jones, not yet returned to the works.[53] Some questionnaires revealed that despite the exodus of Welsh workers from the plant, some still remained in India in 1928. These included Thomas J. Jones, first helper, previously from Beaufort near Ebbw Vale,[54] and Watkin Thomas, a shearer from Mardy, who at that time was supervising the shearing department at Golmuri.[55] Others had gone to other places abroad, principally the United States, such as rollerman Arthur Rees, who had previously worked at Cardonnell tinplate works in Skewen.[56] Others still had left their usual roles altogether. Doubler Wilfred Williams from Avondale, Pontypool had set up his

[50] Warwick, MRC, The Tinplate Company of India: Circular to Welsh Branches on Members Employed in India and set of Replies, Melingriffith.
[51] Warwick, MRC, The Tinplate Company of India: Circular to Welsh Branches on Members Employed in India and set of Replies, New Elba.
[52] Warwick, MRC, The Tinplate Company of India: Circular to Welsh Branches on Members Employed in India and set of Replies, Pontymister 2.
[53] Warwick, MRC, The Tinplate Company of India: Circular to Welsh Branches on Members Employed in India and set of Replies, Ynysderw.
[54] Warwick, MRC, The Tinplate Company of India: Circular to Welsh Branches on Members Employed in India and set of Replies, Beaufort.
[55] Warwick, MRC, The Tinplate Company of India: Circular to Welsh Branches on Members Employed in India and set of Replies, Mardy.
[56] Warwick, MRC, The Tinplate Company of India: Circular to Welsh Branches on Members Employed in India and set of Replies, Cardonnell.

own business,[57] and second helper Thomas Bryant had left the industry and his whereabouts at that time were recorded as unknown.[58]

This raw data is a wonderful record of the movement of South Wales metalworkers between Wales and India in the 1920s. It demonstrates that the middle classes were not the only people who sought Indian careers and highlights how imperialism was often something directly relevant to the working classes, and not simply a distant idea from a school textbook or an exotic picture on the side of a cigarette packet, as historian Bernard Porter would argue.[59] These workers experienced the empire firsthand and through their industrial disputes witnessed its capitalist structures, in their case not too dissimilar to many of the struggles they faced back home, though complicated by their distance from their home communities. What the data does not provide is their individual and collective reaction to India itself, beyond the assessment from Gibbs that many were unhappy about the lack of 'qualified' white workers to supervise the work of Indians. The middle-class bias of written and archival source material reflects the realities of working lives in the early twentieth century. Workers were less likely to have the time and inclination to commit their thoughts to paper, and letters were unlikely to survive the working-class home in the way they might be preserved in a middle-class one. However, the data serves an exceptionally important purpose. To materialise Welsh working-class presence in India and to provide a snapshot into their working lives and struggles. British India is often seen as a playing field for the British middle and upper classes, and this is a fair description insofar as power and society were overwhelmingly dominated by these groups. But the Golmuri workers remind us that though significantly quieter in the historic record, the British and Welsh working classes were present and had their role to play in the development of British imperialism. These workers imported their lived experiences and attitudes, including their class relationships. The fact that the main body of evidence we have for their Indian lives is a record of an industrial dispute demonstrates that these industrial struggles continued to matter overseas, and that as well as being British in India, these industrial workers were working class in India.

Industrial workers remain the group for which the least source material exists. Even other Welsh residents in Bengal, such as those who formed Cymdeithas Gwladol Cymru yn yr India in 1899, seemed

[57] Warwick, MRC, The Tinplate Company of India: Circular to Welsh Branches on Members Employed in India and set of Replies, Avondale.
[58] Warwick, MRC, The Tinplate Company of India: Circular to Welsh Branches on Members Employed in India and set of Replies, Victoria 1 & 2.
[59] Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists*, pp. 206-22.

unsure of the distribution of Welsh industrial workers, with one wondering aloud in 1909 whether the number of collieries in Bengal could mean a large number of Welsh working there.[60] It is probably unsurprising that the overwhelmingly middle-class contingent present at these events would be unsure of such things. It is to these individuals, who made up the professional grade appointments in India, that we now turn.

Civil Servants

Civil servants, and those associated with bureaucratic state employment outside the covenanted ICS, were a large contingent of the British presence in India, including the Welsh presence. However, they were not the largest group of any nationality. Despite census data indicating that soldiers never made up the same proportion of the Welsh presence as it did for the English, Scottish and, most especially, the Irish,[61] they still, most years, formed the largest group of Welsh people. Those in civil state employment, however, especially those in senior posts, represent a disproportionate amount of the surviving archival material, as not only were the middle classes more likely to write things down in the form of diaries, letters, and would also be more involved in jobs that required writing documents like reports, they were also more likely to retain and store the things they wrote. Therefore, while nothing has yet been found authored by a metalworker at Golmuri who was not a union official, we are comparatively inundated with records left behind by those who worked in the judiciary, covenanted service, and other state roles, though compared with other British nationalities the Welsh record is still scant.

This is primarily due to numbers. There were disproportionately fewer Welsh people in India than Irish, Scottish, or English. This was mostly due to patronage and networks. During the period of East India Company rule, positions in the army or civil service were obtained through patronage, and often had a large price tag attached. While the Welsh could plug into these networks through the London Welsh community, and Lowri Ann Rees in particular has described how this was achieved, their access to the primarily London-based Company elite was comparatively restricted, and neither did they possess the educational credentials or powerful clan associations of the Scottish which could secure them such posts.[62] Most ICS recruits, throughout its existence, were educated at one of the major British public schools and Oxbridge. From the middle of the nineteenth century, however, the civil service switched to

[60] 'Our Calcutta Letter: Calcutta Welshmen', *The Times of India*, 5 July 1909: 7.
[61] Fraser, 'Ireland and India', pp. 77-93.
[62] Rees, 'Welsh Sojourners in India', 165-87.

open competition which, combined with a significant expansion in education provision in Wales, made an imperial career more within reach of the Welsh middle class.[63] While the number of Welsh imperial officers would never be proportionate to population and would never come close to catching up with any of the other British nationalities, they did increase, and Welsh people could be found throughout the service at all levels.

The Indian Civil Service was a remarkable organisation. Its British staff never exceeded much more than 1000 members at any given time and recruitment was no more than around 50 per year. With this, it governed a population of many hundreds of millions, with a single white man, sometimes in his 20s, often responsible for a massive district of tens of thousands of people.[64] One can, however, become too enthralled by these facts. However remarkable, the ICS was never particularly efficient, was resource-starved, and, despite the pretensions of its members, never existed primarily to 'uplift' districts or Indians themselves.[65] The aims of the ICS, as set by the Governments of India and Britain, was to administer India, extract revenues, and maintain law and order at minimal possible cost to the British taxpayer or indeed Indian government coffers, with maintenance of the Indian Army the primary purpose of revenue collection.[66] When Leonard Owen, an ICS man in the United Provinces between 1919-1939, was sent to Benares, his role there was overwhelmingly to maintain the peace in the face of religious and nationalist tensions, and this is reflected in his memoirs where he details dealing with various protests and communal trouble.[67] If one finds it hard to imagine that one district officer or collector (so called as their initial function was as revenue collectors) could effectively rule such a large area in a manner that benefitted the local populace, this is because that was never truly the ICS's function. The man-on-the-spot was there to secure the revenue and interests of the government, which is why it could function with so few staff.

The typical entry point into the ICS, once a candidate had passed their examination and been accepted into that year's contingent, was to be appointed as an assistant magistrate under a senior district officer, though there was no standardised system for all districts. After a few years apprenticing in this manner, and if an individual chose to remain in the ICS rather than transferring to the judiciary or the Indian Political Service, which dealt with relations with the princely states, they would be given their own

[63] Jones and Jones, 'The Welsh World and the British Empire', p. 60.
[64] Anthony Kirk-Greene, *Britain's Imperial Administrators, 1858-1966* (MacMillan Press Ltd: London, 2000), p. 51.
[65] Potter, *India's Political Administrators*, p. 247.
[66] The Encyclopaedia of Empire, (John Wiley & Sons: 2016), Tirthankar Roy, British Empire: 8. India, from 1858.
[67] Bangor, BUA, Leonard Owen Papers, v. 1, p. 121.

district in which they would embody all functions of government - revenue collection, magistrate, head of police, head of infrastructure, and any other role or function which may be required in a specific location or may arise from time to time.[68] Nevill Edward Parry (1885-1939), superintendent of the Lushai Hills in the 1920s, could in any given month find himself raising a local force to put down a nearby rebellion, or striking out into the wilderness with his rifle to kill a tiger which had been ravaging a village. Whilst touring the remote regions of the Hills, Parry would deal with individual problems which people brought to him, as well as inspecting crops and encouraging local people to adopt modern agricultural methods. According to his wife's memoir, these latter efforts were often in vain due to local superstition and traditional methods.[69]

The number of Welsh people in the ICS is impossible to determine with any accuracy. The government did maintain extensive records of their staff, but these did not categorise people by their specific British nationality, and even when we can determine birthplace we suffer from the same limitations as the census data discussed above - namely, Welsh people who were not born in Wales, and people born in Wales who did not identify primarily as Welsh. Robert Llewellyn Tyler has written, for example, how Welsh-born people of Irish parentage tended to regard themselves as Irish during this period[70] and, in lieu of the Government of India recording self-declared nationality, going through the extensive files of the Indian Office would be little more than a guessing exercise based on surnames. That there were few Welsh people in the service is confirmed by the experiences of individuals. In the introduction to his memoir, Leonard Owen writes that he was the only graduate of the University College of North Wales ever to enter the ICS and describes the shock of his senior officer on discovering that Owen was Welsh, spoke the language, and had not attended a major English public school.[71] It became a staple of the Calcutta St David's Day dinners to lament that not more Welsh were involved in imperial service in India, and indeed there were so few that attempts to list them tended to run to just a handful of names.[72] An article from 1902 discussing that year's dinner noted how few Welsh ICS men there were in India before

[68] Kirk-Greene, *Britain's Imperial Administrators,* pp. 103-6.
[69] Cambridge, Centre of South Asian Studies (CSAS), Parry Papers. Parry was not himself Welsh and did not appear to have any tangible Welsh identity. His great grandfather was Thomas Parry (1794-1870), Bishop of Barbados, who was born in Denbighshire.
[70] Robert Llewellyn Tyler, 'Occupational Mobility and Social Status: The Welsh Experience in Sharon, Pennsylvania, 1880-1930', 1-27.
[71] Bangor, BUA, Leonard Owen Papers, v. 1, p. I.
[72] See for example, 'Welshmen in India', *The Montgomeryshire Express and Radnor Times*, 30 March 1909: 3.

listing Sir Lawrence Jenkins, Justice Stephens and Sir Griffith Evans as those involved in the legal profession.[73]

So, when looking at the government bureaucracy, the ICS and related services, we are faced with a scattering of individuals for whom we have varying archival evidence. The Welsh occupied positions throughout the service, including district officers and deputy commissioners such as Leonard Owen (Bangor) and Bernard Budd (educated in Cardiff) of the United Provinces and Punjab respectively, and census officials such as G.T. Lloyd, originally from Ruthin, who was the superintendent of census operations in Assam for the 1921 census before becoming a headmaster at Dr Graham's missionary school in Shillong in the 1930s.[74] There were also regional governors and lieutenant governors, such as Robert Henry Davis and Evan Meredith Jenkins, who occupied this position in Punjab in the 1870s and 1940s respectively, and Sir Bartle Frere who was Governor of Bombay between 1862-7. In the legal profession, Sir Lawrence Jenkins of Cardigan was the Chief Justice of the Bombay and then Calcutta High Courts up to 1915, Justice Stephens served on the Calcutta bench during the same period, and Sir Griffith Evans was a Calcutta lawyer who served on the Viceroy's Council until shortly before his death in 1902. Press reports mention other Welsh people in the service, such as David Williams who served in the customs department in the 1920s,[75] John Lloyd Thomas who was an official in the Bombay mint,[76] and Richard Pryce Harrison of Montgomeryshire who served in various government financial roles in Bengal and Madras between 1835 and his retirement in 1870.[77]

The Scottish dominated sections of the civil service to such an extent that the centre of government in the United Provinces in the early twentieth century was known as 'Greater Aberdeen',[78] leading Leonard Owen to lament that to get into the highest positions you needed to be from 'the right part of Scotland'.[79] In contrast, the Welsh occupied positions here and there. Some historians of Scotland's relationship with the empire, such as John M. MacKenzie, have argued that they exported a distinctly Scottish form of colonial governance inspired by the principles of the Scottish Enlightenment and based around certain Scottish 'specialisms', such as banking, education and medicine.[80] The Welsh, on the

[73] 'St David's Day in India', *Towyn-on-Sea and Merioneth County Times*, 27 March 1902: 7.
[74] For G.T. Lloyd, see Aberystwyth, NLW, Journal of Mrs G.M. Mendus, Book 26, p. 24.
[75] 'Welsh Aptitude for Other Languages', *Western Mail,* 9 February 1926: 6.
[76] 'Local and District', *Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald and North and South Wales Independent*, 19 May 1893: 5.
[77] 'The Late Richard Pryce Harrison, Esquire', *The Montgomery County Times and Shropshire and Mid-Wales Advertiser*, 1 June 1895: 6.
[78] *Census of India 1921, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Vol. XVI, Pt. 1, Report*, 153.
[79] Bangor, BUA, Leonard Owen Papers, v. 1, pp. 8-9.
[80] MacKenzie, 'Irish, Scottish, Welsh and English Worlds?, 1244-63.

other hand, were far too sparse to achieve such an influence, and for the most part their impact on the ICS and other services took no distinctly Welsh form. Theirs was a case of integration with the existing systems they entered, though often with an awareness of differences with their non-Welsh colleagues, particularly the English. The next paragraphs will analyse the professional lives of some of those for whom archival evidence exists.

The unpublished memoir of Leonard Owen, entitled *The Heaven Born* and written in 1956, provides a detailed record of his professional life as a civil servant in the United Provinces between 1919-1939. Owen's professional record reflects a typical ICS career path of promotion around their province. After service in the First World War, Owen began as an assistant magistrate in Meerut before becoming district magistrate of Benares in 1924, settlement officer of Bara Banki in 1927, deputy commissioner for Kumaon in 1934 and district magistrate for Cawnpore in 1936. He was also elected to the Indian Legislative Assembly in 1935, serving as chief government whip and representing the United Provinces government. Owen was a devoted servant of the ICS and defended its record vociferously, arguing in the opening pages that it kept the peace and maintained the rule of law in India.[81] However, his initial experiences demonstrate a service that was overstretched, undermanned, and highly dependent on the individual competence of its men-on-the-spot. The head of the Meerut district, and his direct superior, was called Alexander (Owen does not provide a first name), who according to Owen was incompetent at training his staff due to a belief that people should just know things.[82] This was a typical attitude within the ICS, especially among experienced old hands who were instilled with the amateur ideal of England's public-school system. While the service did become more professional over the course of its existence, with a gradually developing focus on the mundane details of rule, it was still based upon a foundation of belief that a white man, with the correct background and ideals, could strike out into a district of many thousands and govern off their own initiative without much recourse to higher authority.[83] Alexander evidently embodied this ideal, and one might argue that this presents our first potential point of departure between Englishmen like Alexander and Welsh civil servants like Owen.

Owen was educated at a grammar school and the University College of North Wales and had no previous family connection to India. He felt uncomfortable in what he described as this 'sink or swim' environment and certainly set himself apart from his English superiors.[84] However, in Owen's case this

[81] Bangor, BUA, Leonard Owen Papers, v. 1, p. II.
[82] Ibid, pp. 10-11.
[83] Potter, *India's Political Administrators*, pp. 80-1.
[84] Bangor, BUA, Leonard Owen Papers, v. 1, pp. 29-30.

discomfort seemed much more class based than connected to nationality. This distinction is sometimes lost within Welsh history. Due to the Anglicisation of the Welsh land-owning gentry by the mid-nineteenth century, both in terms of language and religion, nationality and class became intimately linked, especially in the minds of the exploited rural agricultural classes and those who resented the power of an established Church of England in a largely nonconformist nation.[85] In this environment, English was often a byword for upper class, despite the obvious illogic of that attitude. Owen does mention Alexander's ignorance about Welshness, as noted above, but his criticism focused very squarely on his lax approach to man-management and his charges. When Alexander was moved, he was replaced by C.M. Collett whom Owen described as 'very competent'.[86] His later criticisms of his superiors take a similar form, on one occasion because the government provided very little support to help suppress rioting in Benares, and later when he compared the positive hands-on approach of Indian-run Congress ministries to the laissez-faire attitude of many British senior civil servants.[87] In 1921 Owen was put in charge of Bahraich district. From his own account it was unheard of for a magistrate with only two years' experience to be given such a role and by his own account he was largely left to succeed or fail by his superiors. He returned to his role in Meerut after six months.[88] Owen evidently considered himself different to many of his colleagues not because he was Welsh, but because he came from an educational tradition that did not instill the amateur ideal and instead highlighted competence and a meticulous approach. He was the son of a Bangor solicitor and descended from Anglesey farmers. His upbringing was lower middle class, but he had living family members who had experienced a much less secure existence. The fact that Owen was a Liberal undoubtedly added to this attitude among a generally deeply conservative British Indian society.

There is little that stands out throughout Owen's professional life. He seemed to develop his own reputation for competence, especially for putting down trouble. He suppressed political rioting in Benares in 1930 and violent strikes in Cawnpore in 1936, and while he often expressed queasiness at some of his harsher punishments, such as whipping political leaders in Benares, he undertook them with no less self-confidence than his English colleagues.[89] His complaints about the administration were minor, often focused around specific times when they failed to support men on the ground, and he possessed a degree of bitterness that he was never given a knighthood, though he was made a

[85] O'Leary, 'The Languages of Patriotism in Wales', p. 551.
[86] Bangor, BUA, Leonard Owen Papers, v. 1, p. 15.
[87] Bangor, BUA, Leonard Owen Papers, v. 2, pp. 376-7.
[88] Bangor, BUA, Leonard Owen Papers, v. 1, pp. 29-39.
[89] Ibid, pp. 130-8.

Companion of the Order of India in 1938.[90] He interpreted his role on the Indian Legislative Assembly as supporting the government, stating that he never enjoyed politics and only undertook the role to be helpful.[91] While Owen's Welshness was an important part of his identity, and this will be explored later, his role and journey through the ICS was typical and did not seem to be determined in any way by his national origins.

Owen's memoir provides a unique insight into the life of a Welsh ICS man. No other source shares its depth and richness, and as a result much of our other information pertaining to government servants consists of the occasional reference. G.T. Lloyd, superintendent of census operations in Assam in 1921, was born in Ruthin, and was married to a woman from Swansea. Given that he left the service to take up a teaching position with the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Mission in the 1930s it would be reasonable to assume that his Welshness did have an impact on his career choices, at least in the latter part when his Welsh nonconformist faith inspired him towards the mission. However, the only source material available for Lloyd are a few references in the diary of missionary G.M. Mendus, in which he is mentioned only to highlight how fewer mixed-race children (Anglo-Indians) were being educated at his school since more white women had arrived in India.[92] The only other source available for him is the census documents he authored for Assam in 1921, which as official government documents offer little insight into the man himself. However, it is likely not a coincidence that the report offers glittering praise of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist mission and outlines its 'phenomenal' success in the Lushai Hills. There is a certain degree of satisfaction behind the report's statement that the vast majority of the Presbyterians of Assam adhered to the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church.[93]

Other Welsh members of the ICS included Sir John Lewis Jenkins (1857-1912) who rose to become a member of the Council of the Governor General of India, his father-in-law Sir Arthur Trevor (1841-1920) who served as Commissioner for Sind between 1889-1891, and Jenkins' son, Sir Evan Meredith Jenkins (1896-1985) who was the last British Governor of Punjab. At first glance it would seem relevant that several members of the same Welsh family obtained such senior positions in the Indian administration, and it could perhaps be speculated that the senior Jenkins marrying the daughter of another prominent Welsh imperialist was related to some kind of Welsh network. Such Welsh fellowship did exist in India,

[90] Ibid, p. 69.
[91] Bangor, BUA, Leonard Owen Papers, v. 2, p. 326.
[92] Aberystwyth, NLW, Journal of Mrs G.M. Mendus, Book 26, p. 24.
[93] *Census of India 1921, Vol. III, Assam, Pt. 1, Report*, South Asia Open Archives, 54, 104; contributed by G.T. Lloyd, India Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25793194.pdf, (14 July 2023).

and this will be explored further in chapter 5. However, familial dynasties within the administration were the norm - Rudyard Kipling even wrote a list of some of the more prominent family names intrinsically linked with British rule in India in a short story.[94] The Jenkins' position was due far more to family connection than it was to their Welshness and, as will be seen in later chapters, the younger Jenkins, sober, serious and meticulous, would have had little time for the idea of Welsh patronage, despite being consciously Welsh himself.[95]

When one considers state servants in India one instantly calls up an image of the ICS man. Both the fame of the institution and the mystique of its legends and myths makes it an immediate quintessential image of British rule in India. However, this can create a misleading picture. While the ICS man, the remote district officer on the spot, was the administrative basis of British India, there were other state servants outside the 'covenanted' ICS whose career path lay outside its formal structures. Organisations such as the Indian Medical Service, the forestry service and the Indian Agricultural Service tended to be recruited directly based upon expertise, rather than the generalised skills admired in the ICS.[96] The number of such organisations was at times mind-boggling and spoke to the administrative extent and complexity of many aspects of British rule, in particular those areas on which it rested, such as the railways, medical provision, and canals.

A highly prominent Welsh individual who made his name through such a pathway, namely the Indian Agricultural Service, was Sir Roger Thomas (1886-1960). Thomas was born in 1886 at Clunderwen, Pembrokeshire, to a poor farming family who were tenants of the Earl Cawdor. Our most in depth sources for Thomas were penned by his wife, Margaret Ethelwynne Thomas, who originated from Ormskirk, Lancashire. They consist of a diary kept by her when they lived in Sind between 1939-1947, and a draft biographical manuscript of Thomas which she wrote after his death in 1960. Thomas held a number of agricultural positions in British India and post-partition Pakistan, including Deputy Director of Agriculture at Madras, Minister of Agriculture in the Sind Government, and several committee memberships concerning cotton. Between 1917-1925 he worked in Mesopotamia, rising to be Director General of Agriculture, and later bought some land in Sind with which to experiment with cotton seeds. He was responsible for the introduction of several innovative techniques in cotton production into India

[94] Gilmour, *The British in India,* p. 72.
[95] Aberystwyth, NLW, Reminiscences of W.R. Owain Jones, Brynsiencyn, relating to India, Pakistan and the North-West Frontier Area, NLW Minor Deposits, Minor Deposit 1079, *An Exile Have I Been,* Notes from Sir Evan Jenkins.
[96] Gilmour, *The British in India*, p. 128.

and Pakistan and published several books on the topic. He conducted investigations into cotton pests and bred his own variety of cotton.[97]

Thomas, like Owen, was not a typical recruit into Indian service. He had no family history with India and had a distinctly rural working-class background. Lady Thomas' biographical notes recalled an episode during Thomas' childhood when Lady Cawdor offered his mother clothes for the children, in a paternalistic manner typical of the Welsh gentry of the period. She responded that she was perfectly capable of dressing her own children and the offer was not made again.[98] This is reminiscent of the memoirs of Leonard Owen who, though lower middle class, maintained a distinctly class-based view of his position within India, and tended to view difference with English, Scottish, and Irish counterparts as a matter of class rather than nationality. While Thomas would have had a far more direct experience of the blurred boundaries between nationality and class in late nineteenth-century rural Wales, nothing in his subsequent life suggested that he viewed British Indian society through this prism of class. Indeed, while being raised a devout Baptist, Thomas ceased attending any kind of church or chapel as an adult and thus dispensed with a central element of that class-based animosity.[99] As a young teacher in Wales prior to leaving for India he had no objection to taking his pupils to Anglican services.[100] While we are reliant on Lady Thomas for such an impression, it seems apparent that she used this anecdote about Lady Cawdor as a means of highlighting Thomas' childhood of rural poverty rather than to make any kind of wider statement about class or nationality in India.

Thomas' career was far more varied than Owen's. He did not enter into a service with a clear and set career path, and he seemed intent to pursue his own agricultural interests both within and outside his professional life. Over his early career in Madras and Mesopotamia he built a reputation for himself as an expert in his field, and over the years was drafted to sit on an exhausting array of committees and undertake a quite breathtaking number of responsibilities. This included membership of the India Reconstruction Policy Committee (agriculture, forests, and fisheries), the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research (India), and the India Central Cotton Committee (Cotton Control Ward), to name just a few, and in post-partition Pakistan he served as a member of the Pakistan Central Cotton Committee and the Sub-Committee for Finance, as part of his work as a general agricultural advisor for the Pakistani

[97] London, British Library (BL), Roger Thomas 1886-1960: draft manuscript memoir by Lady Thomas, Sir Roger Thomas Papers, IOR:MSS EUR F 235/685, pp. 1-31.
[98] Ibid, p. 3.
[99] Ibid, p. 5.
[100] Ibid, p. 7.

Government. Many of these positions were short-lived. He resigned as Minister of Agriculture for Sind after just three weeks due to his desire to remain aloof from Muslim League politics.[101]

Thomas' career path was quite uniquely his, and it would therefore be difficult to establish any aspect of it which may have been impacted by his Welshness. By and large, despite his personal eccentricities, he seemed to fill the role of British Indian official in much the same way as any other British person, and, despite his childhood experiences, seemed even to absorb much of the paternalistic attitude of British Indian society. After he purchased his own land in 1931 in the vicinity of the Sukkur Barrage in Sind, he operated a credit system for his sharecropper workers whereby he held back some of their wages which they could later access for seeds and other equipment. According to Lady Thomas, the workers considered their money safer in his hands. He also drew up plans to have schools and mosques built for his workers.[102] This was not unusual for more enlightened planters throughout British India, and it seems to suggest that Thomas maintained a fairly typical paternalistic imperial approach to managing his workers. This extended to asserting his authority. In a 1939 diary entry Lady Thomas recorded that Thomas had sacked one of his servants for refusing to wash a dishcloth, most likely for caste reasons. She wrote that Thomas was not willing to accept that sort of behaviour from servants.[103]

One element of Thomas' career which does at first glance suggest some kind of link between his occupation and his Welshness was the network of Welsh acquaintances he maintained. In 1928 Thomas became a General Farmers Manager with the British Cotton Growing Association at Khanewal in Punjab. His boss there was Sir William Roberts, another Welsh agriculturalist from Bangor who had previously been principal of Lyallpur Agricultural College. A bequest in his will established the Sir William Roberts Centre for Sustainable Land Use, which forms part of Bangor University today. And while we cannot be certain of the precise nature of their identity, Lady Thomas mentions some of his associates on the estate at this time as Mervyn Williams and Billy Jones, who we could assume by their names had some Welsh heritage.[104] Thomas also maintained relationships with Archibald Rowlands, a senior member of the Indian Government who was from Penarth and with whom he had served during the First World War,[105] and Bernard Budd, a Collector in Sind who had spent his childhood in Cardiff.[106] However, there

[101] Ibid, p. 27.
[102] Ibid, pp. 24-6.
[103] London, BL, Sind Diary Kept by Lady Thomas (1939-1947), Sir Roger Thomas Papers, IOR:MSS EUR F235/682, 1 November 1939.
[104] London, BL, Roger Thomas 1886-1960, pp. 20-1.
[105] Aberystwyth, NLW, The Delhi Welsh Society, p. 47.
[106] London, BL, Sind Diary Kept by Lady Thomas, 14 September 1939.

is never any suggestion in the source material that Welshness had any impact on his career, including through these personal connections. Thomas seemed to have had a difficult relationship with Roberts, and only remained at Khanewal for three years.[107] Furthermore, he seemed to have lost contact with Rowlands between their service in the First World War and their joint attendance at the New Delhi Welsh Society's St David's Day gathering in 1944,[108] and his association with Budd seems to have been mostly a coincidence based on Budd's posting to the same district of Sind in which Thomas was based. While it is likely Thomas appreciated the company of Welsh people, as anyone is likely to form closer relationships with people with similar geographic backgrounds, there is no real suggestion this represented a Welsh professional network. Similarly to Owen, Thomas represented a fairly standard, if slightly professionally erratic, British imperial servant. Thomas' Welsh identity and its connection to his personal imperialism will be explored in later chapters.

Across the primary occupations of the Welsh in India, then, Welshness itself only seemed to shape the professional lives of missionaries, and even here the various nonconformist groups tended to replicate the gender, racial, and hierarchical norms of British India, even if they occasionally challenged it.[109] For the most part, being Welsh did not push one down a particular path and, outside the Welsh missions which were of course going to be primarily made up of Welsh people, there did not seem to be significant clusters of Welsh in particular occupations. They remained a minority even within their own army regiments, despite those regiments' Welsh pretensions, and throughout the civil service they could be found sparsely scattered here and there, never getting close to dominating a service or a region such as the Scots managed. It has long been clear that for much of the period the Welsh lacked those patronage networks, educational opportunities, and class connections to avail themselves of Indian careers, as well as many of the economic push factors that led to large scale military recruitment in places such as Ireland.[110] But this chapter has also demonstrated that for the most part, uninfluential due to numbers, the Welsh integrated fully into the social and professional norms of British India and could rarely be distinguished from their English, Scottish, and Irish colleagues on the basis of their occupation or how they carried it out.

This was in contrast to the Scottish and Irish, who as national groups came to dominate certain aspects of colonial service. The Scottish dominated certain ICS positions, such as in the United Provinces as

[107] London, BL, Roger Thomas 1886-1960, p. 21.
[108] Aberystwyth, NLW, The Delhi Welsh Society, p. 47.
[109] Aled Jones, 'Sacred Spaces', p. 217.
[110] Jeffery, 'The Irish Military Tradition and the British Empire', pp. 94-122.

reported by Leonard Owen and census reports, and there is evidence to suggest that certain clan associations could help or hinder appointments to senior posts.[111] They were dominant in banking in Calcutta, and also controlled substantial portions of the tobacco and jute industries.[112] In regard to the Irish, aside from their dominance of the military, T.G. Fraser has written that 38% of recruits to the Indian Medical Service were Irish during the 1870s, and that Irishmen occupied a disproportionate number of very senior positions in the administration through the Anglo-Irish aristocracy. The Earl of Mayo, Richard Wellesley, the Marquess of Lansdowne and the Earl of Dufferin were all Indian governors-general of Irish ancestry, and other senior Irish figures included the notorious Lieutenant Governor of Punjab Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the Lawrence brothers of Mutiny fame.[113] The Welsh, then, seemed unusual in not being able to carve out for themselves much of a professional niche within India.

Welsh Social Life

If the story of Welsh professional life was one of conformity to British practices, then Welsh social life was likewise comfortably integrated. The evidence for such a social life is rich and plentiful, with letters and diaries from the period replete with tales of dinner parties, hunting trips, sporting occasions and hobbies, the strong focus on which revealing not only the perceived monotony of professional life but also much of what the attraction of an Indian career was to nineteenth and twentieth century British adventure seekers. David Gilmour has highlighted that such pastimes, especially the opportunity for exotic hunting, were some of the main reasons why individuals, especially soldiers and civil service applicants, sought out careers in India.[114] Furthermore, the opportunity to maintain a luxurious social calendar of parties and entertaining unattainable to the lower rungs of the middle classes in Britain, but significantly more affordable in India, was an often irresistible draw which not only attracted people in the first instance, but led some individuals to 'stay on', or 'hang on', post-retirement or even beyond independence.[115] The following section will analyse this deeply imperialistic social life which the Welsh, like with their professional existence, slotted into comfortably.

It has been established that the British in India constructed racially divided, class hierarchical, and tightly controlled social spaces modelled on English village life. Scholars like David Gilmour and Margaret

[111] Gilmour, *The British in India,* pp. 100-1.
[112] MacKenzie, 'Essay and Reflection: On Scotland and Empire', p. 732.
[113] Fraser, 'Ireland and India', pp. 77-93.
[114] Gilmour, *The British in India*, pp. 468-75.
[115] Ibid, pp. 387-90.

MacMillan have described this life in detail, revolving around the club, sport, and a busy and quintessentially English social calendar of dinner parties, balls, dances, and teas. Men and women shared social activities and were expected to stick to a busy and often stifling calendar, or risk being ostracised from a tightly knit society.[116] MacMillan describes one of the more ludicrous social requirements, that of dropping off calling cards. Anyone new to a district would be required to call at every home in the vicinity, at the hottest time of the day in full uniform (depending on their role), to drop off their card as an introduction to the principal residents. At the first visit, the subject of the call would formally be 'not at home' but would later send an invitation to tea or dinner to the callee.[117] Gilmour argues that this practice was regarded as 'daft' by most people, but a necessity, demonstrating how controlled social life was in British India.[118] Once this initial hurdle was cleared, the dinner parties themselves contained a dizzying array of convention and hierarchy. Seating places were strictly controlled by rank, with the Order of Precedence providing some, but not complete, clarity. Very senior civil servants or army officers would take the most important spots, but confusion would arise over many middling or lower positions. For example, would an army medic be seated according to officer rank or medical qualification? Would a very wealthy boxwallah (merchant) be giving additional precedent in a system which largely saw them at the bottom of the pile? Navigating these issues was dangerous and could make or break a dinner party.[119] Recovery from a serious faux pas could be fraught with difficulty. Leonard Owen, in his memoir, complained that not being privately or Oxbridge educated, with no familial links to India, he found these customs incredibly difficult to navigate as no-one took the time to initiate new arrivals.[120] British Indian social life was extremely class based and designed to lead straight from the norms of public school and Oxbridge.[121] Those that lacked this training were bound to struggle.

Despite a slow start, Owen and his wife Dil quickly adapted to the social norms of British India and, while he was still likely to take the occasional dig, they appeared to embrace them enthusiastically and wholeheartedly. Owen himself took part in the occasional polo match (in which he did not excel), house calls, which he described as an 'enormously important rite', as well as his favourite pastimes of hunting

[116] Ibid, pp. 383-414.
[117] MacMillan, *Women of the Raj*, pp. 181-2.
[118] Gilmour, *The British in India*, p. 385.
[119] Ibid, pp. 382-95.
[120] Bangor, BUA, Leonard Owen Papers, v. 1, pp. 11-10.
[121] Allen, *Plain Tales From the Raj*, pp. 37-45.

and pig-sticking.[122] He recalled a time when he allegedly shot a black jackal, which he claimed at the time was the only recorded instance of melanism in this species and was written up in the *Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London* by the British zoologist R.I. Pocock.[123]

Owen describes his posting at Naini Tal in 1932 as a particular period of socialising. Naini Tal was one of British India's premier hill stations and was the summer retreat of the United Provinces. Hill stations were devised as British idylls during the hot weather, with entire governments being transferred to them in the summer months. Even outside his formal posting there, the Owen family would regularly spend time there, with Dil often going there alone during the summer when Leonard had to remain on the plains. In his memoir Owen describes Naini Tal as one of the last host towns of the 'Week', a week-long series of social and sporting events which brought the entire European population of the hill station together. According to Owen, these were common occurrences throughout India during the nineteenth century, but by his time in the 1920s the European population of these hill stations had dwindled to the extent that only Lucknow, Meerut and Naini Tal maintained the tradition. During one such Week in the mid-1920s. Leonard and Dil viewed and participated in rowing, polo, amateur dramatics, sailing, tennis, dancing, and a series of dinner parties and fancy-dress parties, including the Government House Ball hosted by the Governor of the United Provinces.[124]

Tennis was a favourite pastime of the British in India and Leonard and Dil frequently partook. The centre of social life in cities, hill stations, and small towns was the club, which were European-only spaces (aside from staff) where one could drink, read British newspapers, and catch up with other Europeans in a space devoid of the alienness of Indian life.[125] Most clubs would maintain tennis courts and it was an essential aspect of socialising and hob-nobbing to form a passable tennis pair. Early in his career, before his marriage, Owen would play tennis every evening, and continued to play regularly with his wife and others throughout his time in India, though he would later admit he preferred quiet nights in practicing the mandolin.[126] This admittance, and the fact he felt a degree of obligation to play tennis regularly, touches upon a major feature of social life - the promotion of sporting pursuits, which were regarded as manly and displayed the physical attributes and prowess of Europeans, over personal hobbies such as academic interests or the arts, which were subject to accusations of effeminacy. British Indian society

[122] Bangor, BUA, Leonard Owen Papers, v. 1, p. 24.
[123] Ibid, p. 89.
[124] Ibid, pp. 96-103.
[125] Gilmour, *The British in India*, pp. 395-402.
[126] Bangor, BUA, Leonard Owen Papers, v. 1, p. 90.

often looked down on such pursuits as suspicious and displaying an intellectual tendency which was ill-suited to the ideal of strong, hardy frontiersmen who could cower the 'native'. A private and occasional interest in botany or music was acceptable, but individuals would be expected to take part in the normal round of social activities or be at risk of being labelled an 'intellectual', an epithet which contained insinuations of 'native proclivities' and sympathy towards Indians and their political aspirations.[127] Such accusations and suspicion were levelled at Sir Alfred Lyall, a senior civil servant who rose to become Governor of the North West Frontier, who was also a well-known literary historian and poet.[128] Forster's protagonist in *A Passage to India*, Cyril Fielding, whose relationship with Aziz had him presented as a traitor to the British community, was further targeted due to his role as an educator.[129] Though Owen's comments about his fondness for the mandolin were somewhat of a throwaway comment, they reveal not only the boundaries of British social life, but also a clear knowledge and acceptance on Owen's part of what was expected of him.

Owen's memoir contains a series of letters from his wife Dil, who often stayed at Naini Tal while Leonard was kept away with work. These letters offer a deep insight into the everyday life of a memsahib who, largely freed from housework and childcare through the ready availability of a dizzying array of servants, described in sardonic detail in Edward Hamilton Aiken's *Behind the Bungalow*,[130] were expected to keep a busy diary of social events, support local groups such as choirs and amateur dramatics troupes, and perhaps engage in some charity work, though always avoiding unnecessary interactions with Indians.[131] During Leonard's absence Dil busied herself through home visits, a necessity on arrival to a new place, and by spending time at the club. Her letters to Leonard go some way to revealing the shallowness of social pretensions in British India as they are full of irreverent gossip about the European community. The O'Riordans, for example, are 'bores' and the child Priscilla is declared 'unintelligent'. An individual named Lamb apparently had a big reputation as a 'drunk and womaniser'. In keeping with social expectations Dil also played a large amount of tennis, as well as being a leading member of the amateur dramatics and music scene, the latter being more acceptable for women to engage in than men. Dil in fact discusses the possibility of relaunching a music club. The letters suggest not just a general acceptance of her social responsibilities in British India, but a commitment to the wider social conventions of the Raj. She laments that some ICS jobs were going to Indians, mocks the 'cheechee'

[127] Gilmour, *The British in India*, pp. 414-44.
[128] Ibid, pp. 414-15.
[129] E.M. Forster, *A Passage to India*, (London: Penguin Modern Classics, 1961).
[130] Edward Hamilton Aitken, *Behind the Bungalow* (Moscow: Dodo Press, 2009).
[131] MacMillan, *Women of the Raj*, pp. 179-208.

accent of mixed-race audiences at theatres, and expresses delight at the negative fortunes of Congress.[132] Like Leonard, Dil Owen embraced and accepted her role within British Indian society. Her Welshness did not set her apart in this respect.

Dil Owen's reference to a 'cheechee' accent underlines a common fear in British India which was a justification for the severity of racial separation - the fear of 'going native' or being in some way corrupted by proximity to Indians. This fear could contort into truly ludicrous expressions. Between 1902-3 Gwynydd Sisson of Wrexham stayed with her sister and brother-in-law, Mabel and Kenneth Laurie, mostly in Delhi. Kenneth Laurie was a railway engineer. In letters home to her mother Sisson detailed the classic social and sporting pursuits that filled her days, such as fancy-dress parties, badminton, and tennis, which she enjoyed immensely. In a letter dated 14 January 1903, Sisson discussed the risks of being 'doubtfully skinned', alluding to the prejudice that existed against Anglo-Indians – those of mixed race. This prejudice was so fever-pitched that even one of their hosts, a white Welsh woman named Miss Wynne Evans, was shunned due to her 'unfortunate colouring', which according to Sisson was simply her 'olive-skin'. She wrote there was 'no use for us to explain that they are absolutely English, or rather Welsh!'. The concern with racial purity was so hysterical that even tanned white people fell foul.[133]

The specific wildlife of India also offered pursuits more local in nature. Shikari, used to mean either a hunter or the act of hunting itself, was enormously popular among soldiers, civil servants, and private individuals, and though participants were primarily male it was a pursuit that women also took a full part in.[134] Collecting hides or heads of India's vast array of wild animals was often an important part of social prestige with very few animals being safe from the collector's inventory,[135] though Lord Curzon as Viceroy did ban hunting of the Asiatic lion on realising how rare they were.[136] The tiger was the ultimate prize, and expeditions to 'bag' one would often take the form of family or communal holidays. Hunting was a favoured pastime of Leonard Owen following his first successful tiger hunt during Christmas 1919. He tended to set aside time for hunting when he was on tour and had a dizzying array of successes, from tigers to bears to jackals.[137]

---

[132] Bangor, BUA, Leonard Owen Papers, v. 2, pp. 256-325.
[133] Aberystwyth, NLW, Letters from India, Pryce, Gwynydd, NLW MS 23288B, 14 January 1903.
[134] MacMillan, *Women of the Raj*, pp. 209-10.
[135] J.A. Mangan and Callum McKenzie, *Militarism, Hunting, Imperialism: 'Blooding the Martial Male* (London: Routledge, 2010).
[136] Gilmour, *The British in India*, p. 471.
[137] Bangor, BUA, Leonard Owen Papers, v. 1, p. 12.

Others aside from Owen were enthusiastic hunters, and out of all the social activities in British India it emerges as one of the most popular. The military vet Griffith Evans complained about this obsession with hunting when attending the durbar of the Maharajah of Jammu, noting that several of the guests were angry that the tight schedule meant they could not partake in the activity.[138] It was also a favourite pastime of military men, who often had plenty of leisure time and who often cited such leisure to hunt as a reason they pursued an Indian military career. In 1895 the *South Wales Daily News* published a letter from a soldier of the Second Battalion The Welsh Regiment who listed big game shooting as one of his regular leisure pursuits.[139] In a letter to his mother on 23 November 1905, the later Major General John Vaughan (1871-1956) from Dolgellau writes in deep detail of his shooting exploits, which seems to take up much of his time in India.[140] Similarly, the soldier Augustus William Price, who served alongside his brother John in the late 1850s and early 1860s, wrote to his uncle about the opportunities for snipe shooting in India.[141] However, hunting was a favoured pastime of a wide cross-section of society, with the principal of the Bombay School of Art, John Griffiths,[142] the Peshawar schoolteacher W.R. Owain-Jones,[143] and the agriculturalist Sir Roger Thomas all taking part.[144] India's reputation as an ideal hunting ground led the South Wales mine owner Morgan Stuart Williams to undertake a shooting trip there between 1871-2.[145]

Sport, including hunting, was an important part of British Indian social life. It was a means of demonstrating British manliness and finesse as a form of prestige against Indians. It was also an important part of the public-school ethos, which emphasised the gifted amateur as well as the importance of banding together in a team. Tony Mason and Eliza Riedi argue that sport within the military developed alongside its popularity in civilian life and became an important part of regimental identity, contributing to the bonding together of soldiers.[146] In the context of the Indian climate,

---

[138] Bangor, BUA, Letters of Griffith Evans, pp. 167-8.
[139] 'Soldier's Life in India', *South Wales Daily News*, 25 September 1895: 6.
[140] Bangor, BUA, Letter from Major Gen. John Vaughan to Ellinor Anne Vaughan, NWC/569, 23 November 1905.
[141] Aberystwyth, NLW, Letters by John Griffith Price and Augustus William Price, Garn Estate Records, FPG1/16, 22 July 1860.
[142] Aberystwyth, NLW, John Griffith (Bombay) Papers, NLW MS 15331C, 16-18 May 1883.
[143] Aberystwyth, NLW, Reminiscences of W.R. Owain Jones, Brynsiencyn, relating to India, Pakistan and the North-West Frontier Area, NLW Minor Deposits, Minor Deposit 1079, *An Exile Have I Been,* p. 126.
[144] London, BL, Sind Diary Kept by Lady Thomas, 26 November 1939.
[145] Aberystwyth, NLW, Letters to Mathilda Susanne Lloyd from Morgan Stuart Williams while he was in India, Aberpergwm Estate Records, Mathilda Susanne Lloyd (from Morgan Stuart Williams), Series 2657, 9 November 1871.
[146] Tony Mason and Eliza Riedi, *Sport and the Military: The British Armed Forces 1880-1960*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 254.

exercise was seen as essential to health and a means of warding off the numerous tropical illnesses that beset the British population.[147] Owen shared this outlook, taking part in almost every sport played in India. On top of his hunting and polo exploits, Owen also organised a hockey team which made it to the Oudh district final and took part in rugby matches.[148] The Second Battalion The Welsh Regiment organised an enormous array of sports, including rugby, football, and track and field athletics.[149]

Another family whose social life was fairly typical of British India was the Thomas family. Lady Thomas' diary contained many descriptions of dinner and tea parties, including an entry from September 1939 when they had tea with the Briggs family,[150] and a few days later when they had dinner with Bernard Budd and his wife.[151] As the Thomas family lived in rural Sind, their parties were more likely to include prominent Indian locals than would be the case in an area with more Europeans, and there are several mentions of Indians being present at such occasions, such as 15 October 1939 when Budd was joined by Khan Bahadur and Nur Nabi.[152] Sir Roger Thomas had also helped establish a club in the district, which included tennis and billiards facilities, and admitted Indians.[153] While this was unusual in British India, it was more likely in rural areas and by 1939 many such clubs had started to open themselves up to Indians anyway, though often with great reluctance. Thomas was also an enthusiastic fisherman, and the family took part in yachting, tennis, and shooting.[154]

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the Welsh presence in India during the period of Crown Rule from the perspective of their professional and social life. It has established that while Welsh people could be found in a wide variety of different occupations, they tended to represent a scattered group who never asserted themselves in any kind of national occupational speciality outside the Welsh missionary movement. This was in stark contrast to the Scottish and the Irish, who dominated whole areas of the Indian administration and often relied on specifically national patronage networks for professional opportunities. While it is likely smaller versions of such networks existed among the Welsh on individual

[147] Mason, *A Matter of Honour*, p. 384.
[148] Bangor, BUA, Leonard Owen Papers, v. 1, p. 30.
[149] 'Letters to the Editor', *The Men of Harlech*, January 1895: 13.
[150] London, BL, Sind Diary Kept by Lady Thomas, 10 September 1939.
[151] Ibid, 14 September 1939.
[152] London, BL, Sind Diary Kept by Lady Thomas, 15 October 1939.
[153] London, BL, Roger Thomas 1886-1960, p. 25.
[154] Ibid, pp. 24-5.

levels, they never achieved anything like the occupational systems of their 'Celtic' brethren. Additionally, there is little evidence to suggest that being Welsh impacted very highly on how jobs were carried out. There was no equivalent of Scottish systems of administration as outlined by MacKenzie, and most Welsh agents in India appeared to settle reasonably comfortably into existing professional systems, even if individuals like Owen had complaints about the incompetence of the amateur ideal. Ultimately, the Welsh were just too small a group to aspire to such things, even if they had been minded to do so. As it turned out, they largely were not.

Socially as well, the Welsh appeared to live their lives like any other British person in India. The social norms of British India were tightly guarded and controlled, and into this racially segregated and deeply gendered environment the Welsh not only fitted comfortably but thrived. Even explicitly Welsh occasions, such as the St David's Day dinners of the various urban Welsh societies which will be discussed in detail in later chapters, slotted into the standard calendar of social events and became society events for the whole European community, just like any other themed party. In so far as their social lives went then, and similarly to their professional lives, the standout feature of the Welsh was their great conformity, and their overt desire to be considered part of the normal standard of British Indian life. They embraced this deeply anachronistic and stifling world and were in turn embraced by it. This conformity was at the heart of British India. In a world based upon inherent fear of the other, under the constant perceived threat of colonial violence, adherence to acceptable standards of behavior were often portrayed as matters of life or death. In late nineteenth and early twentieth-century India, the British attitude was very much European vs Indian, white vs non-white, and this created a highly racialised identity which drew in all Europeans, including different British nationalities, continental, and even Americans. While the Irish and Scottish did have distinct professional networks, their conformity to social norms was as strong as the Welsh, and there is little evidence of social subversion linked to nationality, even among the Irish who within the UK were also racialised as other and who it may well have been expected would have cause to do so.[155] The Welsh were part of this wider white European identity and in their professional and social lives corresponded to it closely. For the Welsh to be distinguished from other Britons in colonial India, one must look to other aspects of their lives and identity.

[155] Jeffery, 'The Irish Military Tradition and the British Empire', pp. 94-122.

5

A Welsh Empire? Welshness and National Identity in India

On 29 March 1899, the *Western Mail* carried an article on the first annual St David's Day dinner held in Calcutta. Expressing its surprise that the Calcutta Welsh would be 'content to allow their patron saint's day to pass so many years unmarked by such a function', it nonetheless praised its 'complete success', writing that it 'affords every reason for the belief that an annual gathering of the descendants of the Ancient Britons may be regarded in the light of an established yearly event for the future'.

The event was presided over by the great and good of Calcutta Welsh society. The former Liberal MP Lewis Pugh Pugh, who had also served as the Attorney General of Bengal, occupied the chair. His brother, the Calcutta lawyer and member of the Viceroy's Council Sir Griffith Evans, served as vice chairmen, alongside Sir Lawrence Jenkins, who at the time was Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court and later, in 1909, was promoted to Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court. At the conclusion of dinner, the chair rose to address the gathering in Welsh, offering the toasts of 'Ein Brenhines ac Ymherodres' (Our Queen and Empress), 'Tywysog Cymru' (The Prince of Wales), and 'Gwyl Dewi Sant' (St David's Day). These toasts were accompanied by musical honours.

Jenkins next rose to speak, seemingly in English. Proposing the toast 'Y Wlad a'n magodd' (The land that raised us), he said that 'the old land of Wales was dear to them all', though it had become somewhat of a 'subterfuge' or an 'artifice' to refer to their 'exile' in India. Arguing that there were few better places to live than India and Calcutta, he still thought it 'an admirable thing that they as Welshmen, far away from their own homes, should meet their fellow countrymen, drawn as they were from a very small corner of the United Kingdom'. He went on to list 'Snowden's shaggy side', 'the foaming bay of old Conway', 'huge Plinlimmon's cloud-capped top', and his own 'sweet shire of Cardigan', as memories to make the heart burn with pride. His comments were followed by a rendition of the Welsh National Anthem.

Following Jenkins, Evans chose to focus his comments on Wales as a religious country. 'There was in Wales', he argued, 'right down to the labouring man, the particle of divine breath... not to be found in places like Berkshire, where they got the pure, unadulterated Saxon'. Continuing on his comparison with the people of Berkshire, he said 'whereas among the working men of Wales they were full of ideas of another life, could fling hundreds of texts of scripture at one, and discuss predestination and other

theological problems, the Berkshire peasants, as a rule, had no idea whatever beyond the next meal'. He went on to say that while the English were strong, possessed a 'bulldog tenacity', and 'gave backbone to the English race', he suggested that the Welsh brought the 'spiritual side'.

The evening ended with a concert of Welsh music, with contributions from a number of attendees representing a strong geographical spread of Wales. This included Treherbert, Swansea, Bangor, Aberystwyth, Llandissilio, Wrexham, Cardiff, and Llanelli.[1]

This article reveals a number of themes that were centrally important in regard to the Welsh in India. Firstly, that they formed together in associational life based upon their Welshness. Secondly, that they valued the Welsh language, even if there were limitations in its use. Thirdly, that the physical landscape of Wales formed a significant part of their idea of Wales. And lastly, that a major part of their sense of self consisted of the Welsh as being musical and religious, especially when compared to their English neighbours. To sneak in a slightly less obvious point on the end, the use of the term 'Saxon' to describe the English also reveals somewhat of a racial attitude towards national comparisons, even if this term was often used playfully. This chapter will explore the nature of Welsh identity among Welsh people in India, what it was built upon, and how it interacted with Britishness and imperialism.

Existing Literature and Identity in Wales

The census data demonstrated that the physical presence of the Welsh in India was very small, even within the context of the small numbers of British people overall. At its height in 1891, the approximately 700 Welsh people across the subcontinent represented only around 0.7% of the total number of British people, and given its concentration in the major cities and military cantonments, for most of India the numerical presence of the Welsh would be so low as to be almost negligible.[2] Within this context, it would be easy to assume that Welsh identity would lack the strength and necessary reinforcement to thrive. Even in areas where the Welsh presence was comparatively high, such as Calcutta, Bombay and, at particular times, the military cantonments at Secunderabad and Peshawar, this still represented no more than a few hundred at any given time,[3] and one might assume that any Welsh identity would be subsumed into a greater British or English identity in the face of such isolation.

[1] 'St David's Day in India', *The Western Mail*, 29 March 1899: 5.
[2] *General Report on the Census of India 1891,* XXXI.
[3] See for example, *Census of India 1891, Vol. 23, His Highness the Nizam's Dominions*, 608.

However, this was clearly not the case, and what becomes clear in the source material is that wherever the Welsh formed a grouping within India, even if that grouping was very small and variable, there existed a degree of Welsh identity and cultural life.

The existing literature around Welsh identity in the colonial setting has been covered above, with work on the Indian environment being primarily conducted by Aled Jones and Bill Jones. Focusing mostly on the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist mission field in the Northeast, Jones and Jones have argued that Welsh missionaries created a 'Little Wales', transplanting Welsh cultural norms into India as a means of understanding, taming, and ultimately fashioning that environment into something familiar and acceptable. The mission fields of Bengal and Assam were Welsh speaking (among the missionaries), maintained a focus on recreating Welsh chapel life among Khasi, Lushai and Bengali congregations, and introduced Welsh cultural activities, such as singing and Eisteddfodau. There was a deliberate attempt to 'Welshify' the landscape and recreate Wales in an exotic environment.[4]

Jones and Jones' ideas around cultural transplantation were hugely important in establishing a theoretical framework for analysing Welsh identity in the colonial setting. However, within the Indian context their overwhelming focus on missionaries disregarded the range of Welsh presence, much of which would be distinctly more imperial in nature.[5] The general framework was also generally a settler one, drawing upon Bill Jones' work on the Welsh communities of Ballarat and Sebastopol on the South Australian gold fields.[6] While Jones and Jones argued that there was no clear cultural difference between Welsh imperial servants and settlers,[7] this approach did not recognise the very different lived experiences and purposes of those who travelled to the empire to settle and those who did so to govern and/or trade. It is also very difficult to extrapolate outwards from the missionary experience in the Northeast, given its isolation and primarily theological intent. It is therefore necessary to go beyond this work and analyse Welsh identity outside the mission field.

It is also necessary to consider Welshness in Wales itself, its changing nature, and how this was reflected in Welshness in India. The Wales of 1947 was radically different to the Wales of 1857, and those ninety years covered the rise and fall of nonconformism, the rapid industrialisation of the south and northeast, followed by the beginning of decline, the gradual erosion of the Welsh language, and the rise of sport as

[4] Jones and Jones, 'The Welsh World and the British Empire', pp. 57-81.
[5] Ibid, pp. 59-67.
[6] Bill Jones, 'Welsh Identities in Ballarat', 283-307.
[7] Jones and Jones, 'The Welsh World and the British Empire', p. 60.

one of the major unifying forces of Welsh identity.[8] At the same time, it became a general platitude that time moved differently in India. Class divides and social norms, always more sharply defined and less malleable in the Raj, still retained racial outlooks and class attitudes that, by the twentieth century, would have seemed anachronistic and somewhat ridiculous to the average Brit. The Welsh in India were drawn into a race and class system built upon prestige, inherent distrust of indigenous Indians, and a self-confident belief in British and European racial, cultural, and religious superiority. Within this context, maintaining class and racial divides was crucial to avoiding another Mutiny and maintaining British power in India, and thus to a large extent even late imperial Indian society resembled early nineteenth or even eighteenth-century Britain rather than its contemporary counterpart.[9] So, while one would expect developments in Wales to have an impact on the Welsh in India and be exported through successive generations of Welsh imperialists, one might also expect the nature of British Indian society to have a dousing effect on any radical changes as they entered the ports of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta.

Martin Johnes' book *Wales: England's Colony?* contained an excellent summary of the development of Welsh identity over this period. According to Johnes, the traditional building blocks of Welsh identity, most notably nonconformism and the Welsh language, went into decline by the twentieth century, hastened by migration mostly into industrial areas of the south. While these still retained a degree of importance, national sentiment came to be defined by broader phenomena that drew in larger coalitions of Welsh people across linguistic and religious divides. Politics and the changing nature of industrial relations had an impact on this identity. A Liberal ascendency with a strong focus on Welsh symbolism and aspirations with a view of drawing Wales closer to the imperial centre was eventually overtaken by Labour class consciousness and the bread-and-butter issues defined through industrial confrontation. But more than all these developments, Johnes argued that sport came to define Welshness in a way that was not achieved by nonconformism, the language, or politics. Rising alongside industrialisation, sport (rugby and football in particular) cut across traditional divides and gave the Welsh, including recent migrants, a collective identity to unite behind. Events such as the Welsh victory over the All Blacks in 1905, and incidences of defeating England, became the new nation-building legends upon which the modern Welsh could build their national identities.[10]

[8] Martin Johnes, *Wales: England's Colony? The Conquest, Assimilation and Re-Creation of Wales* (Cardigan: Parthian, 2019), pp. 126-42.
[9] Hutchins, *The Illusions of Permanence,* pp. 101-17.
[10] Johnes, *Wales: England's Colony?*, pp. 126-42.

The Welsh during this period also had a strong sense of their own history, and this focus on the historical story of the Welsh people came to form an important part of their sense of self. According to Kenneth O. Morgan, 'The Welsh retained their own legends, their own folk memories and songs, a sense of shared experience and suffering over the centuries, with myths in abundance from Arthurian days down to the cultural renaissance of the eighteenth century'.[11] In the period in question, writers such as Owen M. Edwards galvanised this history into a deliberate Welsh national revival, drawing upon popular sentiment to draw legends around Celt vs Saxon and ancient Welsh cultural achievements into a modern story of nationhood. The racialised conceptions of Celt and Saxon, in line with contemporary theories regarding nationhood and race, are clear, and the Welsh during this period tended to think of themselves as a distinct race within Britain and Europe, and considered their history likewise.[12] According to Huw Pryce, the Welsh drew upon a general European trend of medievalism to create a heightened awareness of their pre-thirteenth century past - a period popularly characterised as one of independent Welsh princes heroically struggling against the English invader. Paradoxically, this glorification of an ancient 'Celtic' past went alongside a strong belief in the benefits of English conquest and subsequent collaboration, placing Wales firmly within the framework of Britain's imperial story and historic industrial, political, and legal achievements. According to Pryce, whilst this medievalist revival did highlight a specifically Welsh history, much of its inspiration, particularly in architectural terms, came from England, and did not have the effect of inspiring an idea of Wales which was politically nationalist or supportive of home rule.[13]

This sense of history went alongside a rapid expansion of the printed word, with both Welsh and English language journals, such as *Baner ac Amserau Cymru* and *Cymru Fydd* emerging alongside the popular newspaper press to give voice to the new cultural renaissance from the 1880s.[14] Ultimately, Welsh national identity was lively and flourishing from the late nineteenth century, but it was subject to fairly radical and rapid change. How far this was reflected in India needs to be analysed further.

[11] Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation*, p. 92.
[12] Johnes, *Wales: England's Colony?*, pp. 130-1.
[13] Huw Pryce, 'Culture, Identity, and the Medieval Revival in Victorian Wales', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, 31 (2011), 1-40.
[14] Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation*, p. 95.

Nonconformism

Identity among the Welsh in India during this period was nuanced, combining the idea of national distinctiveness, commitment to Welsh cultural norms and symbolism, and a commitment to the British imperial ideal and the ultimate unity of the British state. This combination allowed a separate and vibrant Welsh identity to flourish within and alongside a British imperial one, seemingly without paradox or serious contest. Welshness itself was constructed along lines familiar in the Welsh domestic setting, and indeed in the missionary setting - namely nonconformist Protestantism, the Welsh language, and Welsh cultural symbolism. However, the primary difference between missionary identity and non-missionary identity were its imperatives, and these will be explored in greater detail below.

Nonconformist religion had long been a crucial element of Welsh national identity. During the nineteenth century debates about education, stemming from the 1847 Blue Books controversy, as well as the continuing influence of the Church of England in the life of a nation which largely did not subscribe to its tenets, contributed to an environment in which nonconformism served as a central indicator of Welshness.[15] This was transplanted in a very obvious way to the Indian context through mostly Welsh Calvinistic Methodist missionaries operating on the mission field between the 1840s-1960s, most famously around Sylhet and Aijal, and among the Khasi and Lushai peoples.[16] However, nonconformism in the empire and India was always primarily about faith and salvation, bringing both these things to 'remote' and 'primitive' peoples rather than spreading or maintaining an idea of Welshness. This was of course true of other Christian missionaries as well. Missionary construction of 'Little Wales', while obviously connected to national identity, was driven first and foremost by a desire to spread the faith, with the transplantation of Welshness itself being a by-product - something comforting to individual missionaries but not an essential aspect of their work amongst indigenous populations. Missionaries such as Helen Rowlands of Anglesey and Gwen Rees Roberts subscribed to a faith that emphasised predestination, rigid discipline and obedience to authority, and, most relevantly, a belief in Wales as a chosen nation and the ultimate purifying influence of the Welsh language and Welsh chapel life.[17] Andrew J. May has chronicled the development of this particular brand of Welsh nonconformism, tracing it as an off-shoot of the Puritan movement against the established English church that emphasised the ultimate supremacy of God over earthly authority, the regulative principle of scripture, the sanctity of the Sabbath, and the importance of education in spreading the Word. Over

[15] May, *Welsh Missionaries and British Imperialism*, pp. 13-17.
[16] Jones and Jones, 'The Welsh World and the British Empire', pp. 62-3.
[17] May, 'Mountain Views', 245-6.

the course of the eighteenth century, figures such as Howell Harris, Daniel Rowland, and William Williams developed Welsh Methodism into a Calvinist creed, splitting with the Wesleyans over predestination. Welsh Calvinistic Methodism's focus on education, the printed word, and literacy made it a central feature of Welsh life and drew it ever further into the ordinary everyday world of nineteenth-century Wales. So, by the time of Roberts and Rowlands, when the overseas missionary movement was well-established, the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church was both doctrinally distinct, and overtly Welsh.[18]

In a 1934 edition of Rowlands' magazine *The Link*, Rev. W Morgan wrote about listening to an unreliable wireless broadcast, 'Wales Yesterday and Today', by Sir Percy Watkins, during which the listeners would gather close in order to catch a few broken words of the Welsh language. According to Morgan, this experience inspired hiraeth (roughly translated as a pleasant homesickness) in the listeners, and brought back memories of Welsh chapel life.[19] Similarly, the 1940s Aijal missionary Gwen Rees Roberts wrote about how she taught specifically Welsh hymns to her Khasi charges, and requested specifically Welsh hymn books from home for their use.[20] Whilst their connection to Wales was clearly not purely driven by their faith, Welsh missionary construction of 'Little Wales' was overwhelmingly driven by it, with nonconformism in this context being more a vocational imperative to convert the 'heathen' and do God's work rather than a national imperative driven by national identity. Roberts' request for Welsh hymn books, and the eagerness to listen to the Welsh radio broadcast, clearly demonstrated an appreciation for Wales and Welshness, but how far this was settling into nostalgic norms inspired by hiraeth rather than a deliberate expression of Welsh identity is debatable.

Nonconformism was also a central tenet of the identity of non-missionary Welsh agents in India during this period, though driven by a different imperative. This tenet was not a vocational one, and in the most part not driven by a desire to spread God's message and convert indigenous Indians but based upon a simple association between it and one's national identity and inherent Welshness. This connection can be seen in the largest civil celebrations of Welshness that took place in British India - the St David's Day gatherings of the two iterations of the Welsh Society in Calcutta, Cymdeithas Gwladol y Cymru yn yr India and Cymdeithas Cymru Bengal (Society of Wales, Bengal).

[18] May, *Welsh Missionaries and British Imperialism*, pp. 13-17.
[19] Llangefni, Anglesey County Record Office (ACRO), *The Link* (1934), WM 1645/5.
[20] Aberystwyth, NLW, Gwen Rees Roberts Papers, GB 0210 GWERTS, fil 2/1.

Calcutta contained, alongside Bombay, the largest population of Welsh people anywhere in India, with successive censuses regularly returning between 70-150 individuals as either Welsh born or Welsh by nationality, which would have represented a lower end estimate of those who identified in some way as Welsh.[21] This relatively flourishing population resulted in two iterations of the Welsh Society, originally founded in 1899, re-founded in 1909, and continuing to varying degrees of strength until the Second World War. Though the community, within the context of its size, could be described as flourishing due to the number and size of their events, the hiatus of the society between around 1904-1909 does demonstrate the ultimate fragility of a still quite tiny group. The aims of the society were to bring Welsh people together, reduce homesickness, hold social events, and be a friend for Welsh people in Calcutta, and membership was initially only open to those directly connected with Wales, though more vague links were accepted when the society reformed in 1909, most likely to bolster its numbers.[22] A significant reason for the society would have been to recreate a degree of homelife, this concept of importing a 'Little Wales' as a means of taming and understanding the environment. In the same way as bringing in clothes, foodstuffs, and the latest musical trends from Britain and Europe, the Welsh societies would have acted as important nostalgic experiences of home. So, whilst we are analysing these events from the perspective of national identity, it is also important to remember that there were varied and nuanced reasons for their existence.

Undoubtedly the most prominent occasions in its calendar were the St David's Day dinners celebrated periodically until 1947. At the 1899 gathering, the Calcutta barrister and member of the Viceroy's Council, Sir Griffith Evans, argued in his speech that Wales was a more spiritual country than England, suggesting that while England brought strength to empire, Wales brought its religion. The *Western Mail* reported his remarks in the following terms:

> As a boy he visited Berkshire, and found that, whereas among the working men of Wales they were full of the ideas of another life, could fling hundreds of text of Scripture at one, and discuss predestination and other theological problems, the Berkshire peasants, as a rule, had no idea whatever beyond the next meal. No doubt, the Saxons were a powerful people: they had a bulldog tenacity, and gave backbone to the English race, but he ventured to think that the Welsh gave the spiritual side.[23]

[21] See for example *Census of India 1921, Vol. 6, City of Calcutta, Pt. 2, Tables,* 49.
[22] Lloyd Jones, 'David Edward Evans', 137-40.
[23] 'St David's Day in India', *Western Mail*, 29 March 1899: 5.

At the 1903 dinner following Evans' death, his brother, the former Liberal MP Lewis Pugh-Pugh, revisited the theme, claiming that Christianity had existed in Wales long before England and deliberately connecting this to the Welsh sense of self:

> It was marvellous to hear the mistakes made by learned men as to the conversion to Christianity of the ancient Britons. He himself had heard a bishop, preaching in Calcutta Cathedral, refer to Augustine (Laughter). Why, the Britons were Christians for ages before St Augustine landed in Britain, for it was an historical fact that three Welsh bishops were present at one of the earliest councils of the church in the year 314.[24]

The previous year the missionary W.R. James had beseeched his audience to remain religious:

> Welshmen have been particularly fond of their Bible. Let them keep it and prize it above rubies. And let me remind you that the Welsh Bible is the best translation of the word of God that has ever been made into any language... I venture to say without fear of contradiction that anyone acquainted with the original languages in addition to his knowledge of English and Welsh will not hesitate to place the Welsh before it.[25]

James juxtaposed his comments alongside a negative comparison of Irish loyalty to the Crown compared to the Welsh.[26] The implication was clear - the Welsh were loyal because of their Protestantism, as opposed to the disloyal Catholicism of the Irish.

There were also racial implications tied up in this pronouncement. Whilst the differing national groups of the United Kingdom - Welsh, English, Scottish and Irish - did conceptualise their differences in national terms, in keeping with the Social Darwinism of the time there were also distinct racial aspects to these identities, with the language surrounding national difference also tending to define these nations as separate, or at least different, races.[27] This was particularly the case when discussing the Irish, the most obviously differing national group, whose Catholicism and perceived rebelliousness were often explained and described using racialised terminology.[28] With regard to the Welsh, this usually expressed itself through appeals to a 'Celtic' rather than 'Anglo-Saxon' heritage, the two historically being in

[24] 'St David's Day in India', *The Cambrian News and Merionethshire Standard*, 3 April 1903: 2.
[25] 'St David's Day in India', *The Cambrian News and Merionethshire Standard,* 28 March 1902: 6.
[26] Ibid.
[27] See John S. Ellis, 'Reconciling the Celt: British National Identity, Empire, and the 1911 Investiture of the Prince of Wales', *Journal of British Studies*, 37 (1998), 398-400, and Powell, 'Celtic Rivalries', pp. 62-86, for discussions on how the 'Celtic fringe' were often regarded as less civilised races.
[28] See for example, 'Wales Day By Day', *Western Mail*, 21 November 1941: 2.

opposition to each other, but cooperating in a complementary fashion in modern imperial conditions. So, A.E. Goodwin could argue at the 1909 Calcutta gathering, for example, that 'Celtic imagination' was needed to solve India's problems, defining the comparative strengths and weaknesses of the Welsh and English in racial terms.[29] This represented a much more positive racial relationship, and in many ways can be seen as the Welsh presenting themselves as partners to the English, integrating into the British state, and ultimately setting themselves up in allyship and in opposition to the disloyal Irish. Indeed, Martyn J. Powell has argued that there existed a kind of 'Celtic one-upmanship' in the desire to be seen as loyal to the centre,[30] and in 1865 *The Times of India* ran an article on the similar racial characteristics of the English and Welsh, encouraging its readers to regard themselves as British instead.[31] Broad Protestantism, rather than nonconformism specifically, lay at the heart of this racial conception, but it does emphasise how important nonconformist Protestantism was to a sense of Welsh identity, particularly in an imperial context where not only Indian conditions, but those in Ireland and elsewhere, were forefront in the mind.

The idea of 'broad Protestantism' is relevant when it comes to the nature of Welsh nonconformism. While Calvinistic Methodism represented the largest denomination in Wales during the period, and while that group's missionaries were the most prominent in India, the Welsh nonconformist landscape was relatively diverse, consisting of Baptists, Congregationalists and other varieties of Presbyterian, to name just a few of the more prevalent ones. While there were doctrinal disagreements between these denominations, a broad acceptance of the variety of the nonconformist landscape was a major feature of Welsh identity, no doubt bolstered by the long campaign to disestablish the Church of England in Wales which culminated in 1920.[32] The missionaries of the Northeast of India certainly collaborated, and vast nonconformist conferences consisting of delegates from across the spectrum took place both in India and Wales during the period.[33] What this ultimately meant for nonconformism as an aspect of Welsh identity was that it could be an integral part regardless of which particular brand was followed. For example, the Welsh soldier John Meredith Lloyd Jones, who served in India during the Second World War, was a devout Baptist who regarded his faith as a central part of not just his core identity, but his Welsh identity also. During his time in India, he specifically sought out, and associated with,

[29] 'Welshmen in India', *The Montgomeryshire Express and Radnor Times*, 30 March 1909: 3.
[30] Powell, 'Celtic Rivalries', pp. 62-86.
[31] 'The Sense of Nationality in Englishmen', *The Times of India*, 4 August 1865: 4.
[32] Aled Jones, 'Culture, "Race" and the Missionary Public in Mid-Victorian Wales', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 10:2 (2005), 161.
[33] 'Missionary Work Among the Hindus', *The County Echo,* 13 March 1902: 3.

nonconformist Welsh people from across the spectrum, and developed a strong interest in the Welsh mission field. It was clear from his diaries that the connection between himself and his fellow Welsh nonconformists was their Welsh nonconformity, and not the fact that some were Baptists and others not. This was in contrast to his relationship with the Catholic soldier Falk, with whom he argued at length on theological matters and always maintained an almost competitive rivalry when it came to religion. While Lloyd Jones was willing, and often did, attend Anglican services, especially when there was no nonconformist option available, he was far more resistant to Falk's attempts to engage him with Catholicism.[34] He also tied large importance to the speaking of Welsh, and clearly associated faith and the language together in a way not dissimilar to the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists and other Welsh nonconformists sects. In an entry from 14 January 1945 when he was in Delhi, he ran through a list of Welsh people he came across, whether they could speak Welsh, and their religious affiliation, noting in particular the Methodists and Baptists.[35]

The vet Griffith Evans was another example of the broadness of Welsh nonconformity, though it should be noted that he was certainly somewhat maverick in his beliefs. Evans took an extremely individualistic approach to faith, rejecting any kind of priesthood and believing earthly institutions to be too dogmatic and restrictive. His could be described as an ultra-Protestant view, which rested upon the Word and Gospels as the foundation of all faith, and an enormous confidence in the ability of people to interpret it for themselves.[36] Evans went as far as to argue for the validity of Islam and Hinduism as methods of worshipping the one true God, and positively compared their practices to Catholicism and Anglicanism, for which he had less respect.[37] During his time in India, both he and his wife were excommunicated from their church in Tywyn (formerly Towyn) as a result of their beliefs - an event which Evans himself took some amusement from.[38] However, his disagreements with other nonconformists did not seem to have impacted on his own personal identity which intermingled his faith and national origins. In a letter dated 22 May 1878, Evans discussed Welsh and Indian conceptions of God, highlighted certain differences and similarities, whilst also indirectly demonstrating that his religious identity was inherently a Welsh one. For example, Evans claimed that the 'Upper Indians' and Welsh were from distant branches of 'Old Aryans' and believed the Welsh word 'Hu', relating to the Almighty, bore resemblance to similar Sanskrit words. He believed the same God led respective peoples to their modern homeland

[34] Aberystwyth, NLW, John Meredith Lloyd Jones Papers, GB 0210 JMLLONES, 19 October 1944.
[35] Ibid, 14 January 1945.
[36] Bangor, BUA, Letters of Griffith Evans, pp. 298-9.
[37] Ibid, p. 274.
[38] Ibid, p. 307.

meaning the Welsh had their religion and the Hindus and Muslims theirs.[39] The civil servant Leonard Owen was another individual who associated his nonconformism closely to his Welshness, and described himself at the start of his autobiography as a Welshman with no imperialistic tradition, a Welsh speaker, a political Liberal, and a Calvinistic Methodist.[40] It was therefore a broad nonconformist culture which made up the identity of the Welsh in India.

While nonconformism was clearly important to Welsh identity in India, its importance seemed to ebb and flow along with its fortunes in Wales itself. Many of the examples above, especially the religious speeches of Sir Griffith Evans at St David's Day celebrations in Calcutta, relate to the period around the turn of the century when the religious revival in Wales (1904-5) was taking hold and spreading through missionaries and migrants to the colonies. Welsh religious fervour in Wales itself led to an upsurge in those volunteering for overseas missionary service and saw some of the strongest gains for the faith in the Khasi and Lushai hills.[41] In addition, secular Welsh raised and influenced in the powerful nonconformist environment of late nineteenth-century Wales also carried this to India. However, by the interwar years, nonconformism in Wales was losing its popularity, with the death of the Liberal Ascendency, the rise of socialism, and a general decline in religious observance and chapel attendance.[42] This decline was reflected in the society celebrations of the 1930s and 1940s. The Welsh societies founded during the Second World War primarily as support networks for Welsh soldiers were notable for their lack of any religious iconography. Whereas turn of the century society events would typically discuss religion in some form, the societies formed in New Delhi and Poona were primarily musical affairs, with choirs, dancing, and bands playing traditional Welsh songs, forming the greater part of the occasions.[43] These later events were also less formal, with *The Times of India* reporting on the 1931 Bombay St David's Day dinner that long speeches were dispensed with, and the younger members carried on celebrating until dawn.[44]

The development of sport as a central tenet of Welshness came to fill the void left by the decline of religion by the 1930s, with the Bombay Society of Welshmen, describing themselves as the Bombay Taffies, block-booking a section of seats for the Welsh Regiment match against the Royal Scots - a

[39] Ibid, p. 186.
[40] Bangor, BUA, Leonard Owen Papers, v. 1, pI.
[41] May, *Welsh Missionaries and British Imperialism*, pp. 13-17.
[42] Johnes, *Wales: England's Colony?,* pp. 131-5.
[43] 'Poona Welsh Society', *The Times of India*, 30 March 1945: 3.
[44] 'The Bombay Welsh Society: Second Annual Dinner', *The Times of India*, 2 March 1931: 7.

common match-up for the final of the Bombay Cup.[45] This was highly reflective of sport becoming a major part of Welsh identity in Wales itself, as nonconformism retreated and inward migration eroded the older markers of Welshness such as the language. Religious and linguistic diversity struggled to provide an all-Wales identity into the twentieth century and sport, being largely non-political, filled that void.[46]

Society events tended to reflect the hot topics of the time. Whereas earlier turn of the century occasions did heavily focus on nonconformism and the Welsh language, as well as Welsh contribution to empire, these later iterations reflected an empire in retreat, and a change of thinking that prioritised preparing Indians for self-government. At the 1946 Poona Welsh Society St David's Day dinner, taking place just over a year before the formal handover of power, soldiers were reminded that Indians belonged to an ancient and proud civilisation and nothing should be done to offend that.[47] This not only reflected changing priorities and conceptions of empire, but also reflected Welsh thinking about themselves as being part of an ancient race, older than the English, that deserved recognition and respect. This element of the Welsh relationship with imperialism will be explored further in a later chapter.

The Welsh Language

If nonconformism came to be intimately associated with the Welsh during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, then so too did the Welsh language. Census data from 1891 onwards, which was the first to record data on the language, demonstrated a clear decline in the proportion of Welsh speakers in the wake of linguistic changes hastened by large-scale migration into industrial regions of the south and northeast. In the 1901 and 1911 censuses, the proportion of Welsh speakers fell below 50%, despite an increase in the numbers able to speak Welsh.[48] Despite this proportional decrease in Welsh speakers, the language remained strong within the religious context, driven by its use at Sunday School and in the chapels, solidifying the relationship between two central tenets of Welsh identity.[49] The written word also went through a major revival, particularly around the turn of the century, with the number of books published in the Welsh language increasing dramatically and buoying its status and

[45] 'Current Topics: A Welsh Gathering', *The Times of India*, 3 September 1932: 10.
[46] Johnes, *A History of Sport in Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2005).
[47] 'St David's Day in Poona', *The Times of India*, 6 March 1946: 5.
[48] Davies, *A History of Wales*, pp. 482-3.
[49] Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation*, p. 96.

prestige as a literary tongue.[50] Together, these trends generated much discussion around the place and future of the language, and sparked a great deal of anxiety over its perceived decline as an everyday spoken language. This was no less the case in the overseas empire, including India.

The domestic Welsh press reflected and represented this language anxiety through its focus on language exportation and maintenance. There was a clear desire to highlight individuals who had retained their Welsh despite many years away in India as well as celebrating evidence of its use. As far back as 1864, when the vast majority of Welsh people were still daily Welsh speakers, *The Cardiff Times* celebrated the fact that the missionary, Rev. Lewis, had maintained knowledge of the language despite spending 28 years working among the Khasi.[51] Nearly 30 years later, in 1893, a similar story appeared in the *Western Mail* celebrating the former MP Lewis Pugh Pugh for his fluent Welsh despite a long Indian career and retelling how he had addressed 200 Welsh sailors in the language as they passed through Calcutta.[52] Amidst the anxiety, some newspapers even injected a degree of competitiveness between the Celtic languages. In 1881 the *South Wales Echo* reported on the Bombay census of that year, revealing that while the Irish had come out on top with 27 speakers in the Presidency, the Welsh had pipped the Scots with 5 Welsh speakers to their zero.[53] *The Aberystwyth Observer*, reporting two years later in 1883, had a more sorry story to tell of Welsh language distribution in the North West Provinces and Oude, stating there were only 2 Welsh speakers compared to 149 Scottish speakers and 33 Irish speakers.[54] At the 1900 St David's Day dinner in Calcutta, as reported by *The Cambrian*, Sir Griffith Evans argued that no Celtic nation had kept its language better, celebrating the use of the language in chapels and the great proliferation of Welsh language publications.[55] Later that year, in regard to a Welsh divine service held at the YMCA in Calcutta by the celebrated missionary W.R. James, *The Cambrian* declared that the language was flourishing in India, citing the funeral of a Private Cook at Trimulgherry which was conducted in Welsh.[56] Even Welsh language publications often took a positive view of language proliferation in India. In 1884 *Y Gwyliedydd* carried a letter from a new missionary travelling through Madras who said he came across many missionaries fluent in the language and many soldiers who were

[50] Davies, *A History of Wales*, pp. 404-5.
[51] 'Penmark', *The Cardiff Times*, 16 September 1864: 6.

[52] 'By the Way', *Western Mail*, 25 October 1893: 4.
[53] 'Language in India', *South Wales Echo*, 24 December 1881: 2.
[54] 'Curiosities of a Census', *The Aberystwyth Observer*, 3 February 1883: 7.
[55] 'St David's Day in India', *The Cambrian,* 6 April 1900: 5.
[56] 'Welsh in India', *The Cambrian*, 21 September 1900: 3.

functionally Welsh monoglots.[57] Some newspapers, however, expressed deep concern that language maintenance in India, especially among soldiers, could be damaged by the lack of Welsh-language reading material. In 1918 Mr C. Herbert Roberts of the Bombay Presidency War and Relief Fund put out a call in *Y Cymro* for more Welsh literature for Welsh-speaking soldiers, arguing it was always a struggle to acquire it in Bombay.[58] This concern pre-dated the First World War. As early as 1861, *Baner ac Amserau Cymru* was calling for donations of Welsh Bibles for soldiers serving in Lucknow.[59]

However, this connection to the language as a key part of Welshness was not just a domestic phenomenon, and there is clear evidence that domestic trends were exported to India. The Welsh language featured to a greater or lesser extent at St David's Day gatherings throughout the period. At the 1909 Calcutta dinner the Chief Justice Sir Lawrence Jenkins gave the keynote speech in Welsh, which was a regular feature of the Calcutta gathering,[60] and in 1930 *The Times of India* reported that Welsh had been included in the Bombay society's celebration.[61] The 1918 Bombay gathering, aimed mostly at those in the armed forces and which included a concert, was billed as an opportunity for those serving overseas to speak Welsh,[62] and the *Weekly Mail* reported that the menu for the 1900 Calcutta gathering was printed in Welsh.[63]

Though these celebrations were the most public examples of the language being used in India, with their use at St David's Day events emphasising their importance to Welsh identity, there were also many examples of Welsh being used in less grand surroundings. In 1878, the vet Griffith Evans wrote about how he had been able to speak in Welsh with the Mutiny veteran Mr Lee of Llanfaircaereinion, who, despite having been in India for 25 years, could still speak the language reasonably well.[64] In 1945, while serving on the frontline in Burma in the dying months of the Second World War, David Elwyn Lloyd Jones of Aberystwyth, grandson of the Ralli and Bros engineer David Edward Evans, met the Welsh general Thomas Wynford Rees, and noted in his letters home how he had a brief conversation with him in Welsh.[65]

---

[57] 'Llith O Bengal, India', *Y Gwyliedydd*, 23 January 1884: 6.
[58] 'Welsh Papers for Welsh Soldiers', *Y Cymro,* 13 February 1918: 4.
[59] 'Deisyfiad Taer Y Fyddin Gymreig O Lucknow, India', *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 26 June 1861: 14.
[60] 'Calcutta Notes: The Welsh Dinner', *The Times of India*, 9 August 1909: 6.
[61] 'A Welsh Society: Inaugural Dinner in Bombay', *The Times of India*, 6 March 1930: 9.
[62] 'Bombay Engagements: Today', *The Times of India*, 27 February 1918: 5.
[63] 'St David's Day in Calcutta', *Weekly Mail,* 7 April 1900: 8.

[64] Bangor, BUA, Letters of Griffith Evans, p. 269.
[65] Cambridge, CSAS, Lloyd-Jones, D.E. Papers, 15 March 1945.

The use of the language in India does not in itself reveal its importance as a central facet of Welsh identity, but the enthusiasm and detail in which individuals recalled and recounted opportunities for its use does indicate how far it was associated with their own sense of Welshness. Looking back at the examples given above, the use of the language at Welsh society events could just as easily be portrayed as a group of people having an opportunity to speak a language that came most naturally to them - a language they rarely had the opportunity to speak properly in India - rather than any grander insight into their sense of identity. The use of Welsh on menus and as the odd phrase in a toast could also be regarded as a symbolic nod to Welsh culture rather than a deeper comment on the importance of the language, particularly in a setting which undoubtedly included Welsh people unfamiliar with it. One could also speculate on how far its use was a comforting nostalgia for home - again, not something which necessarily expressed strong national sentiment. Existing literature on British Indian society emphasises a general desire to recreate a British world in India which was more closely related to acquiring home comforts than any strong patriotic sentiment. Successive first-hand accounts collected in Laurence Fleming's *Last Children of the Raj* discussed the prevalence of tinned food sent from Britain, largely preferred to more indigenous foods.[66] David Gilmour has also written about how bungalows were designed to resemble English drawing rooms and were largely decorated in British styles with a few practical alterations.[67] Margaret MacMillan's work on British women in India also included this theme, arguing that women would attempt to recreate the latest fashion styles from Europe, even when this required great expense and effort.[68] From this perspective, the use of Welsh could be seen as a natural settling into nostalgic Welsh norms rather than anything grander.

However, use of the language in this context was also a deliberate act inspired by patriotism and seen as an important aspect of being Welsh. To Mr Evans Pugh, speaking at the 1911 instalment of the Calcutta St David's Day dinner, one's native language was an essential aspect of their education and character, arguing that the various linguistic groups of Bengal should be educated in their own language, no doubt referring to the lack of Welsh medium education in Wales.[69] It was also notable how often speeches were given in Welsh, despite not everyone at the gatherings being able to understand the language. Prominent members of the Calcutta society, such as Sir Lawrence Jenkins and Sir Griffith Evans, regularly addressed the gatherings in the Welsh language,[70] and it is difficult not to regard this use in a setting

[66] Fleming, *Last Children of the Raj.*
[67] Gilmour, *The British in India*, pp. 337-44.
[68] MacMillan, *Women of the Raj*, pp. 94-5.
[69] 'Calcutta Notes: The Calcutta Welsh', *The Times of India*, 11 March 1911: 10.
[70] 'Calcutta Notes: The Welsh Dinner', *The Times of India*, 9 August 1909: 6.

where English would have been more convenient as deliberate. This was also the case at the 1945 New Delhi Welsh Society dinner, where Sir Evan Jenkins, later last British governor of the Punjab, was in attendance.[71] John Meredith Lloyd Jones also sought out opportunities to speak the language and recorded such occasions in his diary. To him, fluency in Welsh was as important a marker of someone's Welshness as nonconformity, and his diaries were full of praise for individuals he encountered who maintained their language abilities. On meeting one Welsh individual, his only comment on the man was that he lived in Wolverhampton and knew only a few words of Welsh. Despite his fluency in 6 other languages, his lack of Welsh was the important factor.[72]

Whilst these incidents revealed a deep connection to the language, they also revealed its relegation to a language of occasion, rather than an everyday spoken language. Events billed as an opportunity to speak Welsh, such as the Bombay St David's Day dinners,[73] indicated that the typical Welsh-speaker in India did not get the opportunity very often, and the excitement of Griffith Evans at conversing with Mr Lee,[74] and of D.E. Lloyd Jones at being able to speak with Wynford Rees,[75] suggested much the same. Outside of the mission field, in which Welsh would be the language of business, Welsh civil servants, judges, and trades people would engage in their work in English, or perhaps in an Indian language depending on their interactions with ordinary Indians. Leonard Owen was an example of a first-language Welsh speaker married to another Welsh speaker who lived with him in India, but this was rare, and even they, when separated from each other during a trip or tour, would write to each other in English rather than Welsh.[76] The judge Sir Lawrence Jenkins, a first-language Welsh speaker from Cardigan, was married to an English-speaking South African,[77] and it was fairly common for working-aged men, particularly in the army or young civil servants, to be unmarried and therefore extremely unlikely to have any kind of Welsh-speaking home life.[78] In this context, the use of the language at events such as society dinners, church services, and during the occasional interaction with a fellow Welsh speaker, would likely have been a welcome interlude in an otherwise fairly alienating experience in a society where one's first language was alien to the vast majority of Europeans.

[71] 'Wavell's Welsh Secretary', *Western Mail*, 27 March 1945: 2.
[72] Aberystwyth, NLW, John Meredith Lloyd Jones Papers, 28 January 1944.
[73] 'Bombay Engagements: Today', *The Times of India*, 27 February 1918: 5.
[74] Bangor, BUA, Letters of Griffith Evans, p. 269.
[75] Cambridge, CSAS, Lloyd-Jones, D.E. Papers, 15 March 1945.
[76] Bangor, BUA, Leonard Owen Papers, v. 2, p. 256.
[77] 'Cardigan', *The Cambrian News and Merionethshire Standard*, 9 January 1903: 6.
[78] See Cell, 'Colonial Rule', pp. 233-4, which discusses the idea of the lonely, isolated imperialist.

Returning briefly to the mission field, the importance of the Welsh language to the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist mission has been well-established. To these missionaries, who represented the largest single cohort in the Northeast, the language had an almost sacred aspect to it which in many ways was tied up with imperialist notions of cultural superiority. According to Aled Jones, the Welsh language and its use on the mission field was closely related to British imperial power, with missionaries regarding it as evidence of European racial and cultural superiority over their Indian flocks. This sense of superiority allowed the Welsh as a beleaguered cultural and linguistic minority in Britain to undermine other minority cultures in the Northeast of India. Missionaries exported the nonconformist reverence for the Welsh language to the mission field, reinforced 'Little Wales' by enforcing its use as the official language of the home church and mission, but also centred it as an important part of the separation of Indian from Welsh spaces. To Welsh missionaries, the language was not just an indicator of their nonconformism, and to a lesser extent their Welshness, but also of their race and European cultural inheritance.[79] It is clear that whilst Welshness was a factor in language use, there were highly nuanced aspects to its use and what that meant for missionaries and their work.

St David's Day and Eisteddfodau

The third tenet of Welsh identity was a connection with traditional Welsh festivals, most commonly the celebration of St David's Day, but also, to a lesser extent, the performance of fully-fledged Eisteddfodau and other smaller gatherings. St David's Day was an increasingly important expression of Welshness over the course of the nineteenth century, though its celebration, and especially the honouring of the figure of St David, was not an uncontested activity. According to Mike Benbough-Jackson, nonconformists tended to regard St David with a degree of suspicion due to his associations with the Established Church and, in particular, a pre-reformed Catholic Church.[80] In his study of the Welsh on Merseyside, Benbough-Jackson argued that St David was appropriated by a counter-attacking Anglican Church as part of its efforts to appear more Welsh, with most nonconformists avoiding clear celebration of the saint. There were also tensions between the legendary aspects of St David's life - St David as miracle worker - and the rational, progress-led spirit of the late Victorian age.[81] Ultimately, Benbough-

[79] Aled Jones, 'Sacred Spaces', 217.
[80] Mike Benbough-Jackson, 'St David Meets the Victorians', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 26.4 (2013).
[81] Mike Benbough-Jackson, 'Negotiating National Identity During St David's Day Celebrations on Merseyside, 1880-1900', *Merseyside: Culture and Place* ed. by Mike Benbough-Jackson and Sam Davies (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), pp. 272-83.

Jackson argued, St David gained a degree of flexibility and came to be embraced across sectarian divides. By the end of the nineteenth century, he had been recast as an educator and an example of a 'good man' to fit in with the progressive spirit of the age, and the emphasis on his more earthly pursuits made him more acceptable to a nonconformist audience.[82] But Benbough-Jackson reminded us that the celebration of St David's Day was not a neutral act, and must be seen in the context of the religious conflicts of the time.

St David's Day emerged during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as the quintessential moment of marking Welshness overseas, with even comparatively small and isolated Welsh communities often marking the occasion. In South Africa, Cambrian societies began to spring up from around the early 1880s, with St David's Day being celebrated in Cape Town in 1882 partly by Welsh people displaced by the First Boer War. There was also a Witwatersrand Cambrian Society, which emphatically celebrated St David's Day in 1898. These Cambrian societies were seen as respectable parts of the social circuit and became most active during the South African War (1899-1902) supporting the British war effort. In addition to St David's Day, the Witwatersrand society also organised an Eisteddfod in Johannesburg in 1898, and an annual Eisteddfod was held in Cape Town from 1901, encouraged by Welsh efforts to support soldiers during the war. Modern South Africa has adopted the Eisteddfod as a national event, shorn of its overtly Welsh nature and in the twenty-first century a celebration of modern, diverse South African culture. Heather Hughes has argued that Welshness became an important aspect of British identity in South Africa during the nineteenth century, which provided the impetus for these Cambrian societies, though the scattered and small nature of the Welsh population made them difficult to sustain, even within the major cities of Johannesburg and Cape Town. Over time, Hughes argued, Welsh people in South Africa were subsumed into a broader South African identity which emphasised whiteness as an overriding feature, and whilst these Cambrian societies were an important aspect of promoting that race solidarity, Welshness was eventually relegated as an ultimately irrelevant identity.[83]

Similarly, in Australia the Welsh communities of the Victorian goldfield, based primarily in Ballarat and Sebastopol, maintained a vibrant and flourishing Welsh cultural life, partly through the establishment of their own Cambrian societies from the 1850s.[84] There was a St David's Day banquet in Ballarat in 1868,

[82]Benbough-Jackson, 'St David Meets the Victorians'.
[83] Hughes, 'How the Welsh Became White in South Africa', 112-27.
[84] Bill Jones, 'Representations of Australia in Mid-Nineteenth-century Welsh Emigrant Literature', 55.

following on from the first public celebration of St David's day in 1859, and these became a regular occasion into the twentieth century. Robert Llewellyn Tyler has argued that Welsh cultural life in Australia was highly dependent on Welsh concentration in heavy industries, primarily gold mining. This sustained a communal sense of Welshness and allowed this to be expressed in ways such as male-voice choirs, Eisteddfodau, and nonconformist Welsh-language worship.[85] Ballarat and Sebastopol maintained these traditions through inward migration into the goldfields into the late nineteenth century. However, Aled Jones and Bill Jones have argued that the Welsh community in Australia were distinctly Australian, with their Welshness being far more connected to commitment to the language and nonconformism than the land of Wales itself. In this context, and as second-generation Welsh moved away from traditional heavy industries and into white-collar work, this community began to fragment, lose touch with community institutions such as the church which maintained language use, and eventually integrated into a specifically Australian society which was developing a greater sense of its separate nationhood into the twentieth century.[86]

In India, the main standard bearers of St David's Day tradition were the Calcutta and Bombay Welsh societies whose occasions incorporated many of the central indicators of Welshness. Other less grand gatherings, often involving a tiny handful of individuals, also took place throughout India. The society's definition of 'Welsh' was based almost entirely on birth or residence in Wales itself, though its iconography pointed to a vibrant and flourishing Welsh identity which incorporated a number of key themes. In addition to faith and language, the physical geography of Wales formed a meaningful part of attendees' memories of home, as well as a justification for imperialism that seemed to draw on ideas of Darwinism. Attendees regularly argued that the Welsh were drawn to certain parts of India due to their resemblance to the Welsh mountain landscape.[87] At the 1909 dinner A.E. Goodwin argued that only a Welshmen could properly appreciate the Himalayas.[88] These comments seemed to suggest Welsh adaptation to Indian conditions due to the mountainous terrain of Wales. A mountain people suited to a mountain country. Such references appear throughout the historic record. John Meredith Lloyd Jones commented in his diary that the mountain range he saw from the train on his way to Dehra Dun reminded him of Wales.[89] In 1878, the vet Griffith Evans compared the mountains surrounding the

[85] Tyler, 'Occupational Mobility and Cultural Maintenance', 277-99.
[86] Jones and Jones, 'The Welsh World and the British Empire', p. 68.
[87] 'From India's Coral Strand', *Llangollen Advertiser Denbighshire Merionethshire and North Wales Journal,* 19 March 1915: 6.
[88] 'Welshmen in India', *The Montgomeryshire Express and Radnor Times*, 30 March 1909: 3.
[89] Aberystwyth, NLW, John Meredith Lloyd Jones Papers, 9 February 1945.

palace of the Maharajah of Kashmir to those of Caernarvonshire.[90] And in 1918, a Welsh soldier writing in a letter to the paper *Y Llan* said Indian mountains were much like Welsh ones.[91]

Calcutta was not the only part of India that hosted a Welsh society. At varying times during the British Raj, Welsh societies existed in New Delhi, Bombay, Madras, and Poona, to name the most prominent, as well as smaller and less formal groupings in areas like Chittagong and Mhow. The main purpose of these societies appeared to be the opportunity for social intercourse, and while they were certainly Welsh themed, it was not always necessary to be Welsh to participate, which corresponds with Peter Clark's argument that the base attraction of colonial clubs was rarely the specific subject matter.[92] An article from *The Times of India* covering the 1922 Bombay St David's Day dinner, for example, claimed that only one 'true' Welsh person was in attendance, the rest being simply the usual Bombay social scene.[93] Nonetheless, the Welshness of these occasions was emphasised, and to the most part they served as a gathering point for Welsh people longing for an experience of home. The high point of the Bombay Welsh Society was from the early 1930s, though it had existed at various times prior to this, with their gatherings being particularly noted for their boisterous singing and music.[94] The society had always had a military focus, with its activities during both world wars focused on providing assistance and entertainment to Welsh soldiers and sailors passing through, or stationed in, Bombay.[95] Military connections were a classic theme for many societies, with both the Poona and New Delhi Welsh societies being formed during the Second World War for precisely this purpose. The latter was founded by Flight Lieutenant H.F. Oldham, provided entertainment, and distributed relief among Welsh personnel, and counted among its keynote speakers the Viceroy Lord Wavell and the Commander-in-Chief Sir Claude Auchinleck (needless to say neither were Welsh themselves). Meetings were regularly held at Viceroy House, and members included senior Welsh figures in the Government of India, such as Sir Archibald Rowland, financial advisor to the Viceroy, and Sir Evan Jenkins, the last British Governor of Punjab.[96]

[90] Bangor, BUA, Letters of Griffith Evans, p. 164.
[91] 'Llythyr Oddiwrth Filwr Ieuanc o'r India', *Y Llan*, 26 April 1918: 4.
[92] Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford University Press, Oxford: 2000), pp. 490-1.
[93] 'Welshmen at Dinner', *The Times of India*, 3 March 1922: 6.
[94] 'The Bombay Welsh Society: Second Annual Dinner', *The Times of India*, 2 March 1931: 7.
[95] 'Current Topics: Welsh Choir', *The Times of India*, 25 September 1945: 4.
[96] 'Welsh Society in India', *Pontypridd Observer,* 17 February 1945: 4.

The Poona society, though consisting of a less rarefied membership, was formed in 1945 for broadly similar reasons - in their case to entertain troops on leave from the front in Burma. It was founded at the home of J.D. Jenkins, a long-term resident of Poona who had come to India just before the First World War and remained there for the remainder of his very long life, submitting his memories of the Raj to the Centre of South Asian Studies in Cambridge in 1970, at the age of 90.[97] The society's aims were to provide support for Welsh soldiers, including in the form of hardship funds, and they held a number of concerts and celebrations, including two major events on VE Day and VJ Day. Its first social evening, held in March 1945, attracted over 100 people,[98] with a second St David's Day event in 1946 attracting around 70, with the coverage in *The Times of India* making it clear that British people of all nationalities attended. Both the 1945 and 1946 events put a lot of emphasis on music, with singing and dancing being the main entertainment, and the Welsh national anthem ending proceedings.[99]

It is fairly clear why such societies would be formed during a time of war. Such circumstances, particularly in the rhetorical context of a concerted national, or indeed imperial, effort, tend to galvanise individuals and groups to organised action. Within this context, the formation of a Welsh society can be viewed as a vehicle for this organisation. A themed way in which a group with shared characteristics can band together to 'do their bit'. The fact that these groups chose to band together under the auspices of a 'Welsh society' does demonstrate the pre-existence of a distinctly Welsh community. However, its lack of existence prior to this period, during a time when both Calcutta and nearby Bombay had flourishing and well-publicised societies, suggest that these communities were very small, and, though self-consciously Welsh, seemingly content to exist not ostentatiously within a broader British society. It also suggests, in line with evidence elsewhere, that the influx of British soldiers into India during the Second World War, which included a number of Welsh regiments, increased the overall Welsh population and created the demand for such deliberately Welsh occasions. The Aberystwyth-born soldier, David Elwyn Lloyd Jones, noted in his letters home on a number of occasions not only how many other Welsh soldiers he was coming across in Assam and Burma, but how many he knew personally from home, having had no idea they had been sent to India.[100] The presence of stationed or travelling Welsh soldiers over the course of the war boosted these small communities, provided an impetus to organise, and allowed what may previously have been a simmering Welsh identity to boil over into more obvious and

[97] Cambridge, CSAS, J.D. Jenkins.
[98] 'Poona Welsh Society', *The Times of India*, 30 March 1945: 3.
[99] 'St David's Day in Poona', *The Times of India*, 6 March 1946: 5.
[100] Cambridge, CSAS, Lloyd-Jones, D.E. Papers, 31 October 1942.

ostentatious displays of national feeling. This was something which had only previously existed to such an extent in the larger Welsh communities of Calcutta and Bombay.

St David, and the celebration of St David's Day, was contested. In the Indian context, it was undoubtedly relevant that the vast majority of these societies celebrating the occasion formed at the turn of the twentieth century, at a time when the figure of St David had been largely recast from a sectarian figure to a pious educator acceptable across religious divides. At the 1910 Calcutta dinner, for example, Sir Lawrence Jenkins spoke about the figure of St David acting to keep the fire of patriotism alive in the heart of every Welsh person,[101] and at the 1902 dinner, T.R. Wynne spoke of the saint as the perfect example of piety.[102] It was certainly true that St David himself was rarely a major theme at these dinners. Speakers tended to linger on the achievements of the Welsh as a people, especially in education, as well as Wales as a broadly religious country, and the strong loyalty of the Welsh to Britain - a theme which will be discussed further below. But the sectarian associations of St David do appear to have been muted in India, in line with the development of his image back home, and perhaps heightened by sectarianism becoming less important in a foreign context where the overall Welsh community was small. When national groups are isolated abroad, it is common for major differences which divided them at home to appear less relevant, and this could certainly be a factor in the celebration of St David's Day in India.

Missionaries also celebrated their Welshness through traditional festivals. In 1902 J. Pengwern Jones of the Sylhet mission held an Eisteddfod, which was seized upon by W.R. James as a model for a potential Calcutta Eisteddfod, though this seemed never to have materialised.[103] This was likely due to the population being too small to sustain such an event. Other areas of the mission field also held Eisteddfodau, often in local languages such as Bengali, and usually as an educational tool. Helen Rowlands was known to organise such occasions at the schools she ran in Sylhet and Karimganj.[104] Though, similarly to how the imperatives of Welsh language and nonconformist identity differed between missionary and non-missionary agents in India, so too did the purposes of these festivals. Missionaries, despite many of their cultural pretensions, were deeply rooted in the linguistic heritage of their congregational communities. Individual missionaries such as Rowlands often took a strong interest

[101] 'Welsh Dinner in Calcutta', *The Times of India*, 12 March 1910: 10.
[102] 'St David's Day in Calcutta', *The Cambrian,* 28 March 1902: 6.

[103] 'St David's Day in India', *The Cambrian News and Merionethshire Standard*, 3 April 1903: 2.
[104] Jones and Jones, 'The Welsh World and the British Empire', p. 72.

in the spoken and literary culture of their charges, and much scholarly work was undertaken to codify and record the Khasi and Lushai languages,[105] which were previously unwritten, and to translate key texts into, and from, Bengali.[106] Much of this work was religious in nature - a drive to preach to Indians in languages they understood - and also educational, as part of the missionary drive to 'educate' Indians and prepare them for Christianisation and Westernisation. In this context, these Eisteddfodau can be seen as more educational than nationalistic. A familiar means of engaging with linguistic and literary culture, of driving up literacy, and imparting an appreciation of the written word, i.e. the Bible and other religious texts. This differed quite dramatically from the St David's Day celebrations and other gatherings of the secular Welsh elsewhere in India, whose primary motivations were patriotism and community. Eisteddfodau represented a further aspect of missionary 'Little Wales', but, as with other aspects of missionary identity, this went beyond a celebration of Welshness and contained a mostly religious motivation.

Welshness and Britishness: Assimilation and Collaboration

The idea that the Welsh in India largely existed within a broader British identity which sat comfortably with, and not in contradiction to, their Welshness came through strongly throughout this period, and not simply among the smaller communities in places like Poona. The comments of W.R. James at the 1902 Calcutta St David's Day dinner have been dissected above - how his racialised conception of 'Celt' and 'Anglo-Saxon' suggested a complementary relationship between the Welsh and English, which contrasted sharply with the disloyal, rebellious, and Catholic Irish.[107] This attitude was shared by Sir Griffith Evans, who, focusing more on the religious element, argued that the Welsh and English made effective imperial partners due to their respective complementary qualities of spirituality and strength.[108] This relationship between a robust and vibrant Welshness and a proud and loyal imperial Britishness may appear contradictory through a modern political lens in which the two often appear at loggerheads. Some current constitutional debates in Northern Ireland and Scotland, and increasingly so within Wales, present Britishness and Scottishness, Irishness, or Welshness as contradictory identities, with political loyalties defined through how one identifies with each national concept. However, while elements of this existed within nineteenth and early twentieth century Wales, leading to the

[105] May, 'Mountains Views', 242-3.
[106] Aled Jones, 'Welsh Missionary Journalism', p. 258.
[107] 'St David's Day in India', *The Cambrian News and Merionethshire Standard,* 28 March 1902: 6.
[108] 'St David's Day in India', *Western Mail*, 29 March 1899: 5.

establishment of Plaid Genedlaethol Cymru as a political party at the National Eisteddfod in 1925, the dominant theme in national discourse over the period was the placing of Welshness within the nurturing and protecting embrace of a wider Britishness, characterised primarily in the person of the monarch. Wendy Ugolini has written about the space between fixed identities of Britishness, or Englishness, and Welshness, and argued that while tension existed between the dual identities of Welsh and British, the Welsh could move fairly comfortably between different constructions of their identity.[109] Similarly, Martin Johnes has argued that while the Second World War emphasised the differences between British nationalities and led to a revival in the idea of distinct Welshness, the lived experience of Welsh soldiers often suggested a cross-border, regimental camaraderie, rather than a strong sense of Welsh/English difference. Welshness and Britishness were clearly interwoven in ways not obvious with Englishness and Britishness, and Johnes argued that Welsh people were used to thinking about their multifaceted identity and were by and large comfortable with it in their daily lives.[110]

Paul O'Leary has also written about Britishness as centrally important to Welshness and argued that the nineteenth-century Welsh centred their identity around the values of liberty, virtue, and loyalty. Eschewing early nineteenth-century radicalism and Chartism, the Welsh were anxious to present themselves as respectable and pious, whilst also advocating for specifically Welsh institutions, the disestablishment of the Church of England, and the preservation of the Welsh language. According to O'Leary, a strong and expressive loyalty to the Crown, and a celebration of the Welsh connection through the Prince of Wales, acted as a counterbalance to this advocacy, and Welsh identity was ultimately about limited reform within the British state. To O'Leary, loyalty to Britain was not in spite of a Welsh identity, but a critical part of that identity.[111]

Moving into the colonial environment, Trevor Harris has also argued how the experience of war could emphasise the multifaceted nature of Welsh identity. Despite the status of Y Wladfa as a Welsh settlement deliberately isolated from English influence, the gradual encroachment of the Argentine state tended towards a conception of Welshness that could be nurtured, protected, and maintained within the accepting and laissez-faire embrace of British imperialism. Expressions of jingoistic loyalty

[109] Ugolini, 'The "Welsh" Pimpernel', 185-203.
[110] Johnes, 'Welshness, Welsh Soldiers and the Second World War', pp. 65-88.
[111] O'Leary, 'The Languages of Patriotism in Wales', pp. 534-60.

from Welsh Patagonians during the First World War strongly demonstrates the existence of complex constructions of identity in unlikely scenarios.[112]

Returning to India, it is clear beyond the already examined views of Evans and James that this multifaceted British/Welsh identity was widespread. In addition to traditional Welsh music, patriotic British songs were also a major feature of society events, with God Save the Queen/King and loyal toasts featuring at virtually every gathering.[113] In 1911, the Calcutta Welsh gathered under the chairship of Sir Lawrence Jenkins to send their good wishes and congratulations to the Royal Family on the investiture of the Prince of Wales at Caernarfon Castle, paying particular attention to the honour to Caernarfon and Wales that the ceremony was held there, recognising the unique claims of the country.[114] A write-up of various St David's Day gatherings around the world in the *Towyn-on-Sea and Merioneth County Times* in 1902 argued that the Welsh were proud to be part of a multi-racial empire, as well as their own nationality, and, in a similar vein to Evans, suggested that while the English brought stability, the Welsh brought adventure and imagination to imperial governance. The article, alongside many others through a raft of different publications over the years, emphasised Welsh loyalty to Britain and to the Crown, expressing a clear belief in strength in diversity and the ability of Britons to hold varying but united identities.[115] This kind of mixed identity allowed the vet Griffith Evans to celebrate his interactions with other Welsh people, such as Major Gwynne of Glamorganshire and Mr Lee of Llanfaircaereinion, take much pride in being able to speak Welsh, and use his home town of Tywyn as a point of reference for much of what he witnessed in India, while at the same time comfortably describing himself interchangeably as English/British.[116]

So, it is clear that whilst the Welsh in India, much like the Welsh domestically and in other overseas locations, maintained a distinct sense of their Welshness, that Welshness was intimately linked to and contained within a greater British imperial identity that saw the value of empire, British collective strength, and loyalty to the Crown. Events like the investiture of the Prince of Wales in 1911, according to John S. Ellis, were seen as a clear expression of the relationship between the British state and the 'Celtic fringe', and were part of an imagined tradition that unified the British state.[117] Within an imperial

[112] Harris, 'British Informal Empire During the Great War', 103-117.
[113] 'St David's Day in Poona', *The Times of India,* 6 March 1946: 5.
[114] 'News of the Day', *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 17 July 1911: 4.

[115] 'St David's Day in India', *Towyn-on-Sea and Merioneth County Times,* 27 March 1902: 7.
[116] Bangor, BUA, Letters of Griffith Evans, p. 286.
[117] Ellis, 'Reconciling the Celt', 392.

context, and the great diversity which it entailed, it was easier to emphasise the strength in that diversity, and to paint the imperial project, as well as the British state itself, as an example of what could be achieved when different peoples banded together. Canny national governments, most notably the Liberals during the time of the Ascendency no doubt buoyed by the presence of David Lloyd George, realised that celebrating Welsh distinctiveness - its culture, language and heritage - bounded the Welsh more closely to the centre, and this was reflected in the deeply imperial Welshness of the societies in India we have examined above.[118] By 1900, Sir Griffith Evans, seamlessly combining the Welsh and British aspects of his identity, could declare that the Welsh had lost to the English, but could reap the benefits of a powerful empire.[119] It is therefore apparent that for the Welsh of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the idea of British and Welsh identities being antithetical to each other would not have made much sense within their own concepts of identity.

A further area in which identity, and the interaction between a Welsh and British imperial identity, expressed itself vibrantly was the military sphere. The British regimental system had, according to David French, long played a central role in local communities, and a local regiment was for many parts of Britain a central facet of local identity.[120] This was the same in Wales, despite the fact that between 1883-1900 only 28% of soldiers from Welsh regiments were actually from their recruiting districts.[121] William Henry Evans, for example, who served with the South Wales Borderers in India during the First World War, wrote in his memoirs that he was the only Welsh soldier who arrived in Bombay with his unit, despite being in a Welsh regiment.[122] Despite this, the Welsh regiments within the British Army maintained a strong tradition of vibrant and ostentatious Welsh iconography, appropriating and creating a number of deeply Welsh traditions that served to steep the regiments in the cultural heritage of their namesakes. This was, of course, in keeping with the highly localised nature and purposes of the regimental system, though in the Welsh case it served a further purpose of appropriating Welsh culture and identity into a clearly British imperial framework, putting strength into the assertion that to be Welsh and British was not a contradiction in terms, but indeed a source of great power.

---

[118] Ibid, 396-9.
[119] 'St David's Day in India', *The Cambrian,* 6 April 1900: 5.
[120] David French, *Military Identities: The Regimental System, the British Army, and the British People c. 1870-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 5.
[121] Johnes, 'Welshness, Welsh Soldiers and the Second World War', pp. 65-88.
[122] Brecon, The Royal Welsh Regimental Museum (RWRM), Papers of William Henry Evans SWB, BRCRM: 2020.23.8.

In terms of Welsh regiments serving in India, the most relevant would be the period of service of the 2nd Battalion the Welsh Regiment, which was stationed in India from 1893 to around 1904, firstly in Trimulgherry, Secunderabad, before moving to Bellary, then Ahmednagar in Bombay Presidency, and then on to Quetta in Baluchistan, after which the battalion moved onto South Africa. During this period the battalion published a monthly magazine, *The Men of Harlech*, a suitably patriotic name, which printed regular news and articles of interest regarding the regiment, including the 1st Battalion which was based in Malta at the time. The Welsh identity of the regiment flowed through its pages, and each edition carried a multitude of references to a broad array of Welsh iconography. From the second edition, published April 1893, the magazine's frontispiece carried a rather fierce looking Welsh dragon as its logo, with the editors making clear that the symbol was intended to celebrate the regiment's Welsh roots.[123] The articles contained a mix of regimental and home news, which leaned towards emphasising the regiment's Welsh connections. A regular feature were articles on beauty spots around Wales, with one article from May 1893 taking a surprising political turn by criticising the flooding of the Rhyader valley in Radnorshire for the purposes of creating a reservoir for Manchester - evidently a historic source of contention that predated the flooding of Capel Celyn in the 1960s.[124]

Another regular feature were articles on Welsh history, including mythical tradition. As discussed above, awareness of and interest in Welsh history was an increasingly important part of Welsh identity over the course of the nineteenth century, and this trend certainly found its way into the pages of *The Men of Harlech.* For example, a June 1893 article which discussed the origins of the Welsh dragon insignia explicitly linked the symbol to ancient resistance against the Saxon, and rehashed myths around the ultimate victory of the 'Celtic' people, not dissimilar to the themes explored in speeches of the Welsh societies.[125] The May 1893 edition contained a poem written by Montagu Williams which explored Llewellyn's rebellion against the English and the eventual overthrow of the 'Saxon'.[126] This national, cultural, and racial distinction was pursued forcefully, with an article in the same edition apologising for accidentally lumping all the British nationalities together under English in an earlier piece,[127] and a rather aggressive argument breaking out when the suggestion of moving the annual sports day from St David's Day was made.[128]

[123] 'Editor's Letter', *The Men of Harlech*, 14 April 1893: 1.
[124] 'Recollections of Wales', *The Men of Harlech*, 14 May 1893: 7.
[125] 'The Red Dragon of Wales', *The Men of Harlech,* 14 June 1893: 7.
[126] 'Original Poetry', *The Men of Harlech*, 14 June 1893: 13.
[127] 'By the Way', *The Men of Harlech*, 14 May 1893: 22.
[128] 'Letters to the Editor', *The Men of Harlech*, January 1895: 13.

However, despite these forceful exhortations, the magazine also emphasised a strong British identity, mostly defined through loyalty to the Crown, and celebrated British unity through diversity. Write-ups of a number of concerts performed for the regiment concentrated on pan-British cultural heritage, with Irish and Scottish songs being performed alongside Welsh ones, as well as anthems celebrating the Royal Family and the British Empire.[129] The regiment also held the Prince of Wales in very high esteem, and somewhat paradoxically saw him as their chief in their historic struggle for recognition against the 'Saxon'.[130] The magazine also never doubted the ultimate good of the empire, suggesting that Indians benefitted from the British presence. Taking a classically paternalistic stance, the same article in May 1893 that apologised for lumping British nationalities together went on to argue that Indian civilisation had not changed in 2000 years, and that the influence of the British, especially missionaries, had been to protect the poor and start to bring India into the modern age.[131] From *The Men of Harlech* magazine, we get a clear sense of this Welsh/British identity being present in the army, with a distinct Welshness existing within the framework of a commitment to a British imperial identity.

Sport was a major aspect of this identity, and while it was conceded that football remained the most popular sport, the magazine regularly described rugby as the national sport of Wales and the maintenance of a regimental team as a crucial aspect of its Welshness. The team maintained an excellent record at the Bombay Challenge Cup and were regular finalists at the Calcutta competition.[132] The strains and turnover of army life as well as the difficult climate, especially during the monsoon and very hot season, made the maintenance of regular sport, in particular a heavy contact sport such as rugby, very difficult. At times, the Welsh Regiment struggled to pull teams together, made all the more difficult by the battalion being split in half in 1897, with one half sent to Bellary and the other to Madras. The magazine complained for several months that all the best cricketers had been sent to Madras, meaning that the Bellary contingent had to struggle through the early half of the season.[133] This was also an issue which blighted the rugby team. Despite being enormously successful, it was noted that football always attracted more players, and in the early 1890s there was even a torrid debate conducted in the magazine's pages on whether the rugby team should be abandoned altogether in favour of the more popular sport.[134] Despite this, the team was maintained, and there was a clear belief that rugby held a

[129] 'Sergeants' Smoking Concert', *The Men of Harlech*, 14 April 1893: 4-5.
[130] 'Notes and Reminiscences', *The Men of Harlech*, July 1896: 4.
[131] 'By the Way', *The Men of Harlech*, 14 May 1893: 22.
[132] 'Final Tie', *The Men of Harlech,* October 1895: 12-13.
[133] 'Cricket', *The Men of Harlech*, December 1896: 7.
[134] 'The Welsh Regimental Football Club', *The Men of Harlech*, 14 March 1893: 12.

special place for Welsh people, justifying the regiment being one of a small number to maintain a permanent team. Sport as a whole was a critical part of regimental identity, as opposed to national identity, and the Welsh Regiment, in line with other regiments, took part in a dizzying array of sporting activities, from rugby, football and cricket, to shooting, tug of war, and cross country running, to name just a few. However, what *The Men of Harlech* reveals is that rugby held a special place as a 'Welsh sport', and that maintaining a successful team, which they did for many decades, was seen as a patriotic duty as well as an important part of army life. In the February 1897 issue, which came out shortly after the Welsh had beat the English in the Home Nations Championship at Rodney Parade, Newport, several pages of analysis and patriotic fervour occupied its pages.[135] Whereas most sports the regiment participated in were celebrated out of competitive spirit, rugby undoubtedly had a national element to its play. Again, this clearly reflected sport's increasingly central place in Welsh society after the turn of the twentieth century. In some ways, this also speaks to a wider British sporting culture as big sporting rivalries (in this case with the English) could only exist within a framework of the shared importance of sport. So while sport gave Wales a sense of its own distinctiveness, it also brought it closer into a shared Britishness which increasingly idolised sport into the twentieth century.

While this identity is clear, it is also important, in understanding the exact nature of regimental identity, to place this Welshness within its proper context. Both Martin Johnes and David French have emphasised the regimental nature of these identities, arguing that what tended to matter more to the average soldier was comradely relationships that transcended national boundaries.[136] Given the small proportion of actually Welsh soldiers serving in these regiments, it is no surprise that this kind of identity would have developed. The Welshness of the Welsh regiments ultimately derived from an official drive to create esprit de corps among a diverse set of individuals, and unite them around a common identity.[137] While it is reasonable to assume these Welsh themes would have had an impact on the Welsh soldiers, those who originated from elsewhere (the 2nd Battalion itself had a large Irish contingent)[138] would have primarily viewed the iconography of the regiment as a regimental, rather than national, theme, and their participation in such events as St David's Day and concerts featuring Welsh music would not have meant that they were adopted Welshmen, but simply proud of their regimental lineage. It is important, therefore, to put these regimental traditions in their proper place.

[135] 'International Foot-ball', *The Men of Harlech*, February 1897: 12-13.
[136] Johnes, 'Welshness, Welsh Soldiers and the Second World War' pp. 65-88 & French, *Military Identities*, p. 338.
[137] French, *Military Identities*, pp. 1-2.
[138] 'Death of a Welsh Regiment Veteran', *The Men of Harlech*, 14 December 1893: 2.

While they certainly suggest an official recognition of national difference within the United Kingdom, and while they represented the multifaceted national identity among its Welsh contingent, in line with other Welsh groups in India and at home, for most soldiers in the 2nd Battalion The Welsh Regiment, this Welshness would have simply represented a convenient regimental identity to represent the closeness and camaraderie between soldiers.

Welsh identity in India was complex, multifaceted, and nuanced. It emphasised a distinct Welshness that was separate to, and in many ways in opposition to, any kind of association with Englishness, but which existed comfortably within a wider British identity that held dear loyalty to the Royal Family and the essential benefit of the empire. Welshness was constructed upon a set of unifying principles - namely nonconformist religion which was part of a broad British Protestantism, the Welsh language and angst associated with its decline, and a commitment to the cultural heritage of Wales as expressed through festivals such as the Eisteddfod and St David's Day. These were subject to change as these traditional markers of Welshness declined at home and were replaced by different political priorities and the rise of sport. Remarkably, despite British India's reputation for anachronistic reactionism, Welsh identity quickly adapted to trends within Wales itself, closely mirroring the rise and decline of nonconformism as well as the ebb and flow of debates around the Welsh language, making way for the rise of sport as a non-political, non-linguistic marker of wider Welsh identity. This identity was racial in nature, based upon foundational myths of 'Celtic' racial characteristics, such as spirituality and adventure, which was often contrasted with 'Anglo-Saxon' strength (in a complementary manner) and Irish rebelliousness (in a negative manner). This was an element of the Welsh revival in medievalism and a heightened awareness of Wales' early history, which formed an important element of late nineteenth-century Welsh nationhood. While the identity did vary among different groups in India, most notably among missionaries whose identity largely had a religious imperative, these foundational markers were widespread, and found their way into constructed regimental identities as well as the everyday self-perception of the Calcutta, Bombay, and Poona Welsh, as well as smaller groups spread across India. It is therefore possible to speak of the Welsh in India as a distinct, self-perceived group that was not simply absorbed into a broader British imperial identity when isolated away from their homeland, but who interacted and participated in that identity on their own terms and within their own terms of reference.

6

A Welsh Vision of Empire? Welshness and Imperialism

In the previous chapter we looked at Welsh national identity, its central pillars, its changing nature, and its transplantation into the colonial environment of British India. The following chapter will examine how this fluid and adaptable Welsh identity was utilised by the Welsh domestic press and individuals on the ground in India to construct a vision of empire and imperialism that was inherently Welsh. It drew upon Welsh bilingualism to present the Welsh as uniquely accomplished language learners, and hence effective rulers. It drew upon Welsh religion and 'spiritualism' to emphasise Welsh imagination, morality, and compassion, as opposed to the stolid and powerful English, which made them more sympathetic and understanding of indigenous populations. And it used Welsh history, specifically the assimilation of Wales into the United Kingdom and its subsequent constitutional settlement, to suggest not only the possibility of cultural maintenance within the British Empire, but also a blueprint for other parts of the empire to follow in their dealings with Britain. The following two chapters will explore the construction and nature of this identity while analysing its practical implications in the colonial environment. While the press ensured that Welsh imperialism became a powerful rhetorical idea in the domestic context, which impacted on how imperialists in India conceptualised their role, the stories of these individuals were in fact ones of conformity with the norms of British Indian society. There were examples of individuals whose professional or personal lives in India were influenced practically in some way through Welsh imperialism, such as Sir Lawrence Jenkins and the military vet Griffith Evans. However, they remained a tiny minority in the face of widespread conformity. The majority were no more likely to go against the grain of that conformity than their English, Scottish, or Irish counterparts.

The Press

On 5 March 1914 *The Times of India* carried an article that neatly summarised how the role of Welsh people directly associated with the empire was perceived:

> They had an advantage in being able as a people who were not English to stand between as it were the English administration of this country and the Indian inhabitants, to understand the feelings of both sides perhaps more successfully than anybody else could and that in a very large

> measure the Welsh people in this country had to assist solving the great problem of how the two races... could live together in peace and harmony and mutual esteem.[1]

Though it was not specifically used, the key idea that comes out of this article is 'mediator'. The uncredited author (who does not appear to have been Welsh) clearly saw the Welsh as something of a halfway house between colonised and coloniser. As a people who could understand the feelings and concerns of Indians whilst appreciating the aims and benefits of British rule, because of the nature of their own history as a minority group within the United Kingdom. To the author, the Welsh had a historic mission to 'mediate' between the English and Indians to create a prosperous shared future based on peace.

It does not require much analysis to highlight the inherent issues with this formulation. The Welsh were not the same as Indians. While it is certainly arguable that the Welsh were looked upon as inferior by the English and suffered from the relationship - hostility and apathy towards the survival of the Welsh language, the portrayal of Welsh nonconformism as barbaric and backward, the general idea of the Welsh as a primitive people needing to be 'modernised' through contact with Englishness -[2] one cannot escape from the reality that the Welsh were European, white, and Protestant, and regarded as such by the English. The Indians - Asian, brown, Hindu/Muslim - occupied a much lower rung on the Westernised hierarchy of global races[3] and even the most forthrightly violent imperialists, such as Reginald Dyer of Amritsar fame, would never seriously have dreamed of behaving in any comparable way towards white British subjects of the Crown. While the suggestion that there was some similarity was sometimes useful as a rhetorical device, the reality was somewhat emptier.

However, reality was often unimportant in developing justifications for imperialism, and while these ideas were clearly based on strange assumptions about themselves and colonial peoples, they are important in understanding the nature of Welsh imperialism and why Welsh people enthusiastically engaged in it. While the construction of Welsh identity in nineteenth and twentieth-century Wales has already been explored, it is necessary to understand how these ideas were disseminated both at home and overseas. This provides the context in which the domestic and colonial space interacted with each

---

[1] 'Welshmen in India', *The Times of India*, 5 March 1914: 8.

[2] Such sentiments were contained in Jelinger C. Symons, 'Reports of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of Education in Wales, Pt. 2, Brecknock, Cardigan, Radnor, and Monmouth', 6 March 1847, *National Library of Wales.* See also Gwyneth Tyson Roberts, *The Language of the Blue Books: The Perfect Instrument of Empire* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1998).

[3] For a discussion of European conceptions of race in the colonial context, see Samson, *Race and Empire,* pp. 95-107.

other and allowed these formulations of Welsh identity to develop into conceptions of Welsh imperialism.

As with most popular and widespread ideas in nineteenth-century Wales, the Welsh press became the primary disseminator of conceptions of Wales' imperial role. In the same way that domestically ideas reflected in the press were a continuous interaction between the concerns of the Establishment, the preoccupations of newspaper owners, and what could be marketed to the pre-existing notions of a potential mass readership,[4] ideas from the domestic Welsh press were not constructed and exported overseas in a vacuum. They were the result of a spatial network in which the experiences and ideologies of those Welsh present in India, already mapped onto their exported sense of self from Wales, were moulded and shaped onto the imperial tendencies of the Welsh mass market.[5] So, imperialist ideologies constructed in the domestic press were influenced by the flow of Welsh imperialists backwards and forwards between Wales and India in much the same way that the ideologies of Welsh imperialists were influenced by both the domestic press and conditions in the colonial environment, including the press in India itself which also discussed, to a lesser extent, the nature of Welsh imperialism. It is important, therefore, to understand that when discussing Welsh imperialism in the press what is being discussed is a continuous and mutually impactful interaction between metropole and periphery.

It is also important to remember that the press in Wales was bilingual. From the late nineteenth century, with the revival of the Welsh language as a literary tongue, an explosion of periodicals in the language brought international and imperial news and ideas to a Welsh-language readership.[6] While Kenneth Morgan was certainly correct that there was no major difference between the English-language and Welsh-language press in terms of their imperialism - both expressed strong enthusiasm towards the Crown, British power, and the ultimate good of the empire -[7] the exact nature of that enthusiasm, and the imperial themes they chose to focus on, did reflect a difference in emphasis. There was also a significant difference in the volume of imperial-themed output which will be discussed in more detail

[4] Hutchinson, *Settlers, War, and Empire in the Press*, pp. 1-18.
[5] A discussion of imperial spatial networks in relation to imperial biographies can be found in Lambert, 'Reflections on the Concept of Imperial Biographies', 26.
[6] Davies, *A History of Wales*, pp. 404-5.
[7] Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation*, p. 45.

below. For the period 1858-1919, the National Library of Wales online database contains 35 Welsh-language publications compared to 84 in the English language.[8]

Turning more specifically to the Welsh press and imperialism, Aled Jones and Bill Jones have written that its expansion from the 1850s pulled Wales further into British information systems with the result that the empire and imperial themes pervaded the entire press. While this expanding press was diverse and spoke to a range of interests - industrial, linguistic, religious - imperialism remained a major theme throughout, and centred the empire through Wales' place in a global export and labour market, Welsh involvement in the administrative and military structures of empire, and, most prominently, Wales' place at the heart of a 'Protestant pseudo-empire' which expanded outwards through the missionary movement.[9] Jones and Jones' arguments on the importance of the empire in the Welsh press are reinforced through press coverage of the subject matter at hand - India.

While wider imperial themes were popular, the evidence suggests that India specifically occupied a primary position in coverage of the empire. Now this in itself does not prove that the Welsh were imperialistic or proud of the empire. There are many reasons why India may appear on a local press' radar outside the simple explanation of imperialist fervour, and it is important to consider individual mentions for what they were. Focus on a specific individual, for example, could say more about the press' interest in a local personality, or a story about regimental movements more about mass interest in the army rather than where they were based. More obviously, the Welsh enthusiasm for missionary work undoubtedly came from religious motivations above all else, and India's prominence as a mission field could easily have been replicated elsewhere if similar success had been forthcoming. But, of course, the very fact that India does come up so often is of interest and it is possible to understand the precise nature of those mentions through more detailed analysis.

For the years 1858-1919, the National Library of Wales' Welsh Newspapers Online database holds 119 publications which span the whole geographical range of Wales. Across this period there were references to India in just over 2% of articles, though it must be remembered that a reference to 'India' did not necessarily mean a reference to the country itself, with a few examples of possible crossover being ship names, outdated terms for indigenous populations in North America, and other place names,

[8] Welsh Newspapers Online (WNO), NLW; https://newspapers.library.wales/search?range%5Bmin%5D=1858&range%5Bmax%5D=1919&query=&lang%5B%5D=wel, (1 February 2023).
[9] Jones and Jones, 'Empire and the Welsh Press', pp. 77.

such as East India Dock in London. However, taking this as the best solid number available at this time, it represents a mean average of 5,246 yearly references, though the trend is a steady increase throughout the period, with particular spikes at times of nationally significant events, such as the 1858 Mutiny, the 1876 declaration of Queen Victoria as Empress of India, and the outbreak of the South African War in 1899 which involved a large amount of troop movements from India. It should also be noted that there was a dip in mentions during the early 1880s, possibly a side-effect of the earlier spike surrounding the constitutional change of the 1870s, and a very significant dip from 1911 to the final year of holdings in 1919 which can only be an anomaly in the database as a result of fewer holdings.[10] Of these references, 85% were within 84 English-language publications,[11] with the remaining 15% within 35 Welsh-language publications,[12] so the vast majority of references to India appeared in the English-language press. There is no Welsh word for 'India', so results have not been distorted by language. Whether the disproportionate share of references reflected a greater preoccupation with imperial themes needs to be assessed.

[10] WNO, https://newspapers.library.wales/search?range%5Bmin%5D=1858&range%5Bmax%5D=1919&query=India, (1 February 2023).
[11] WNO, https://newspapers.library.wales/search?range%5Bmin%5D=1858&range%5Bmax%5D=1919&query=India&lang%5B%5D=eng, (1 February 2023).
[12] WNO, https://newspapers.library.wales/search?range%5Bmin%5D=1858&range%5Bmax%5D=1919&query=India&lang%5B%5D=wel, (1 February 2023).

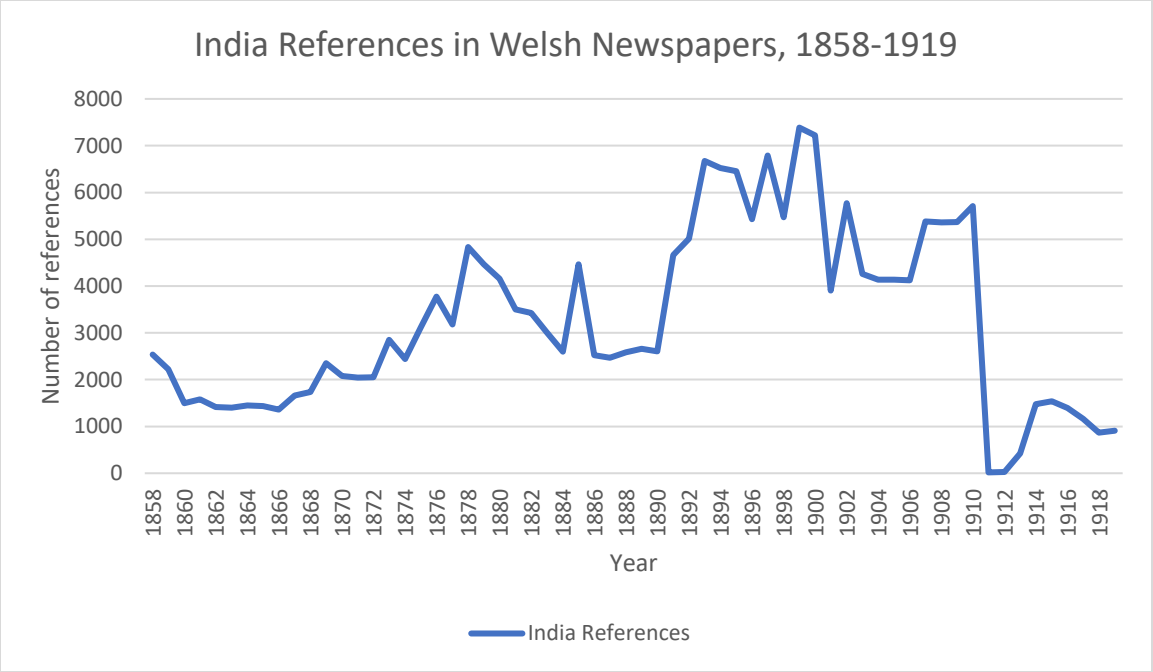

Figure 3 Graph showing the number of references to India in Welsh Newspaper Online holdings between 1858-1919 to show peaks and troughs due to increased public interest and limitations of holdings.

The National Library of Wales' database only includes holdings up to 1919. Beyond that date the British Newspaper Archive of the British Library holds Welsh newspapers, though not such a range and significantly fewer in Welsh. The filtering system used makes it difficult to ascertain the exact number of publications held for the period 1920-1947, though for the period 1900-49 there are records for 62 publications, of which only four are in the Welsh language. Across the period 1920-1947 there were references to India in just over 6% of articles in their Welsh press holdings (they do not filter by language), averaging approximately 1,949 references per year as a mean. The references remained steady throughout the period, with decreases in the 1940s reflecting fewer archival holdings.[13] Overall, taking the period 1858-1947, the bare figures suggest press interest in India increased steadily throughout the period 1858-1919, with peaks and troughs around particular events of national and imperial importance, and remained steady thereafter. Straight away we can say that the Welsh public were at least interested in reading about India.

[13] British Newspaper Archive (BNA), https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/search/results/1940-01-01/1949-12-31?retrievecountrycounts=false&sortorder=dayearly, (21 June 2023).

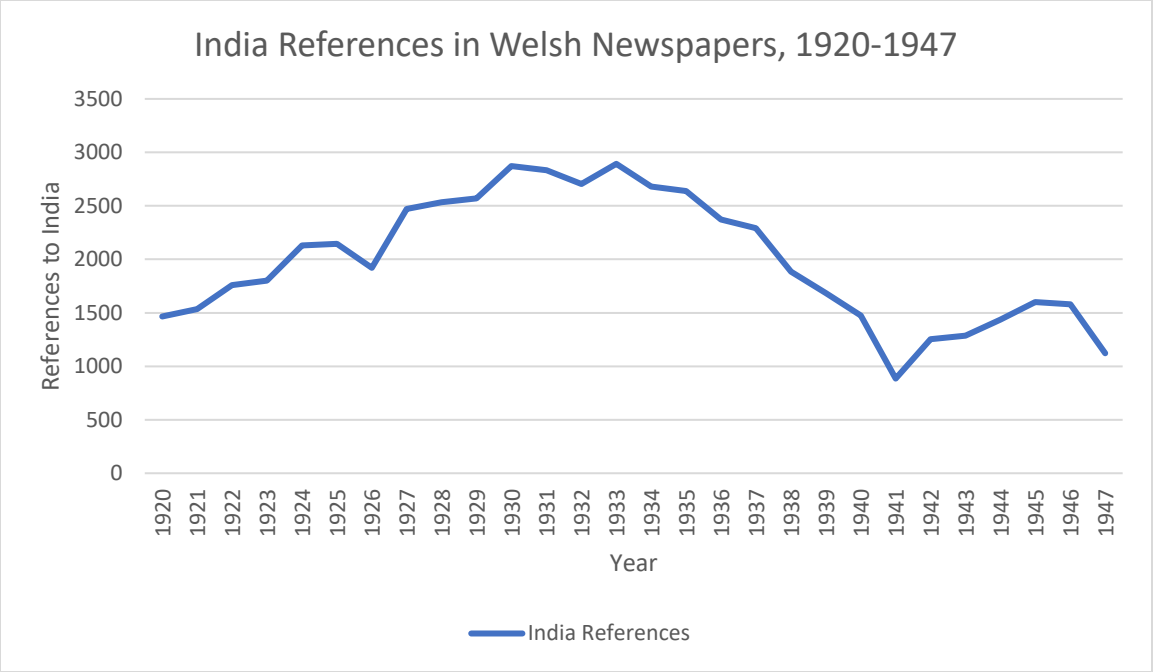

Figure 4 Graph showing references to India in Welsh newspaper holdings of the British Newspaper Archive 1920-1947 showing the trend of overall references.

Lastly, Welsh Journals Online, also hosted by the National Library of Wales, holds journals relating to Wales and tends to cater towards more specialist publications, both academic and popular. Unlike Welsh Newspapers Online and the British Newspaper Archive, their holdings skew very strongly towards the Welsh language, and include missionary journals as well as publications geared towards children and women, among many others. Between 1858-1947, references to India occurred in just under 3% of articles, which corresponds to the frequency found within Welsh Newspaper Online holdings between 1858-1919. 85% of these references were within Welsh-language publications with the remaining 15% within English-language publications. There are similar peaks around periods of imperial events, such as war, and a massive drop-off after 1910 which would again suggests significantly fewer holdings for this period. The data suggests a sustained interest in India among more specialist Welsh-language publications, especially missionary ones, between 1858-1947.[14]

[14] Welsh Journals Online (WJO), https://journals.library.wales/search?query=India&range%5Bmin%5D=1858&range%5Bmax%5D=1947 (18 September 2023).

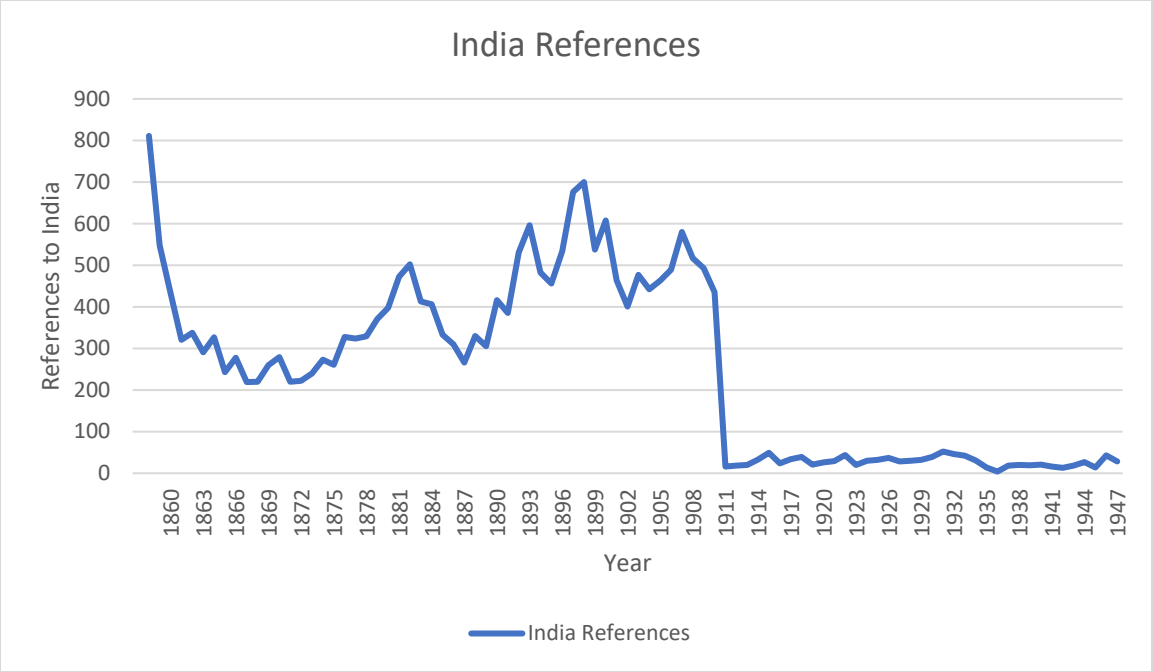

Figure 5 Graph showing references to India within Welsh Journals Online holdings between 1858-1947 to represent peaks and troughs and massive limitations in the holdings after 1910.

It is worth at this juncture exploring the nature of the difference in emphasis between the Welsh-language press and the English-language press. The quantitative analysis of the NLW Welsh newspapers database above found that Welsh-language publications accounted for a significantly smaller proportion of press references to India for the period 1858-1947, including during the great expansion of such publications at the end of the nineteenth century. As well as being numerically smaller the figures are also disproportionate, with the English-language press accounting for over 5 times the references of the Welsh-language press, despite there being under 3 times the number of publications.

From these figures one must conclude that the Welsh-language press were less interested in imperial matters, including India, than their English-language counterpart, though it would be wrong to gather from this that it possessed a distinctly anti-imperial sentiment. It is also noteworthy that analysis of Welsh Journals Online suggest that more specialist Welsh-language publications, especially those related to the missionary movement, did sustain an interest in India which was comparable to that of English-language newspapers. While the exact focus of newspaper coverage of India will be analysed below alongside other publications, it is noteworthy that imperial themes were almost universally covered in a positive light. In the 13 January 1909 edition of *Y Goleuad*, for example, the weekly news section discussed a communal riot in Calcutta in which it was argued that such behaviour had little to do

with government action, that soldiers had intervened correctly to prevent further bloodshed, and that the government was doing its duty by rooting out the instigators and keeping the peace.[15] In 1876, *Y Dydd* covered the visit of the Prince of Wales to Bombay, writing that he had been very impressed by the Bombay School of Art and commended its Welsh head, John Griffiths, for the work he was doing for India.[16] There are a number of potential reasons for this general lack of coverage. In the first instance, very few Welsh people were involved directly in the empire in comparison to the English, Scottish, and Irish, and those that were involved were more likely to be from the English-speaking gentry and bilingual middle-classes.[17] It would therefore make sense for stories involving people from more English-speaking places to be in English. It could also reflect the increasingly isolated nature of Welsh-speaking communities into the twentieth century as the language contracted and became more geographically specific. As the language retreated from southern and eastern areas, economic and industrial centres more likely to contain empire-linked industrialists and middle classes, the Welsh-language press could have become more focused on rural areas of the north and west which were less likely to have such global connections. Lastly, it certainly reflected the specific interests of Welsh-language readerships which tended to be nonconformists. Aled Jones and Bill Jones have written about the Welsh press during this period and have emphasised denominational and linguistic press allegiances.[18] Overwhelmingly, references to India involved Welsh missionaries and the progress of the missionary movement.[19]

But what was it about India that interested the press as a whole? A number of recurring themes are evident that span the breadth of the period 1858-1947, including an interest in local individuals, a focus on the use of the Welsh language abroad which reflected deep-seated angst about its future, an enormous and enduring connection with the Welsh missionary movement, especially in the Northeast of India, and a habit of theorising, sometimes in great detail, on the nature of Wales' specific imperial mission. The similarities between these themes and those discussed in the previous chapter on Welsh identity are obvious. If nonconformism and the Welsh language were important building blocks of Welsh identity, it naturally follows that they would form a great part of what the Welsh public were interested in reading about. In the context of imperialism, where loyalty to an imperial mission grew out of a

[15] 'Nodiadau Wythnosol', *Y Goleuad*, 13 January 1909: 3.
[16] 'Newyddion Cymraig', *Y Dydd*, 18 February 1876: 6.
[17] See Figure 1.
[18] Jones and Jones, 'Empire and the Welsh Press', p. 77.
[19] See for example 'Genhadaeth yn India', *Y Goleuad,* 14 August 1907: 4.

commitment to Britishness and the Crown,[20] it stands to reason that, in pursuing an interest in imperial themes, Welsh newspapers would present them in a manner of particular interest and relevance to Wales. The nature of the relationship between the Welsh and the British Empire, including India, was inherently tied up with pre-existing notions that the Welsh had about themselves and how they justified their place within a constituent country of four nations.[21] These notions interacted with imperialism to create a peculiarly Welsh vision of the empire, the elements of which will become more apparent as press output is analysed. An analysis of how this imperialised Welsh identity was commodified, marketed, and presented to the Welsh public provides the best means of understanding how the Welsh thought about their imperial role.

Individuals in India: Local Interest Stories

The press maintained a relentless focus on individuals, both the lofty and well-known and the lowly and local, who had made careers in India, or had gone there to marry someone who had. It should not be automatically assumed, however, that this represented anything more than an interest in local people which the press throughout the UK has always maintained. It is obvious why a local newspaper would be interested in following a local person's seemingly epic adventure in a faraway and alien land, and that land being India would not necessarily make a difference. Press reports from this period were replete with human interest stories that followed individuals wherever they ended up, including America, other parts of Europe, and other parts of the empire, especially settler colonies like Australia and Canada. The *Weekly Mail* of 21 January 1882 contained a section called 'Welsh Notes from America' which reported on the Welsh community in Pennsylvania. It included Welsh participants in an athletics tournament in Wilkes-Barre City, an unfortunate tale about a Llwynpia collier whose wife cheated on him after he had emigrated, and reports on Welsh choirs participating in Eisteddfodau in New York and Plymouth, Massachusetts.[22] They also reported on prominent individuals closer to home, those who had become successful in the locality or slightly further afield in other parts of the UK. *The Cambrian* was just as likely to report, for example, on local Glanamman 'celebrity' John Jones, a frequent contributor to the Welsh

[20] O'Leary, 'The Languages of Patriotism in Wales', p. 559.
[21] Pryce, 'Culture, Identity, and the Medieval Revival in Victorian Wales', 3-4.
[22] 'Welsh Notes from America', *Weekly Mail*, 21 January 1882: 3.

press and caretaker of the local Working Men's Institute, whose death they reported in their issue of 21 October 1910.[23]

However, despite the fact that newspapers were interested in individuals wherever they were, the reporting in regard to India cannot be separated from the imperial context as it was often this that was being emphasised and celebrated.

A vast array of individuals from various walks of life made it into the pages of the Welsh press. On 9 January 1914 *The Cambrian News and Merionethshire Standard* reported the death of Dr John Meredith, a medical doctor from Talybont who went to Calcutta in the 1860s and served in the Bhutan Campaign of 1866. Noting his reforming work and strenuous efforts in his profession, the paper reported that he was made a magistrate in 1867 and served as Medical Officer of Puri until 1869.[24] On 16 August 1900 the *Welsh Gazette and West Wales Advertiser* contained a brief report of Mr William G. Williams of Gallthyfryd taking up a position with a drapery firm in Calcutta.[25] As late as 1946, in the aftermath of the Second World War, the *Neath Guardian* published a letter from Ron Jones who was touring the country with a concert party. He listed the 'local lads' he had encountered, including D.L. Morgan of Crynant, A.L. Jones of Banwen, Graham Rees of Skewen, Jack Morgan of Neath, and Cyril Shenton of Briton Ferry.[26] Many of these references were passing comments or little notes amidst larger articles. This was especially true of marriage notices. The *Port Talbot Guardian* of 15 January 1932 noted that schoolteacher Mary Lewis Jones was travelling to Calcutta to marry William Williams of Aberdare, who worked for the Indian General Navigation and Railway Co.[27] On 12 January 1906, *The Cambrian News and Merionethshire Standard* reported that Miss Wynne was leaving for Karachi to marry Mr H. Innes, a civil engineer.[28] And on 30 September 1910, *The Welshman* carried a notice announcing that Dorothy Davies of Uchledir, Carmarthen, would travel to Calcutta to marry Andrew Taylor of the Indian Education Service.[29]

The press also tracked regimental movements and followed individual soldiers from their locality who would often have their letters home published. This was particularly true during the First and Second

[23] 'Glanamman Celebrity', *The Cambrian*, 21 October 1910: 7.
[24] 'Death of a Cardiganshire Medical Man', *The Cambrian News and Merionethshire Standard*, 9 January 1914: 6.
[25] 'Barmouth', *Welsh Gazette and West Wales Advertiser*, 16 August 1900: 5.
[26] 'Local Lads in India', *Neath Guardian*, 15 February 1946: 6.
[27] 'To Wed in India', *Port Talbot Guardian*, 15 January 1932: 3.
[28] 'Aberystwyth', *The Cambrian News and Merionethshire Standard*, 12 January 1906: 8.
[29] 'Carmarthen and District News', *The Welshman,* 30 September 1910: 5.

World Wars, as well as earlier conflicts related to India such as the Second Afghan War of the late 1870s and the Third Anglo-Burmese War of the mid-1880s. On the 19 October 1916 *The Brecon County Times* published a letter from a soldier recovering at the Welsh Hospital in Deolali following service in Mesopotamia. Describing the hospital as a real 'Taffy's home', in stark contrast to other patients who had claimed the hospital was mostly staffed by Australians, the unnamed soldier gave a description of recuperative life.[30] A year later, in December 1917, a soldier from Haverfordwest wrote to his local paper describing his first nine months in India, mentioning specifically the heat, open air drilling, and the political agitation of the Indian National Congress, of which he thought very disparagingly.[31] Following the lives of soldiers was also a feature of the Welsh-language press for which it was a major focus of its India coverage. On 17 November 1914 *Yr Herald Cymraeg* reported on the crowd that gathered to see off the Royal Welsh Fusiliers from Caernarfon as they left for Northampton before going on to India.[32] Near the end of the war, in April 1918, *Y Llan* published a letter from Jack Davies of Penmachno who described the Welsh-like mountains of India, the presence of Welsh chapels and missionaries, and the large number of fellow Welsh soldiers.[33] As early as 1861, *Baner ac Amserau Cymru* was publishing an appeal for Welsh Bibles for Welsh-speaking soldiers serving in India, an appeal which would be replicated throughout the period as part of a larger concern for the pastoral care of mostly monoglot Welsh speakers.[34] Much like the references to other local individuals in India, these articles were often short.

However, whilst the press was not likely to linger on the particulars of ordinary people obtaining employment, finding a spouse, or serving in the armed forces, they did dedicate a lot of space to more famous individuals occupying positions of power and influence in India, and it is with these individuals that their imperial roles were most emphasised and celebrated. Prior to turning to these individuals through which the press sought to establish examples of a Welsh approach to imperial governance, it is important to fully explore the basis of this idea and how it emerged from the fundamental pillars of Welsh identity.

---

[30] 'Brecon Soldier's Experiences in Mesopotamia', *The Brecon County Times Neath Gazette and General Advertiser for the Counties of Brecon Carmarthen Radnor Monmouth Glamorgan Cardigan Montgomery Hereford*, 19 October 1916: 5.

[31] 'Local News', *Haverfordwest and Milford Haven Telegraph and General Weekly Reporter for the Counties of Pembroke Cardigan Carmarthen Glamorgan and the Rest of South Wales*, 26 December 1917: 3.

[32] 'Mynd I'r India: O Sir Gaernarfon A Sir Fon', *Yr Herald Cymraeg*, 17 November 1914: 8.

[33] 'Llythyr Oddiwrth Filwr Ieuanc o'r India', *Y Llan*, 26 April 1918: 4.

[34] 'Deisyfiad Taer Y Fyddin Gymreig O Lucknow, India', *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 26 June 1861: 14.

The Welsh Language

In the last chapter there was an analysis of the language's centrality to Welsh identity and how anxiety surrounding its future found expression in the press through focus on its use in India. A further expression of this anxiety was the construction of an idea of a gentler, more compassionate Welsh imperialism based upon the bilingualism of Wales. The suggestion was that since many Welsh people tended to be bilingual and had experience of using two languages in their home country, they were far better than the usually monoglot English at learning languages, and could therefore claim to be more useful, more efficient, and more effective imperialists who could occupy a closer and more trusted position to indigenous peoples due to their mastery of their language. The press, already obsessed with the justification of Welsh in the face of its possible long-term (and, by the 1930s, near-term) extinction, seized upon this idea and aimed it at a public whose anxieties they represented.

In 1901, Colwyn Bay's *The Weekly News and Visitors' Chronicle* formulated the relationship between the Welsh language and imperialism into the following terms:

> The English people, instead of looking at the large number of people who already spoke English, were inclined to be like Ahab looking upon Naboth's little vineyard. They made themselves unhappy in looking at the people who insisted upon speaking a language other than English, such as the numerous nations within the Empire, the nations of India, Egypt, Malta, the French in Canada, and the Welsh in Wales. The way to make the people loyal was not to force the English language upon them. That was United Wales's lesson to the Empire. Take away the feeling of nationality, a man's pride in the history of his people, and unless that man came under the influence of religion he was the kind of man of whom anarchists were made.[35]

This article introduces many of the themes that occurred in the press throughout this period. It spoke of a dominant English language, more widespread and prestigious than Welsh, attempting to assert itself upon all and sundry, unwilling or unable to live in harmony with other tongues. This issue was not just a British one - the article discussed the encroachment of English in nations of the empire, such as India and Canada, countries that contained significant linguistic minorities. The article therefore took a local issue fundamental to the Welsh and imperialised it, giving Wales' problems global dimensions. Finally, it suggests a model for the future with the optimistic indication that Wales had perhaps already tamed the

[35] 'Wales and the Empire', *The Weekly News and Visitors' Chronicle for Colwyn Bay, Colwyn, Llandrillo, Conway, Deganwy, and Neighbourhood*, 15 November 1901: 6.

cultural imperialist tendencies of the English in Britain itself. This model, of cultural recognition within a greater whole - the recognition of Wales as a separate people within Britain - could, the writer suggests, be a model the colonies of the empire could develop, creating a cultural distinction for themselves within the protective embrace of the British Empire. Wales' problems, and their solutions, therefore become not only imperial and global, but an essential aspect of the future health and survival of the empire. Amidst the great angst surrounding the future of the Welsh language, this article attempted to give the language dimensions which place it at the very heart of Britain's imperial role.

The Weekly News and Visitors' Chronicle may have expressed this idea most articulately, but it found expression in other ways in other publications. This mostly took the form of examples of individual Welsh people in India who claimed a greater command of languages due to their Welshness which aided in their imperial duties. In 1909 the *Weekly Mail* carried an interview with John Lewis Jenkins (1857-1912, later knighted) who at the time was Commissioner of Customs in Bombay and a member of the Bombay Executive Council. Jenkins was later to find fame as the reader of the All-India address to King George V at the Delhi Durbar of 1911, and was the father of Evan Meredith Jenkins, the last British Governor of Punjab. The article claimed he had 'probably greater knowledge of the vernaculars than any of his colleagues, having qualified in Hindustani, Gujarathi (sic), Biluchi (sic), Sindhi and Persian'.[36] In 1942, the *Western Mail* interviewed Nansi Greville Young who spent 11 years in India from 1928, mostly in Hyderabad where her husband worked as a medical doctor. Claiming to have had many Indian friends, Greville Young told the paper she had enjoyed Indian culture which she accessed through her strong abilities in Marathi. Attributing this success to her ability to speak Welsh, Greville Young argued for the importance of maintaining the language and said it gave her opportunities she would not otherwise had enjoyed.[37] An earlier edition of the *Western Mail* from 1926 carried an interview with the Welsh journalist Sir Vincent Evans who, on discussing the importance of the Welsh language, listed several individuals associated with India for whom knowledge of the language had aided them in learning Indian languages. These included the High Court judge Sir Lawrence Jenkins, David Williams, an official in the Customs Department, and the Pugh family which included the Calcutta lawyer Sir Griffith Evans and the former Liberal MP Lewis Pugh Pugh.[38]

[36] 'Week by Week', *Weekly Mail*, 17 April 1909: 6.
[37] 'Welsh Woman on India', *Western Mail,* 17 December 1942: 2.
[38] 'Welsh Aptitude for Other Languages', *Western Mail,* 9 February 1926: 6.

Some of these ideas also found their way into the Indian colonial press, which took a passing interest in Welsh issues when it involved a local notable or at certain times of the year such as St David's Day. The tone was naturally very different to that of the Welsh domestic press and many of the articles carried a strong sense of whimsy, regarding Welsh concerns such as the language almost as cute relics which were of some antiquated interest but ultimately irrelevant. There was also a tendency to compare Welsh issues to those in India, especially in regard to the language, but whilst this was clearly associated with the idea described above that Wales was a model for future imperial constitutional settlements, the Indian colonial press tended to reflect an official paternalistic attitude that ultimately regarded the English language as superior. In 1914 the nationalist paper the *Leader* carried an article from the English-language right-leaning paper *The Statesman* which, in arguing that Indian vernacular languages were quite useless in secondary and higher education instruction, made a similar pronouncement about the Welsh language, claiming not entirely accurately that the University of Wales taught in English.[39] One must imagine that the *Leader*, a strongly nationalist paper established by leading Hindu nationalist Madan Mohan Malaviya (1861-1946) and associated with the Nehru family, carried the article as a rhetorical device for its differing editorial position. Language issues were a hot topic for nationalists in India and remained so following independence, most clearly demonstrated in the eventual federalisation of the country under linguistic borders and the long-running and bitter arguments into the 1950s and 1960s surrounding the use of English or Hindi as the official language which split Sanskritised North and Dravidian South.[40] There was also a communal aspect to language, with Hindu nationalists such as Malaviya pressing Hindi as the main language of India, while Muslims, especially in the North, agitated for the continued importance of Urdu.[41] Within this context it is clear to see how minority languages and their treatment by the state outside of India could become of interest to the Indian press and intellectuals, though nationalists such as Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964) tended to look to Ireland for a more clear-cut European comparison with their own colonial situation.[42] However, being one of the leading English-language newspapers in the British Raj, *The Statesman* undoubtedly reflected the largely apathetic and somewhat sneering views towards minority languages held by the majority of British

[39] 'Education Through Vernaculars', *Leader*, 7 May 1914: 7.
[40] John Keay, *India, A History: From the Earliest Civilisations to the Boom of the Twenty-First Century,* (London: Harper Press, 2010), pp. 527-30.
[41] See, for example, Barbara D. Metcalf & Thomas R. Metcalf, *A Concise History of India,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 143-4, for a discussion of the development of the Hindi and Urdu languages in the nineteenth century.
[42] Jim Masselos, *Indian Nationalism: A History*, (New Delhi: Sterling, 2002), pp. 88-9.

residents in India. They projected this attitude, according to the article, onto Indian languages as well as the Welsh, and it can also be detected in Indian census reports.[43]

Unsurprisingly, the Welsh language was not a major topic of commentary for the colonial press in India, and it featured as no more than a passing reference and usually in relation to Indian language issues. However, not all of these references were negative. Almost certainly more reflective of its editorial stance, the *Leader* published a letter from a Professor Geddes to Mahatma Gandhi in 1918 on the theme of one of Gandhi's core campaigns - the promotion of Indian vernacular languages and the establishment of Hindi as a national language. In his letter, Professor Geddes argued that the Indian National Congress would be more successful in empowering local native languages if they took inspiration from Welsh festivals such as the Eisteddfod, which sought to celebrate and preserve the Welsh language. The *Leader* did not publish any response from Gandhi, so we do not know what he thought of the suggestion, but the letter does suggest that the comparison of Indian and Welsh language issues was picked up by at least some Indian intellectuals.[44]

Another positive reference to the Welsh language can be found in an article of *The Times of India* from 1911 which focused on that year's Calcutta St David's Day dinner. Of all the Indian colonial papers the *Times* dedicated the most space to the Welsh, usually in the form of brief local news originating from Calcutta and Bombay, where most Welsh people in India could be found. The St David's Day gatherings, being a part of the society circuit, tended to warrant a write-up. In 1911 the paper focused on the comments of Mr Evans Pugh who, exhibiting this tendency to compare language issues in Wales and India, argued that the Bengali should be educated in his own language.[45] It is clear from its discussion of the Welsh language that the colonial press, in so much that it cared, saw a comparison between Welsh and Indian language issues.

This was shared by the Welsh domestic press, with their concerns best articulated in *The Weekly News* article quoted at the start of this section, though they differed significantly in how much importance they gave to the issue. Colonial editors, much like the British Government, tended to regard the Welsh language as an interesting antique, almost primitive, and likely to die out amidst the beneficial onward

[43] See for example the comparison made between Pashto and Welsh in *Report on the Census of the Panjab taken on 17 February 1881, Vol. 1,* 167.
[44] 'Congress and Conference Pandals', *Leader*, 12 August 1918: 7.
[45] 'Calcutta Notes: The Calcutta Welsh', *The Times of India*, 11 March 1911: 10.

spread of the superior and more modern English language.[46] The Welsh press by the late nineteenth century was overwhelmingly concerned with its preservation and justifying its importance, though many were also convinced that the language was doomed. An extreme example of this, in which Welsh and Indian language issues were clearly linked, could be found in an article of the *South Wales Daily News* from 1890. This article was unusual in its anti-colonial zeal and its implicit suggestion that Wales' relationship with England bore colonial elements, though it posited India's position as many times worse. The article itself reported on a conference on Indian Home Rule to be held at Cardiff, at which the future Liberal MP and Congress grandee Dadabhai Naoroji (1825-1917) and his fellow Congressman Surendranath Banerjee (1848-1925) were due to speak. Early in the article it stated:

> In Wales the complaint has often been that the Welsh are governed from an English point of view, that the Church of England is thrust by the State upon a nation not desiring it, and that officials are appointed to offices without due consideration of their acquaintance with the ordinary language and customs of those over whom they have been appointed. But how much worse is the condition of India, where the despotism and insolence of English rule have too frequently been employed like a heel of iron to grind down the people and make them feel as if they were an inferior race of creatures?

Going on to mention that Indian judges could not sit on cases where English people were being tried for offences against Indians, a situation the earlier Ilbert Bill had sought to rectify, the article concluded 'that the people of India object, just as many other people do, to be held down by a foreign power, and to be ruled by a people entirely out of sympathy with them.'[47]

The *South Wales Daily News*, a strongly Liberal paper, was unusual in taking such a strong stance on Indian Home Rule, obviously linked to its stance on Irish Home Rule also mentioned in the article. It was also unusual in its allusions to the Welsh relationship with England as a colonial one, and links Wales and India in the suggestion that they were both ruled unsympathetically by the English. However, it did have the presence of mind to concede that the Indians were ruled more despotically. However, where it remained fairly typical was in its concern for the Welsh language and its belief in its relevance for India, despite its strong anti-imperialist take.

[46] See, for example, 'Anniversaries', *Pioneer*, 17 March 1891: 2, which claimed that very few Welsh people could speak the language at home or abroad.
[47] 'Remember the Native Indians', *South Wales Daily News*, 29 April 1890: 2.

So, the Welsh press articulated a general anxiety around the future survival of Welsh and insisted upon its importance not only as a central element of Welsh life but also as a tool of imperial governance. Within this conception, the Welsh were useful and effective imperialists because they were bilingual, and this not only sustained imperialism but transformed it into a moral force for good.

This imperial claim for Welsh did find its adherents on the ground in India and it can be found expressed in the diaries, letters, and memoirs of individual Welsh imperialists who clearly bought into the idea of a Welsh aptitude for language learning and its imperial uses. However, what is striking is quite how much this idea was centred in the press and seemed to represent a constructed aspect of Welsh imperialism which did not find enormous expression in other sources. The Welsh language was undoubtedly hugely important to the Welsh in India. However, beyond the celebration of the language as part of Welsh identity, there was little articulation of the idea of the Welsh as better or more effective imperialists because of their bilingualism. Language learning was discussed, and many Welsh people went into great detail in their writings about their abilities in Indian languages.[48] But it must be remembered that being proficient in one or more Indian languages was not unusual for the British in India, especially for civil servants for whom learning at least one language was a compulsory and crucial part of their work after 1879.[49] English, Scottish, and Irish colonial actors whose work brought them into close contact with Indians outside the western educated elite would not have been able to function without language ability, and indeed a certain standard was expected in the local tongue of their first posting for any civil servant arriving in India. This would usually be Urdu, Hindi, or a major regional language such as Tamil or Malayalam.[50] Whether the Welsh were particularly good at language learning in India is extremely difficult to ascertain with any degree of accuracy, and the fact that language learning was discussed in the sources is not indicative of the fact, as one would expect anyone keeping a diary or writing letters home to discuss something as important to their work. The fact that within these sources, and outside the press, discussion of a specific Welsh aptitude for languages and thus their suitability for work in the empire is limited would suggest that it did not feature prominently in their thinking. Of course, the reverse of this argument is that it featured so prominently that it did not require written articulation. However, given the already established importance of the Welsh language to identity, and the transplantation of anxiety about its future to India, it is difficult to believe that the point would not have

[48] See for example Lloyd Jones' discussion on Helen Rowlands in Aberystwyth, NLW, John Meredith Lloyd Jones Papers, 1 January 1944.
[49] Gilmour, *The British in India*, p. 117.
[50] See, for example, Bangor, BUA, Leonard Owen Papers, v. 1, p. 1, in which Leonard Owen discussed how he sought a particular placement to avoid having to learn Tamil.

been made in these circumstances. The next few paragraphs will explore the evidence around language learning and its connection to Welshness on the ground in India.

It must first be stated that there is some evidence that certain individuals subscribed to the idea of a Welsh imperialism derived through Welsh bilingualism, though clear-cut evidence is scant. The strongest example is the teacher W.R. Owain-Jones who, having served in the occupying force in Germany between 1919-20 and briefly attempting a scientific academic career in Manchester, taught at the Islamia College in Peshawar for thirteen years from 1924, rising to become Vice Principal. In 1936, he accepted a post on the Joint Punjab and North West Frontier Province Public Service Commission representing the North West Frontier Province. The Commission existed to advise the provincial governors on appointments to public posts and was intended to improve the transparency and quality of recruitment in preparation for self-government in light of the provincial ministries set up under the 1935 Government of India Act. Ending this role during the Second World War, Owain-Jones rejoined the army and was posted to an ordnance administrative role in Kirkee in Poona. He left India in 1946, going on to work in London, Aden, and Pakistan, mostly for the British Council.[51]

Our sources for Owain-Jones consist of two documents. Firstly, the typescript of a memoir intended for publication under the title 'An Exile Have I Been', seemingly never published but held by the National Library of Wales. Secondly, a paper delivered to the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion in 1970 based on one of the memoir chapters titled 'The Contribution of Welshmen to the Administration in India'. Owain-Jones was born in Manchester to Welsh-speaking parents from Anglesey, attended Welsh nonconformist chapels in the city, and spoke Welsh as his first language. Despite his English birth and upbringing, Owain-Jones went to great lengths to establish his Welsh credentials, writing:

> Emotionally, of course, my loyalties were two-fold - on the one hand, those of a Welsh-speaking Welshman; on the other, those of a citizen of a great English city. I shared my affections between North Wales and Manchester, between the windswept pastures of Anglesey and Edwardian, industrial England. But first and foremost I regarded myself a Welshman.[52]

Owain-Jones spent his first 20 months in India becoming acquainted with Islam, Indian culture, and Indian languages. He gained a good standard in Urdu and Pashto and was able to communicate with his students in colloquial Urdu.[53] This success he linked to his ability to speak Welsh, believing it gave him an

[51] Aberystwyth, NLW, Reminiscences of W.R. Owain Jones, pp. 1-386.
[52] Ibid, p. 76.
[53] Ibid, pp. 110-1.

in built advantage over monoglot Brits who may have been attempting to learn a second language for the first time as adults, though it must be noted that Welsh was Owain-Jones' first language, not his second, and he likely learnt English as an infant, so the extent to which this had an impact on his ability to learn further languages is questionable. Near the end of his memoir, he writes of the language, 'it has given me, as well as to countless others a priceless training for acquiring other languages'.[54]

Owain-Jones also linked his Welsh language ability with his claim to greater sympathy with Indian peoples. He sympathised with language politics in India and mimicked sections of the Welsh press and the arguments of Evans Pugh in 1911 by suggesting that some of the issues with education in India was caused by the fact that Indians were not typically educated in their own language.[55] He also expressed admiration for the inhabitants of the Kaghan Valley in the North West Frontier Province who, according to his account, had retained their own unique customs and language due to centuries of isolation.[56] He brings this together in his paper on the Welsh in India where he concluded that the Welsh, being distinct from the English and free from the prejudices of the English 'ruling caste', were more sympathetic to the East:

> The Welshmen I encountered in my oriental wanderings were invariably successful in maintaining excellent personal relations with the people among whom they lived and worked. The secret may have been due in part to the Celt's warm and sympathetic temperament, what Kinglsey Amis calls the Welshman's distinguishing quality - his "non-deferential amiability". In the case of Welsh-speaking Welshmen, it may have been the ease with which they acquired fluency in oriental languages, a sure way to the hearts of the people.[57]

These references to the prejudices of the English 'ruling caste' and the Welshman's 'non-deferential amiability' perhaps reveals a subconscious element of Owain-Jones' thinking which can also be found in the writings of civil servant Leonard Owen. While he focused on the language as centrally important, class undoubtedly crept into Owain-Jones perception of the English, and one could argue that much of what he assigned to the Welsh language could be more easily explained by the Welsh being less likely to attend a public school, or their experience of capitalist oppression under an anglicised gentry. While it is important to respect Owain-Jones' self-agency, and while it is obvious that the language was important

[54] Ibid, p. 615.
[55] Ibid, pp. 143-4.
[56] Ibid, pp. 231-2.
[57] Owain-Jones, 'The Contribution of Welshmen to the Administration in India', 261.

to his thinking on these issues, one cannot escape the distinct language of class in his pronouncements. Owain-Jones himself expressed surprise at his ability to find work in India as he had not attended Oxbridge and had not been educated at a public school.[58]

Owain-Jones articulated, probably more clearly than any other individual, this idea of a more compassionate imperialism focused on indigenous peoples and inspired by knowledge of the Welsh language. It was undoubtedly a maxim in which he strongly believed and there is no reason to doubt it was one he attempted to live by, though evidence certainly exists of a fairly paternalistic imperial attitude in his writings which would not be out of place among any English or Scottish imperial servant. For example, during his time teaching at the Islamia College he regarded his work as bringing 'civilisation' and 'culture' to what he termed 'tribal groups' who lived around and beyond the border with Afghanistan via the students he taught.[59] Though he clearly respected his students, maintaining friendships with several over many years and taking the time to dine and socialise with them, he often wrote about them in ways which indicated a deep-seated paternalism, perhaps unavoidable in a schoolteacher, though somewhat imbibed with racialism. He regarded Indian students as overly deferential without considering the imperial dimensions of that deference, expressing his embarrassment at how they hung on every word of their British teachers.[60] He also maintained a dim view of Indian political aspirations, arguing that while he regarded nineteenth-century imperialism as 'anachronistic', the British Empire had a destiny for good in world affairs.[61] He described his students as 'very political' and desirous of self-rule but would praise them for not being drawn into 'the worst' of Congress politics.[62] He had little respect for Gandhi, whom he blamed for derailing the 1930 Round Table Conference in London on the future of the Indian constitution,[63] and for Congress as a whole, whom he blamed for sowing division and discord.[64] His view of late-stage British imperialism in India, despite criticism of British ideas of 'guardianship' and the quality of some of their administrators, was that it consisted of well-meaning and committed individuals who were preparing India for independence,[65] a common opinion expressed in countless memoirs that seems to have become immensely popular after 1947. This of course raises the further point that Owain-Jones' record is a

[58] Aberystwyth, NLW, Reminiscences of W.R. Owain Jones, p. 74.
[59] Ibid, p. 122.
[60] Ibid, p. 198.
[61] Ibid, pp. 278-9.
[62] Ibid, pp. 161-2.
[63] Ibid, pp. 274-5.
[64] Ibid, p. 321.
[65] Ibid, pp. 275-7.

memoir written around 1970, and not a live document like a letter or a diary that could give closer insight into his thoughts and feelings at the time of these events. Owain-Jones himself was likely influenced by the series of memoirs which sought to justify British imperialism after the fact and presented it as a benign form of training for self-government, most notably Philip Mason's work published in the 1950s.[66] It is not difficult to see how in an environment such as this, ideas about Welsh bilingualism and imperialism could flourish, and it is possible he was influenced more by ideas circulating in the domestic press rather than conditions on the ground during his time in India.

Another interesting figure in this regard is J.D. Jenkins, the aforementioned founder of the Poona Welsh Society who contributed his memories to the Centre of South Asian Studies at around the same time Owain-Jones was writing his memoir. In his comments, Jenkins expressed sympathy towards the nationalist movement and opined that tangible steps towards Home Rule following the First World War may have saved British India from the inevitability of independence. Whether this represented anything more than post-colonial musings after the fact is difficult to ascertain, and it is also clear from Jenkins' remarks that between the 1920s and 1940s he maintained uneasy relationships with key nationalist figures, including Gandhi whom he considered a friend but had fallen out with and Nehru, whom he did not know personally but with whom he was involved in a libel dispute. It is therefore feasible, given his criticism of nationalism at the time, that Jenkins' views on independence and its inevitability were not reflective of his views during the colonial period.[67]

Owain-Jones was clearly not a rampant imperialist enthused with forthright racism on the superiority of European to Indian, and within his own mind certainly that was due to his Welshness and his bilingualism. He found the British attitude towards mixed-race people, usually termed Eurasians or Anglo-Indians, 'pathetic' and criticised the ostracism faced by those who married outside their race.[68] He also considered 'preposterous and appalling' the idea that it was improper to entertain Indians in a British home and would often hold dinner parties that included Indian students and staff from his college and others from the local community.[69] Though it must be noted that Sir Evan Jenkins, last British Governor of Punjab, who wrote some notes on the manuscript on the condition they were not to be published, dismissed the idea that entertaining Indians was considered improper, and generally disagreed with the idea of a rigid and impenetrable social caste of British society. Jenkins claimed that

[66] Woodruff, *The Guardians*, pp. 13-17.
[67] Cambridge, CSAS, J.D. Jenkins.
[68] Aberystwyth, NLW, Reminiscences of W.R. Owain Jones, p. 179.
[69] Ibid, p. 135.

he regularly dined with Indian ICS recruits and offered many of them a room in his house - in his own words 'why on earth not?'.[70]

These notes were written in 1971, and in his retirement Jenkins made a point of not publicly commenting on his Indian career, no doubt concerned with his image following his role as Governor of Punjab during the partition crisis. This defensiveness was evident in these criticisms of Owain-Jones' account, and Jenkins seemed keen to present an image of a sober, fair, and racially-blind administration which always saw its role as preparing Indians for self-government, arguing that if it was not for the war the British would have left India by 1960 anyway.[71] The limitations of Jenkins' comments are obvious, driven by his sensitivity towards criticism of his own actions, and imbued with the same apologetic justification of British imperialism which permeates Owain-Jones' words, though the latter in a more self-reflective manner. However, it is clear from his criticisms that Jenkins, unlike Owain-Jones, did not view the Welsh as having a particular imperial role aside from that of the wider British. On a post-it note attached to his comments, he mused on the potential Welsh origins of his Deputy Commissioner in Delhi, Hubert Evans, whom he apparently never thought to ask about his background.[72] Evans himself wrote a book on his Indian career, *Looking Back on India,* in which he self-described as English and made no mention of Wales or the Welsh.[73]

Despite his criticism of some of the excesses of imperialism and his belief that his Welshness and language ability made him more feeling towards Indians, the racial paternalism described above, alongside the strong commitment to the ultimate benefit of British rule, places Owain-Jones firmly within the mainstream of twentieth-century British imperial opinion. The historical record is replete with examples of British imperialists who maintained friendships with Indians and who pushed gently against the boundaries of what was acceptable, and it is not enough to cite anecdotal evidence of the occasional dinner party or a belief in some form of equality to prove the existence of a Welsh brand of 'compassionate' imperialism, if such a term can even make sense. For example, Clive Dewey has documented the career of Punjab civil servant Malcolm Darling, whom he described as a 'cultured humanist' who maintained high-minded ideals which led him to make friends with Indians and work for

[70] Ibid, Notes from Sir Evan Jenkins, p. 3.
[71] Ibid, p. 4.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Hubert Evans, *Looking Back on India* (London: Frank Cass, 1988).

their betterment.[74] If the Welsh language did make the Welsh 'better' imperialists, it was not something other British imperialists who maintained similar ideals to Owain-Jones seemed to require.

Other Welsh people in India, including most critically many whose sources consist of contemporary letters and diaries, discussed language but did not connect it to their imperialism in the same way as Owain-Jones. Tracing in what context the Welsh and Indian languages were mentioned will reinforce the point that the idea of a compassionate imperialism linked to bilingualism was one that existed primarily in Wales itself.

In the opening pages of his memoir the United Provinces civil servant Leonard Owen, who came from Bangor, described himself as a Welshman with no imperialistic tradition, a Welsh speaker, a political Liberal, and a Calvinistic Methodist.[75] However, despite it being a stated part of his identity, Owen did not seek to link his first language to his imperialism, and in fact only mentioned his relationship with languages on two further occasions in his work. The first was on the first page after the introduction, in which he described nearly leaving the service after the First World War as they had wanted to move his initial posting from the United Provinces, which was largely Urdu-speaking (Owen seemed understandably to use Urdu to mean both Urdu and Hindi), to Madras, which was Tamil-speaking. Owen had served with Urdu speakers in France during the war, had learnt the language in preparation for joining the service, and was not keen to start a new language from scratch, rather out of keeping with the idea that the Welsh were avid and accomplished language learners.[76] The second occasion came near the end of the memoir when he described his period as a member of the Legislative Council representing the United Provinces Government after 1934. He recounted a humorous interaction with the Congress representative for Allahabad, Munshi Iswar Saran, in which Saran complained about the difficulty of giving speeches in a second language, i.e. English. Owen reminded him that he was complaining to a bilingual Welshmen who also spoke English as his second language.[77] This interaction perhaps suggests a greater Welsh understanding of Indians and their issues, particularly in regard to language, than British nationalities, though Owen himself did not make the point.

His attitude towards Indians as portrayed in his memoir stands out only for its conformity. Owen was another imperialist who lauded the ultimate good of British rule and even went as far as to lament its

[74] Dewey, *Anglo-Indian Attitudes*, pp. 12-13.
[75] Bangor, BUA, Leonard Owen Papers, v. 1, p. I.
[76] Ibid, p. 1.
[77] Ibid, pp. 339-40.

loss, arguing in the introduction that the British maintained the peace and it was only the liquidation of the empire under Mountbatten that caused the violence of partition.[78] Like Owain-Jones, Owen counted many Indians as friends, entertained them at his home, and maintained friendly relations with nationalist leaders such as Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose.[79] He did on occasion display sympathy with their ambitions and certainly thought of himself as someone who understood their point of view, though it is worth noting that he claimed this in his memoir just after describing how he had a nationalist leader in Benares whipped for his political opinions.[80] However, he also shared Owain-Jones' paternalism, dismissing Indian religious beliefs as 'irrational', and, in his capacity as a law enforcer, tended to treat demonstrating Indians as delinquent children. He recounted a time when he marched into a crowd of 5000 demonstrators in Mowana and hit the ringleader with his riding crop, arguing that force should be used against leaders before it was used against their followers.[81] While authority often praised him for his restraint, Owen boasted of his sometimes sadistic policing methods, writing that he often dealt with demonstrators by rounding them up, putting them in a van, driving them many miles out of the city and dumping them on the side of the road.[82] Owen never explicitly linked his imperialism to his Welshness, though both were important aspects of his character, and there is no evidence in his memoir of a 'compassionate' Welsh imperialism. Like Owain-Jones, Owen represented very mainstream views of British imperialism. Unlike Owain-Jones, he had the power to cause real harm to his charges.

Some individuals did not even mention the Welsh language, even within discussion of wider language learning. It must be remembered that by the twentieth century less than half of the Welsh population could speak the language, and by the 1930s Welsh was in real danger of dying out as an everyday living language.[83] So, one cannot always assume, particularly during the final decades of the Raj, that Welsh people who come up in the historic record could even speak Welsh, let alone link it to their own imperialism. Even before the twentieth century, the landed gentry in Wales, who would be more likely to be able to secure overseas postings for their sons, had long been anglicised both religiously and linguistically, so those from such a background would be unlikely to have spoken Welsh even during the nineteenth century.[84] John Meredith Lloyd Jones noted in his diary the large number of Welsh people,

[78] Ibid, p. II.
[79] Ibid, p. 261.
[80] Ibid, pp. 123-5.
[81] Ibid, p. 41.
[82] Ibid, p. 154.
[83] Johnes, *Wales: England's Colony?*, pp. 126-42.
[84] Davies, *A History of Wales*, pp. 407-9.

especially those from the south, who could not speak the language, including one man who could not take part in his conversation with a fellow soldier from Caernarfon.[85]

The Second World War soldier David Elwyn Lloyd Jones was very forthcoming about his Welsh language ability, and he discussed his excitement at being able to speak the language with the prominent general Thomas Wynford Rees while serving under him.[86] In a letter dated 24 June 1943, Lloyd Jones mentioned that he was learning Burmese after being moved close to the frontline and said it would be his fifth language.[87] Despite this clear proficiency in both Welsh and Indian languages, and despite his appreciation for certain Welsh 'qualities', such as Rees' fighting abilities, he never linked his skill at learning the latter with the former. It is of course possible that Lloyd Jones believed it went without saying, but it does correspond with the diary of a fellow similarly named soldier, John Meredith Lloyd Jones, who served in India in a non-combat role between 1943-46. J.M. Lloyd Jones' intense connection to the Welsh language was discussed in the last chapter, but it is also true that his Welsh/English bilingualism did not translate into any strong ability to learn Indian languages. He mentioned in a diary entry of 3 September 1943 that he required his Urdu textbook to make himself understood and never commented on any further progress in the language for the remaining three years of his extensive record.[88] J.M. Lloyd Jones was, however, far more interested in language issues than his counterpart on the Burmese frontline, and on 1 October 1944 engaged in a discussion with friends about the similarities between the Welsh language and Indian languages allegedly not being allowed to be spoken in their respective schools, mirroring the connection made by various Welsh newspapers.[89] Being a devout nonconformist, he also maintained a strong interest in the mission field and mentioned in an entry from 1 January 1944 that the prominent missionary Helen Rowlands was an expert in 'native' languages.[90] But, similarly to D.E. Lloyd Jones, he made no real attempt to suggest the Welsh were particularly good at learning languages, or that this had an impact on their abilities in imperial administration. He mentioned one further Welsh person who was proficient in languages, an individual he met who was originally from Wrexham but lived in Wolverhampton, whose ability to speak six languages he raised only to state that Welsh was not one of them.[91] Throughout his time in India J.M. Lloyd Jones was

[85] Aberystwyth, NLW, John Meredith Lloyd Jones Papers, 14 January 1945.
[86] Cambridge, CSAS, Lloyd-Jones, D.E. Papers, 15 March 1945.
[87] Ibid, 24 June 1943.
[88] Aberystwyth, NLW, John Meredith Lloyd Jones Papers, 3 September 1943.
[89] Ibid, 1 October 1944.
[90] Ibid, 1 January 1944.
[91] Ibid, 28 January 1944.

intensely interested in tracking down fellow Welsh people, and especially those who spoke the language and with whom he could converse.[92] However, his interest remained a personal one, rooted in his own personal Welshness and nostalgia for his homeland, and did not reflect a grander theory about the Welsh overseas or their imperial pretensions.

There are other more minor examples where Welsh pretensions towards language ability, and the link with ideologies of imperialism, either fell short of press expectations or were not explicitly made. The H. Jones Davies manuscripts held at the National Library of Wales contains a letter signed E.H. dated 3 June 1924 in which the writer complained about his struggle to learn Bengali.[93] In a letter dated 5 December 1922, G. Lloyd Pugh, who worked as a private tutor to an Indian prince in the state of Sarangarh, complained that not all Welsh people appreciated the blessing of the language, retelling an anecdote during his military service in India in 1919 where a Welsh-speaking nurse pretended not to understand his questions in Welsh because she was embarrassed at admitting she spoke the language.[94]

Taken together, the evidence suggests that whilst an idea existed about Welsh proficiency at languages and was used to elaborate the theory that the Welsh were more compassionate and understanding imperialists as a result, this was an idea that existed primarily within the Welsh domestic press. Looking to express public anxiety about the future survival of the Welsh language and keen to justify Welsh contribution to both the British state and the British Empire, including the importance of the language, the Welsh press latched onto the idea that it served an imperially useful purpose. This idea did have its subscribers on the ground in India, most notably W.R. Owain-Jones and some participants in the St David's Day dinners in Calcutta. However, these sources were either written with a hindsight likely influenced by more domestic considerations or filtered through the prism of the Welsh press, and when we turn to more direct and contemporary sources, these ideas were rarely articulated or given such central importance.

A group for whom the importance of the language in their work was undisputed was nonconformist missionaries, most notably the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Mission. However, their relationship with the language, and with imperialism itself, was significantly different to that of secular actors in India. It has been explored how the primary difference between the two were their imperatives, that the

[92] See, for example, Ibid, 6 November 1944.
[93] Aberystwyth, NLW, H. Jones Davies Manuscripts 41, NLW MS. 12672 E, 3 June 1924.
[94] Aberystwyth, NLW, D. Rhys Phillips Papers, Letters from Pugh, G. Lloyd at Carmarthen and Girivilas Palace, Sarangarh State, India, 5 December 1922.

missionaries were operating as a holy calling and regarded identity markers such as language and religion as more relevant to faith and Christianity than national identity and pride, though the two naturally crossed over at times. The missionary movement also did not exist in the first instance to serve the imperial state, though missionary work undoubtedly constituted cultural imperialism and was often reliant on formal territorial imperialism to operate, a reality reflected in the 1813 Charter Act which allowed them to work in East India Company territories.[95] While missionaries often had a difficult relationship with the imperial state, partly demonstrated through the 1857 Mutiny being blamed on the promulgation of Christianity,[96] missionaries did tend to hold broadly imperialist views and regarded the British Empire as an important factor in 'civilising' and 'saving' indigenous populations. The missionary G.M. Mendus, for example, sometimes had a difficult relationship with the Superintendent of the Lushai Hills, A.G. McCall, who, operating in the late 1930s, tended to blame the mission for unrest among the local population.[97] However, while Mendus' views were certainly less imperialistic than others, she accepted the importance of the empire in allowing her and other missionaries to conduct their work. In a diary entry from 8 October 1937 which mostly dealt with her frustrations at McCall and his views on the religious revival, she did concede that self-government may have been given 'too quickly' and likened the Lushai to children.[98] In an earlier entry of 8 June 1936, Mendus expressed relief that the government could intervene to suppress the worst excesses of a religious revival, which had led some local Christians to break away from the established mission and behave threateningly to non-adherents.[99] Mendus' relationship with the state reflected the general tension between imperialism and missionaries.

Within this context, the usefulness of the Welsh language and its connection to language learning was often more related to evangelical Christianity than to any grand theory of imperial mission. This did not prevent the Welsh press from utilising the importance of the language to nonconformist missionaries to bolster their arguments about Welsh imperialism. In 1919 *The Cambria Daily Leader* carried comments from Rev. John Evans who said that the Welsh language had aided him in learning Indian ones,[100] and in 1888 *The Cardiff Times* mentioned an English missionary who argued that the Welsh could learn any

[95] James, Raj, pp. 223-5.
[96] Aled Jones, 'Culture, "Race" and the Missionary Public in Mid-Victorian Wales', pp. 166-7.
[97] Aberystwyth, NLW, Journal of Mrs G.M. Mendus, HZ1/3/1-31, Book 20, pp. 23-4.
[98] Ibid, pp. 33-4.
[99] Aberystwyth, NLW, Journal of Mrs G.M. Mendus, Book 7, p. 35.
[100] 'In the Districts', *The Cambria Daily Leader*, 3 September 1919: 8.

language under heaven.[101] However, the missionary establishment was more likely to highlight the contribution of bilingualism to the actual work of proselytisation, rather than any contribution to imperialism itself, with which it had a complicated relationship. The missionary Lilian M. Edwards of Pontypool, who initially spent nine years in India with the Baptist Missionary Society from 1906 before spending a further five years as an independent missionary, operated in several parts of India, including the princely state of Dholpur in modern day Rajasthan and later in Calcutta. Edwards described herself in her self-published memoir, *A Welsh Woman's Work in India*, as an enthusiastic learner of languages, and on arrival in India quickly gained a solid grasp of Urdu.[102] However, her memoir leaves no doubt as to the purpose of her language learning, and this was to convert Indians away from a life of primitive depravity and into the fold of civilised Christianity, rather than any other imperial purpose. Edwards was scathing about Indians and Indian religions. Describing India as 'Satan's stronghold', she went as far as to accuse even Indian Christians as having Satan residing within them.[103] As was common with missionary propaganda, Edwards lingered on the perceived failings of Indians, spending a lot of time describing their lack of hygiene and suggesting practices such as female infanticide and corporal punishments were widespread and dominant.[104] She regarded Indian festivals, such as Holi, as an opportunity to get drunk, and recounted with pride her refusal to take off her shoes to enter Indian places of worship as she regarded it as paying homage to false gods.[105] Edwards regarded language learning as serving a very distinct purpose - to convert Indians to Christianity and to rescue them as far as possible from what she regarded as uncivilised barbarity. She was uninterested in the imperial state beyond this purpose and did not use her memoir as a chance to glory in Welsh contributions to empire.

A similar though significantly less aggressive example can be seen in the missionary couple G.M. and Lewis Mendus. The former, who worked as a missionary in the Khasi Hills from 1935-44, discussed language at length throughout her diary, but always within the context of using it to serve the indigenous population through the cause of Christianity. G.M. Mendus differed significantly from Edwards, and indeed from her older husband Lewis, both of whom could perhaps be described as products of a different time. She was a vocal Labour Party supporter, reflective of the changing nature of Welsh politics but which tended to have a lesser impact on the Welsh in India, many of whom remained

[101] 'Welsh Gleanings', *The Cardiff Times*, 21 July 1888: 1.
[102] Edwards, *A Welsh Woman's Work in India,* p. IV.
[103] Ibid, pp. 36-41.
[104] Ibid, pp. 44-5.
[105] Ibid, p. 61.

Liberals.[106] Her husband went so far as to disparagingly describe her as a socialist who did not understand the importance of racial separation in India.[107] G.M. Mendus used her diaries to rail against European racial superiority towards Indians and expressed embarrassment that Indians would greet her with great reverence simply because she was white.[108] She was therefore cut from a different cloth to Edwards. However, despite her views representing more closely this more 'compassionate' approach to indigenous peoples, Mendus only wrote about language issues in so far as it was relevant to her work as a missionary. Mendus was fairly accomplished in European languages, speaking French and German fluently and noting that she could speak Italian when she was younger. She nonetheless struggled with Khasi, stating that it bore no similarity to European languages and was therefore much harder to master.[109] She also wrote about struggling with Bengali due to the script.[110] She made steady progress with Khasi, eventually being able to understand it when spoken by a European and was able to deliver the occasional sermon in Khasi without a translator.[111]

Her husband Lewis, who had first arrived in India in 1922, discussed language in his letters in a similar manner, writing on 24 January 1922 that the Khasi language was a struggle due to pronunciation and intonation.[112] Like Edwards, and like non-missionary actors such as Leonard Owen and the Lloyd Joneses, G.M. Mendus never attempted to link the value of her language learning to anything other than missionary work and, being more of a critic of empire than the average British person in India, would probably not be keen to do so. She also never made any major reference to the Welsh language, evidently viewing her efforts at Indian languages as somewhat separate. This in itself may reflect the general separation of languages on the mission field. While nonconformist missionaries, especially the Calvinistic Methodists, operated among themselves in Welsh and emphasised its importance to their faith, the Welsh language was strictly used among the Welsh, and no concerted effort was made to teach it to Indian adherents of the faith. Aled Jones has written about the missionary fields as 'sacred spaces' and has detailed how compounds were separated racially with missionaries largely subscribing to the racial distancing inherent in British India more widely. There were several elements to this, such

[106] John Meredith Lloyd Jones, David Elwyn Lloyd Jones and Sir Roger Thomas all remained Liberals or National Liberals into the 1940s. Sir Griffith Evans, Sir Lawrence Jenkins and Lewis Pugh Pugh were earlier long-term supporters of the Liberal Party, though Pugh later joined the Conservatives.
[107] Aberystwyth, NLW, Journal of Mrs G.M. Mendus, Book 1, pp. 95-6.
[108] Ibid, pp. 5-6.
[109] Ibid, Book 7, p. 37.
[110] Ibid, Book 22, p. 10.
[111] Ibid, Book 18, p. 41.
[112] Aberystwyth, NLW, Letters of Lewis Mendus, HZ1/3/31, 24 January 1922.

as the idea of being 'under siege' from hostile 'heathens' and needing to maintain high standards of security, as well as the fear of being 'corrupted' by 'uncivilised' peoples.[113] But the relevant point here is that missionaries would have regarded the Welsh language as being an essential element of their personal faith and a bureaucratic tool of the missionary establishment, rather than an on-the-ground resource which was immediately relevant to their work among indigenous peoples, let alone its value to an imperialism it was often at odds with. To the Welsh missionaries, the language was a racial preserve, and they may have been unkeen to link its purity with the more worldly business of interacting with indigenous peoples, though there is a clear link between the nonconformist commitment to Welsh and missionary commitment to local Indian vernaculars. The celebrated missionary Helen Rowlands, for example, conducted prolific research into Bengali literature and was involved in several translation projects of Bengali and Welsh works.[114] Thomas Jones, the first Welsh missionary among the Khasi in the 1840s, has been celebrated as the father of the Khasi alphabet and literature, and was the first person to codify the Khasi language.[115] Missionaries may not have widely subscribed to press ideas around the Welsh language and imperialism, but their commitment to the language as a living tongue did inspire them to celebrate and champion local Indian languages which were often at risk of encroachment by other more widely spoken tongues.

Mendus' more progressive attitudes towards Indians, and her more critical views of empire, are however relevant, and they will be returned to below. But for now, it is sufficient to conclude that while the Welsh language was crucially important to the missionary sense of self, and while there are suggestions throughout the sources that missionaries valued their Welsh in the task of learning other languages, there is no strong suggestion that they subscribed to this idea it caused them to be more compassionate imperialists. The purpose of their language learning differed from that of secular actors, and they themselves were often the strongest critics of an imperialism they believed could hamper their work. Bilingualism may have made them better missionaries. In their own mind, it did not make them more effective imperialists. There is certainly an argument to be made that missionary work constitutes cultural imperialism,[116] and therefore anything which aids them to be more effective in practice makes them active imperialists. However, this chapter is not concerned about the sociological definitions of

[113] Aled Jones, 'Sacred Spaces', pp. 233-7.
[114] Aled Jones, 'Welsh Missionary Journalism in India', p. 258.
[115] May, 'Welsh Missionaries and British Imperialism', pp. 1-2.
[116] See Aled Jones, 'Welsh Missionary Journalism in India', p. 261, in which Jones makes the point that the Welsh were a beleaguered cultural minority willing to suppress other cultures.

imperialism but with what imperialism meant to the Welsh sense of self. We will now turn to a second part of that identity; faith.

Nonconformism

The second pillar of Welsh identity in India was religion, and especially, though not exclusively, nonconformism. It is important to analyse how the idea of a specifically Welsh spirituality, forged in the experience of the nineteenth century and the aftermath of the Blue Books controversy, was utilised by the press to forward the idea that the Welsh were more effective and compassionate imperialists.

On 29 March 1899 the *Western Mail* reported on the St David's Day celebrations in Calcutta which had taken place earlier that month. This article highlights the importance of religion to the Welsh sense of self in India. However, it also highlights how the rise of nonconformism interacted with imperialism to create a uniquely Welsh approach to empire. The key part of the article quoted the speech given by the Calcutta barrister Sir Griffith Evans and read quoted on p. 118.[117] There was certainly a strong tongue-in-cheek element to Evans' comments. Speeches at these events were meant to generate laughs as well as speak to important topics and given the nature of the event it is not surprising to find a flamboyant and adversarial patriotism which probably did not reflect the precise level of their everyday beliefs. However, there is no reason to doubt that the substance of Evans' comments reflected the broad nature of his Welshness and his imperialism, with press interest in them a further example of the construction of this idea of a Welsh imperialism. The article itself spoke to several themes: firstly, a fundamental difference between the English and Welsh which Evans attributed to a greater religious tendency among the latter; secondly, the definition of the English as a strong and powerful people, with the suggestion of a somewhat rough and ready, perhaps even unthinking tenacity; and, lastly, the definition of the Welsh as a spiritual, gentler, and more thinking people who complemented English power to create a formidable imperial machine. Though not articulated fully, there is little doubt that Evans was arguing that the Welsh had a unique imperial role which complemented English power, not dissimilar to how intellectuals in Wales were arguing that Welsh cultural distinctiveness, especially with regard to the language, was beneficial to Britain rather than something to be discouraged.[118] This also found its English adherents in intellectuals like Matthew Arnold. The article, by focusing on Evans, not only

[117] 'St David's Day in India', *Western Mail,* 29 March 1899: 5.
[118] See, for example, Owen M. Edwards, *Wales* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1912).

highlights how the press used faith in the pursuit of a Welsh imperialism, but also gives an immediate example of an individual on the ground who subscribed to this idea.

The following year *The Cambrian* reported on the second annual St David's Day dinner in Calcutta at which Evans once again took up a religious theme. The report read:

> Wales was still pre-eminently a religious nation, and he would remark that there was no nation which had had to go through great trials and to do great things which had not had religion of some kind. It was not a matter of particular dogmas, but the power that was in religion in its broadest sense - the allegiance to a higher Power that enabled them in the direst straits and direst moments not to despair and inspired them to do their duty. So long as there was this spirit and this allegiance to a higher Power he cared not whether they were members of one sect or another. The history of nations showed they were almost invincible so long as they held this.[119]

This section immediately proceeded Evans' remarks about Wales, despite having been conquered by the English, being part of a great and powerful empire, and there is little doubt that 'great trials' and 'great things' referred to the British imperial mission.[120] His description of Wales as 'pre-eminently a religious nation' drew again on this idea that what the Welsh had to offer to the empire was spirituality and moral rectitude, and that it was the religious principles of the Welsh that gave them the means to contribute to the empire. It is telling that Evans appealed not to a specifically nonconformist religiosity but to a 'broad Protestantism'. The nature of Welsh Protestantism and its difference with the Church of England meant that any claims regarding a Welsh religious contribution to empire had to be couched in non-sectarian terms to truly reflect an idea of collaboration with the English. Given the diverse nature of Welsh nonconformism, and the tendency of Welsh missionaries in India to work across sects,[121] this was not a difficult leap for the imperially minded Welsh person, despite the ongoing conflict over the disestablishment of the Church of England in Wales.

Much of the rhetoric about Welshness was couched in racial terms. In keeping with the norms of the nineteenth century the Welsh, like other nations, were regarded as a separate race imbued with specific racial characteristics.[122] Religious nonconformity was often seen as arising out of these racial traits,

---

[119] 'St David's Day in India', *The Cambrian*, 6 April 1900: 5.
[120] Ibid.
[121] See, for example, 'Missionary Work Among the Hindus', *The County Echo*, 13 March 1902: 3, which discussed a general missionary conference in Calcutta.
[122] See, for example, 'Notes of the Week', *The North Wales Express*, 25 April 1902: 4.

usually defined positively in opposition to Irish or Continental Catholicism, the former being regarded as disloyal and rebellious, the latter as dictatorial and authoritarian.[123] Throughout the press during this period were racial definitions of the Welsh which emphasised skills in oratory, music, and, less well-defined, imagination, and while these qualities could stand in isolation, they overwhelmingly found expression through nonconformism. The celebration of musical ability was invariably linked to hymns and chapel choirs, the celebration of oratory mostly to the pulpit, and the idea of a peculiarly active Welsh 'imagination' associated, as Evans had done above, with religious study.[124] Welsh religious sentiment had been stung by the accusations of immorality and backwardness contained in the Blue Books. Much of the development of political nonconformism in the mid-late nineteenth century stemmed from the desire to prove the respectability of nonconformism and, by extension, Welshness, and in an imperial age this associated itself with an imperialism to which the Welsh wished to prove their usefulness.[125] When the press therefore spoke of these Welsh traits and their contribution to the empire, religion was often at the forefront.

Evans was not the only member of the Calcutta Welsh to refer to a greater Welsh spirituality and imagination, and again these comments were picked up by the Welsh press. A.E. Goodwin, a missionary from Montgomeryshire primarily involved with the temperance movement and an active member of Cymdeithas Gwladol y Cymru yn yr India, spoke at the 1909 St David's Day dinner, seven years after Evans' death. This occasion was reported by Goodwin's local press in the form of *The Montgomeryshire Press and Radnor Times*, a further example of the press focusing on local individuals but one which connected with press interest in imperial themes. The report read:

> One of the greatest needs of the times was to stir up interest in the many problems around them, and only by appealing to the Celtic imagination was this likely to be aroused. There were scattered up and down the land many Welshmen, who were doing their best individually to leave this land a little better, brighter, and healthier, but if they could but catch a vision of what the Welsh might do collectively, it would be a good thing for them and the land they lived in.[126]

Goodwin did not further define what he meant by 'Celtic imagination', but the similarities to Evans' Welsh spirituality in the face of 'Saxons' (who never thought beyond their next meal) are stark. Goodwin

[123] See for example the comments of W.R. James in 'St David's Day in Calcutta', *The Cambrian,* 28 March 1902: 6.
[124] See, for example, 'St David's Day in India', *Towyn-on-Sea and Merioneth County Times,* 27 March 1902: 7, which discussed these perceived qualities.
[125] Pryce, 'Culture, Identity, and the Medieval Revival in Victorian Wales', pp. 3-4.
[126] 'Welshmen in India', *The Montgomeryshire Express and Radnor Times*, 30 March 1909*:* 3.

painted a picture of an India stuck in its, presumably English, ways which could be revitalised and given purpose through the collective effort of the scattered Welsh. Beyond the rhetorical flair lay a real, if vague, ideological point - that nonconformist Wales had much to offer in the realm of imperial governance.

The press, including outside his native Montgomeryshire, continued to follow Goodwin over his association with the society, and his contribution in other years drew upon similar concerns regarding the respectability of nonconformism to an English audience and the contribution it could make in the imperial sphere. One of the most biting criticisms contained in the Blue Books was its treatment of Welsh women, whom it described as depraved, immoral, and promiscuous. Proving and maintaining the purity and respectability of Welsh womanhood became Welsh religious dogma[127] and Goodwin expanded on this theme on several occasions. *The Montgomeryshire Express,* reporting on the 1903 dinner, recorded his comments:

> Mr A.E. Goodwin proposed the toast of "The Ladies", in which he said that not long ago a charge had been made that the attitude of English ladies in India was one of cynical indifference to the people around them. That was not true of Welsh ladies in India. Anyone visiting the Women's Friendly Society's headquarters must be struck by the amount of work done there, and it was well known that that society owed its position largely to the energy and organising ability of Mrs Pugh (of the Evans-Pugh family).[128]

Goodwin, and the *Montgomeryshire Express*, was here picking up on a common, and inaccurate, charge levelled against British women in India - that it was their racism, class pretensions, and socials airs which caused problems between the British and Indians. E.M. Forster, in his celebrated and otherwise perceptive novel *A Passage to India*, articulated this theory,[129] and in his memoir W.R. Owain-Jones posits that the 'haughtiness' of memsahibs was partly the reason for the loss of the Raj.[130] Historians such as Rosalind O'Hanlon have largely debunked this theory, demonstrating that British women in India mostly played the role expected of them, and if they demonstrated a 'haughtiness', it was because that was the nature of the hierarchical and racially stratified society to which they were exported.[131] But regardless of the accuracy of Goodwin's comments, they betray a concern with the reputation of Welsh

[127] O'Leary, 'The Languages of Patriotism in Wales', p. 543.
[128] 'Newtown', *The Montgomeryshire Express and Radnor Times*, 7 April 1903: 8.
[129] Forster, *A Passage to India*.
[130] Aberystwyth, NLW, Reminiscences of W.R. Owain Jones, p. 83.
[131] O'Hanlon, 'Gender in the British Empire', pp. 394-5.

women that had survived the fifty-five years since the publication of the Blue Books. Goodwin promoted the idea of a heightened morality among Welsh women, no doubt inspired by their nonconformism, which set them apart from and above their English counterparts. While the myth of 'cynical' and 'indifferent' women may be true of the English, the Welsh, inspired by their distinct differences, were enthusiastically engaged in charity work, seeking to improve India for the better. This is a clear pronouncement of a more compassionate Welsh imperialism which Goodwin expanded to include Welsh women, but which was also aimed at disproving the accusations of Welsh immorality which floated within English thought. Goodwin had made similar comments the previous year when, in listing the virtues of Welsh women, argued that they were the freest and happiest in the world and were seeking to raise Indian women to the same standard.[132]

Though not limited to them, many of the press reports that promoted this idea of a Welsh imperial role originating out of nonconformity were reports on the various Welsh societies throughout India, in particular the Calcutta society which was the largest and longest-lived. This is not surprising, as these societies served as the principal space for the gathering together of Welsh people in a social environment and the celebration of Welshness. They were a space in which Welshness was articulated and shared and provided a tangible event through which the press could follow local individuals, celebrate Welsh achievement overseas, and express ideas about Wales' place and role in the empire. These reports also allow us to link these press ideas about Welsh nonconformism's imperial role and influence with individual imperialists on the ground, something which was much less clearly expressed in the case of the Welsh language and empire.

In regard to nonconformism and the empire, the primary focus of the press, reflecting the interests of the Welsh reading public, was on missionaries, particularly the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Mission based in the Northeast of India. However, one must not simply extrapolate that a focus on the missionary movement necessarily reflected an interest in imperialism in a straightforward sense, nor would it necessarily reflect a belief in a Welsh version of imperialism evidenced through missionaries. Chapel was central to Welsh life in the nineteenth and very early twentieth centuries, with Welsh nonconformism also containing a very pronounced evangelicalism.[133] Missionary work of all varieties, whether in Wales, the broader United Kingdom, or indeed overseas in other parts of Europe or the empire, was an important part of a faith that emphasised more than many other Christian

[132] 'St David's Day in Calcutta', *The Cambrian,* 28 March 1902: 6.
[133] May, *Welsh Missionaries and British Imperialism*, pp. 19-21.

denominations winning souls for Christ. To many of the faithful, the excitement generated by missionary work in India had little to do with its imperial dimensions but focused on the 'untouched' potential of communities of 'animistic heathens' ripe for saving.[134] Though slow to get going and often facing many setbacks, Welsh evangelism in the Khasi and Lushai Hills produced spectacular results, with even the Indian censuses remarking on the impressive rate of Christianisation.[135] There were complex reasons for this, not least the missionaries' ability to adapt to local conditions, the nature of local religious traditions and the failure of Islam or Hinduism to penetrate far into these regions. But the important point is that whereas missionaries in the United Kingdom, Europe, or indeed other more Hindu or Islamic parts of India would often be unable to report many gains, those working amongst the Khasi and Lushai peoples could inform the faithful in Wales of a clear return on their investment. It was this success, rather than a deep interest in imperialism, that drove consumption of press reports.

However, it is extremely difficult to separate out missionary work from imperialism completely. Whilst missionaries may have had different imperatives to traditional imperialists working in more secular areas, and whilst religious communities in Wales may have been more interested in religious aspects of missionary work rather than its relevance to the empire, missionaries were undoubtedly both cultural imperialists and agents, perhaps unwittingly or unwillingly, of a wider imperialism.[136] Missionaries were sometimes the first to foray into remote parts of the country, laying the groundwork or providing the justification for the expansion of British administration, and, where they were following an already established administration, they were usually very dependent on it for their activities. Andrew May has explained, for example, how the missionary efforts of Thomas Jones around Cherrapunji in the 1840s were only possible due to the expansion of British influence in the hills over the previous few decades.[137] Christianisation, and the development of medical and educational facilities which missionaries often provided, undoubtedly increased British control over time, even if this was not the primary purpose of development or was even, as was often the case, opposed by the authorities. It must also be remembered that the term imperialism is far broader than the simple legal, administrative, and military control of a territory. European imperialism had many elements, not least the spread of European religious, cultural, and social norms, and the cultural imperialism of missionaries, in which they

[134] Aled Jones, 'Culture, "Race" and the Missionary Public in Mid-Victorian Wales', p. 160.
[135] *Census of India 1921, Vol. III, Pt. 1, Report*, South Asia Open Archives, 104-117; contributed by G.T. Lloyd, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25793194.pdf, (7 February 2023).
[136] See MacKenzie, *A Cultural History of the British Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2022), pp. 221-5, in which MacKenzie discusses the crossover between missionary and imperial ideologies.
[137] May, *Welsh Missionaries and British Imperialism*, pp. 63-78.

transplanted these norms into the colonial environment, is well documented and indeed the primary purpose of the Welsh missionaries exporting their particular brand of Christianity.[138] Often, this transplantation would be tied up in the language of the 'civilising mission', and it was here that missionary work and wider imperialism came together most neatly. Justification for both the work of missions and the imperial state included the idea that they were ultimately bringing colonies like India into the modern world and, through education, capitalism, and modern medicine, were 'civilising' previously barbaric places.[139] How this was presented in the press and represented through individuals will be explored below. Evangelism and imperialism are ultimately inseparable, regardless of the former's imperatives and rhetoric.

In addition, while imperialism may not have been the main reason why missionary press reports were consumed, the press did make the connection between the two, and clearly regarded them as interrelated and mutually serving. The press used missionaries as examples of a Welsh brand of imperialism driven in part by Welsh nonconformism, and their work was celebrated not only for its religious benefit but also for the contribution it made to British imperialism.

Much press coverage of missionaries were relatively basic reports on their appointment and movements, not dissimilar to local interest stories on other local individuals. In 1891, for example, the *South Wales Star* reported that W.M. Jenkins of Llantrisant would be travelling to the Khasi Hills as a missionary.[140] In 1910, the *Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald and North and South Wales Independent* used a report about Hugh Jones becoming a missionary in India to lament that so few Welsh people tended to go abroad, revealing a relatively common angst amongst those who desired a greater imperial role for Wales.[141] *The County Echo* of 13 March 1902 reported a missionary conference taking place in Calcutta which would include a Welsh social to which the wider Welsh population of Calcutta would be invited, demonstrating the importance of nonconformism to the Calcutta Welsh and their links to the missionary movement.[142] This link was not simply the preserve of the Calcutta Welsh. The *Welsh Gazette and West Wales Advertiser* of 28 November 1907, quoting Lady Jenkins, the wife of Sir Lawrence Jenkins, reported that missionaries attended the events of the Bombay Welsh Society, including one who travelled nearly

[138] Jones and Jones, 'The Welsh World and the British Empire', pp. 63-4.
[139] Samson, *Race and Empire,* p. 96.
[140] 'Notes and Comments', *Welsh Gazette and Welsh Wales Advertiser*, 25 September 1902: 4.
[141] 'From Carnarvon to India', *Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald and North and South Wales Independent*, 8 April 1910: 8.
[142] 'Missionary Work Among the Hindus', *The County Echo*, 13 March 1902*:* 3.

2,500 miles to do so.[143] The press also reported on individual missionaries who had returned home on furlough and who often undertook speaking tours. In 1915 *The North Wales Chronicle and Advertiser for the Principality* mentioned Rev. D.T. Morgan of Delhi who had visited Holyhead while back in Wales.[144] Another report of the *South Wales Star* from 1891 discussed a missionary meeting at Cadoxton which included the missionaries Mr Thomas of Delhi, G.W. Bevan of Madariport who served alongside the famous missionary and Calcutta Welsh member W.R. James, and two other missionaries called Hughes and Davies who originated from Haverfordwest. The article, emphasising the inherent imperialism of missionary work, underlined the fight against Islam and Hinduism, but also mentioned that the missionaries were struggling to learn Hindustani, in contrast to other reports which argued that the Welsh were particularly good at learning languages.[145] These reports of individual missionaries, much like the reports on secular individuals, were numerous throughout the period, and while it is clear the focus was not always imperialistic, the press did often draw the link between missionary work and the wider imperial mission.

When this occurred, it was couched in the language of the civilising mission. The argument that British rule was necessary to 'keep the peace' and 'civilise' 'backward' peoples was an old and, for the British reading public, morally compelling one, and it is easy to see how that rhetoric could ingratiate itself with a Welsh public who were minded to believe that they brought a moralistic energy to the empire. Nowhere was this rhetoric of civilising mission more powerful than India, where successive governments and administrations justified autocratic rule and military might through the argument that Hindus and Muslims could not be trusted to live peacefully side by side without a 'neutral' power maintaining law and order.[146] The argument that the British 'kept the peace' in India and elsewhere is patently false, and much scholarship has been done on 'divide and rule' tactics that sought to play different groups off against each other and maintain British ascendency.[147] In the case of India, the British Government was minded to support caste-inspired systems of not only Hindu but Brahminical dominance of education, politics and administration, while developing the stereotype of Muslims and Sikhs as 'martial races', better suited to soldiering.[148] Divide and rule was not an exact science, and one of the great strengths of imperialism was its ability to adapt to changing circumstances and power balances. Neither was the

[143] 'Cardigan', *Welsh Gazette and Welsh Wales Advertiser*, 28 November 1907: 5.
[144] 'Holyhead', *The North Wales Chronicle and Advertiser for the Principality*, 25 June 1915: 8.
[145] 'Missionary Meeting at Cadoxton', *The South Wales Star,* 4 December 1891: 7.
[146] Brown, 'India', p. 426.
[147] See, for example, Moore, 'Imperial India', p. 431, on high-caste Hindu collaborators.
[148] Cell, 'Colonial Rule', p. 243.

rhetoric of civilising mission one thing to all people. The Government of India was ever minded to maintain a base level of administration, enough to secure the benefits of control over India - the military manpower, the tax revenue, other strategic considerations - while not generating large cost to the British taxpayer.[149] Where individual civil servants, such as the famous district officer, did seek to provide more than basic law and order (and these individuals did exist, despite the inherent exploitative nature of the colonial administrative system) they often found themselves up against a resource-shy regional or central government unwilling to commit much to areas like education, welfare, and industrial and agricultural investment.[150] To the Government of India and the British Government, the reality of their civilising mission rhetoric rarely extended beyond maintaining law and order, with the occasional move towards the trappings of 'self-government' when circumstance forced their hand, such as the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms of the early 1920s and the Government of India Act 1935.[151] The missionary movement, on the other hand, had a very different concept of civilising mission, and one which involved much greater intervention in the lives of indigenous peoples - often highly resented by government. To missionaries, 'civilising the native' meant bringing them Christianity, preceded by educational, medical, and other services which served to show them the benefits of a European, and specifically Christian, civilisation.[152] Of course, these two concepts often intertwined, and it would be wrong to think of the Government of India as some homogenous monolith with a single official mind. Various forms of government, as well as civil society, bought into various aspects of the 'civilising mission' at different times, but for our purposes here it suffices to say that this idea of bringing civilisation to India was a central and popular plank of imperial rhetoric, and the most obvious idea within which secular and religious imperialism crossed over.

The missionary movement gave the Welsh evidence of their nonconformism contributing directly to the civilising mission, and therefore British imperial rule. The Welsh press tended to emphasise not only the physical and moral danger of the Indian environment and hence its lack of civilisation, but also the progress made in bringing civilisation in the form of Christianity, education, and social reform, and emphasising these two opposing pictures proved a delicate balancing act. As early as 1864 *The North Wales Chronicle and Advertiser for the Principality* was reporting the lecture tour of missionary Thomas Evans who laboured at length on the 'moral danger' one faced in India.[153] Similarly to the report on the

[149] Fieldhouse, *The Colonial Empires*, pp. 279-80.
[150] Potter, *India's Political Administrators*, p. 80.
[151] Fieldhouse, *The Colonial Empires*, pp. 272-85.
[152] Russell Davies, *People, Places and Passions*, p. 241.
[153] 'Denbigh', *The North Wales Chronicle and Advertiser for the Principality*, 27 August 1864: 2.

missionary meeting at Cadoxton mentioned above, *The Weekly News* in 1902 quoted the missionary Miss West on a visit to Colwyn Bay who lectured on the immense difficulties of steering Muslims and Hindus away from their faith.[154] Missionaries painted a picture of a beleaguered Christian minority pushing back against the tide of Hinduism and Islam, always at threat of reconversion or violence, and it is obvious to see how this was used as a fundraising tactic. But alongside this were the necessary stories of success. In 1886 *The Cambrian* reported on a Baptist missionary meeting in Swansea at which the Delhi missionary J. Smith favourably compared contemporary literacy rates and general access to education to the situation that existed in 1840. While conceding that more needed to be done, he took a fairly upbeat attitude to the success of the missionary movement and its real terms impact on the people of India.[155] At a talk in Conway in 1922, reported by the *North Wales Weekly News*, the Wesleyan missionary Penry Davies of Hyderabad emphasised the ignorance of Indians but argued that education was laying the foundations of Christianity.[156] The focus on education, a key part of missionary work, was not incidental. One of the enduring legacies of the Blue Books controversy, a work focused on the state of education in Wales, was a renewed emphasis on education as a means of proving Welsh modernity and respectability to a state which regarded them, as Davies of Hyderabad would describe his Indian charges, as 'shrouded in ignorance'.[157] Like its focus on the Welsh language, like its celebration of the work of nonconformism overseas, like its entire projection of a Welsh imperialism useful and beneficial to the state, the press used the idea of the Welsh missionary as educator and civiliser to overcome the stereotypes portrayed in the Blue Books and present a much more positive and respectable image of the Welsh. Missionaries, as the clearest reflection of Welsh cultural norms such as language and faith in an imperial context, became the most prominent face of the Welsh and Wales in the colonial environment.

The press was keenly focused on missionaries both as a reflection of deep religious feeling in Wales (certainly before the 1930s) and as a celebration of British imperialism of which missionaries were a part. However, like with the Welsh language, they went beyond mere celebration of the movement's existence and formulated it into a theory of Welsh imperialism that emphasised the moral role of nonconformism. In 1902, in an article discussing how St David's Day was being celebrated by the Welsh throughout the empire, the *Towyn-on-Sea and Merioneth County Times* stated:

---

[154] 'Colwyn Bay in India', *The Weekly News and Visitors' Chronicle for Colwyn Bay, Colwyn, Llandrillo, Conway, Deganwy, and Neighbourhood*, 28 November 1902: 7.
[155] 'Local Intelligence', *The Cambrian*, 24 September 1886: 5.
[156] 'Mission Work in India', *North Wales Weekly News,* 12 October 1922: 8.
[157] Pryce, 'Culture, Identity, and the Medieval Revival in Victorian Wales', pp. 3-4.

> In estimating the work that the different nationalities have done in building up the Empire, one must acknowledge that the stolid qualities of the Anglo-Saxons have given it stability. But it must also be admitted that without that imaginative and adventurous spirit which has characterised the Celt throughout all ages, the marvellous expansion of the Empire would not have been so rapidly carried out.

We can see again this racial separation of 'Celt' from 'Anglo-Saxon', and the assignment of certain characteristics to each highlighting English 'stolidness' alongside a complementary Welsh 'imagination' and sense of 'adventure'. Like other articles, the *County Times*, whilst also linking these qualities to politics and journalism and praising secular Welsh people in India such as Sir Lawrence Jenkins and Sir Griffith Evans, specified missionaries as a specific Welsh contribution to the empire:

> If there is one thing which the Welsh hold dearer than that inborn love of the mountains, it is their religious beliefs... Amongst natural surroundings corresponding to those in which their early days had been spent, a band... is now engaged in teaching the hill tribes, and singular success has attended their efforts.[158]

The *County Times* regarded missionary work as an expression of 'that imaginative and adventurous spirit' which had been the Welsh contribution to empire and saw Wales' role as being to provide moral and physical uplift among Indians. Other newspapers were also explicit in making the link between the Welsh nonconformist missionary movement and a 'softer' imperialism focused on indigenous peoples. In 1932 the *Western Mail* reported on the reunion dinner of Lewis School, Pengam in the Rhymney Valley at which former pupil and Serampore missionary Dr George Howells spoke. Subtitled 'Plea for Cymric Sympathy', the article highlighted Howells' sympathetic views towards Indians that fitted well with this conception of Welsh imperialism:

> That Welsh patriots could sympathise with the aspirations of India on the score of Wales' past experience was urged by Dr George Howells... He said the training he had received at the Pengam School, where he had mixed with boys of all classes and stations in life, had been invaluable in his career and had stirred in him a worthy democratic spirit.

Noting British racial antipathy towards Indians among some quarters in India, the article reported Howells as continuing:

---

[158] 'St David's Day in India', *Towyn-on-Sea and Merioneth County Times,* 27 March 1902: 7.

> He had lived for 35 years in India, had come into close contact with all classes of natives... and had lived in the happiest fellowship with them. It was the spirit of dislike for the black that would ultimately mean the loss of India to Britain if it were lost... We must remember we were dealing with fellow-men with the same fundamental ideals and aspirations and the same sense of patriotism as ourselves.

Howells then drew an analogy between the lack of Welsh bishops during his childhood, which had subsequently changed, with the lack of Indians in prominent positions in their own administration, stating that 'The people of Wales could fully appreciate the feelings of the Indians in such circumstances'.

Finishing on a more imperialistic note, Howells concluded:

> Although he was regarded as pro-Indian he did not want them to think that the attitude of the British Government was one of oppression - there was nothing further from the truth. Still, there had been officials in India who had been a disgrace to their own country.[159]

Howells was explicit in linking his views on Indians with being Welsh, not only suggesting his schooling had helped form these views but also making a direct comparison between Welsh people and Indians that was reminiscent of comparisons made on language issues. To Howells, the Indians were facing the same difficulties with the English as the Welsh had in their lack of concern for their cultural traditions and political aspirations. Describing himself as 'pro-Indian', which immediately suggests the existence of a powerful 'anti-Indian' contingent, Howells nonetheless brought his comments back round to the ultimate good of British imperialism, blaming problems on a racist minority. While the article did not explicitly link these views to Howells' faith, his vocation as a missionary combined with the historic importance of nonconformism to Welsh identity (albeit weakened by the 1930s) makes it implicit that his opinions were at least influenced by it. Howells' comments, and the *Mail's* coverage of them, represents in a quite pure form the idea that the Welsh, inspired by their own experience of being a minority group within the United Kingdom as well as their great faith, brought an understanding of indigenous peoples to the business of empire. In Howells' mind, due to the damage that offensive attitudes towards Indians could cause, this understanding was central to the very survival of the empire.

[159] 'Wales and India', *Western Mail*, 14 March 1932: 14.

Another example can be found in an article of *The Welsh Coast Pioneer and Review for North Cambria* from 1909. The article reported on a missionary exhibition held at Llandudno at which Arfon MP William Jones, a prominent supporter of missionary work who had visited the mission field in the Khasi Hills, spoke on their work:

> He was glad to recognise... a new tone amongst the missionaries he met with. Instead of going amongst people who had some culture with unsympathetic spirit, which had been one of the things charged against missionaries in the past, they now recognised that beneath the heathenism of the people there was some nucleus, some kernel, of good which would serve as a pivot upon which to bring to bear the greater power of Christianity. Scholars were helping in that with their comparative theologies that could show points of agreement to students of missionary work.

Jones went on to describe 'the great material benefit of it [missionary work] to the benighted peoples of heathendom' and ended his comments by praising the linguistic work of missionaries who dealt with peoples with 'no fixity in their tongues' but learnt their dialects and created grammars to aid conversion and education.[160]

To Jones, the strength of the Welsh mission was its recognition of the importance of local culture and its ability to use it as a gateway to the hearts of the people, a quality that the press celebrated as particularly Welsh.

There was a further strand to the civilising mission which, though in itself not explicitly linked to faith, was certainly utilised by missionaries in their propaganda. This was the connection Welsh people felt to the physical geography of India, especially its mountainous regions in the Northeast where the main mission was based. To the Welsh in India, Wales as a mountainous country was part of their geographic identity. As we have seen, references to Wales invariably included its mountains, with generations of soldiers and administrators comparing the respective physical landscapes.[161] According to Andrew May, one of the early reasonings for a Welsh mission in the Khasi Hills was its supposed geographic similarity to Wales, a comparison which went both ways when Khasi convert U Larsing compared Wales to Khasi during his visit in the early 1860s.[162] Goodwin's assertion at the 1909 St David's Day dinner that only the

[160] 'Missionary Exhibition at Llandudno', *The Welsh Coast Pioneer and Review for North Cambria*, 2 December 1909: 10.
[161] See, for example, 'From India's Coral Strand', *Llangollen Advertiser Denbighshire Merionethshire and North Wales Journal,* 19 March 1915: 6.
[162] May, 'Mountain Views', 242-7.

Welsh could fully appreciate the Himalayas,[163] and the *County Times'* connection between Welsh religious belief and their love of the mountains,[164] were explicit formulas designed to assign specific qualities to the Welsh which would make them fit for imperialism and mission work in India. Welsh missionaries were required in the hills as they were racially adapted to such work, and this assertion could extend to Welsh administrators both in the Northeast and in other parts of India. The Welsh physical landscape was another means in which Welsh suitability for imperialism could be expounded.

The way the press covered nonconformism and imperialism, with its focus on individuals in the British Indian Welsh societies as well as missionaries, provides something not forthcoming with discussions of the Welsh language and imperialism - confirmation that these ideas were present on the ground in India. The Welsh, being a moral people inspired by their deep nonconformist faith, brought a moral rectitude to empire building that emphasised the rights and aspirations of indigenous peoples, according to the formulation. Through their missionary work, to many the primary face of Wales in the empire, they were directly involved in the spiritual and physical uplift of 'backward' and 'primitive' communities whom it was necessary to raise to a similar level as Europe, with conversion to Christianity being the main way of achieving this. The press formulated and reflected this idea alongside a belief that Welsh/English bilingualism equipped them practically for this work among indigenous groups.

While the specific link with nonconformism was more powerfully expressed on the ground in India as well as within the Welsh press, as opposed to the link with the language which primarily existed as a domestic idea, other individuals in India subscribed to the idea of a Welsh imperialism without explicitly discussing its origins or motives. This is not to say they were not linked. The previous discussion looked to explore the origins of an idea of Welsh imperialism that was intrinsically linked to the political debates of the nineteenth century - namely, political nonconformism, the preservation of the Welsh language, and Wales' place within the United Kingdom. The empire, being the most obvious expression of British power globally, became a focal point for the development of a Welsh 'loyal respectability' which, smarting from mid-century official criticism, sought to position itself as not only inherently British, but also an imperial asset. Ideas such as these, when they capture a public consciousness and find expression in mass media, become accepted norms, and individuals subscribe to them as a result of their permeation through society, regardless of whether they have a strong understanding of their origin. The next chapter will examine these ideas among certain key Welsh individuals on the ground in

[163] 'Welshmen in India', *The Montgomeryshire Express and Radnor Times*, 30 March 1909: 3.
[164] 'St David's Day in India', *Towyn-on-Sea and Merioneth County Times,* 27 March 1902: 7.

India and explore how far it impacted on their own personal imperialism. It will also explore how far their behaviour and actions in regard to their imperial role reflected these beliefs, i.e. how far these ideas were simply rhetoric or whether they represented a genuine approach to imperialism which emphasised a close connection and sympathy with indigenous peoples and their culture.

7

Welsh Imperialism: Rhetoric or Reality?

While chapter six set out the basis of 'Welsh imperialism' and established it as a powerful idea both in Wales and among the Welsh in India during this period, what remains unclear is whether these ideas went beyond an impression of one's self and community and inspired real action towards the reshaping of British Indian society. In short, whether Welsh ideas about faith, language and Wales as a model for imperial constitution-making not only represented a consensus for action, but also had a corresponding impact on British administration. In order to examine this, chapter seven will explore how adherents to the idea of 'Welsh imperialism' practiced their imperial roles. It will look at any tangible influence of Welsh imperialism on their everyday actions, especially in their dealings with and ideas about Indians themselves. Taking two major proponents of the idea as its starting point, Sir Lawrence Jenkins and Sir Griffith Evans, it will highlight how such individuals often interpreted their roles in India quite differently, with Evans taking a radically different view towards Indians than Jenkins. This suggests that while 'Welsh imperialism' was an influential concept, it did not lead to a consensus on the relationship between governing and subject peoples.

Furthermore, it is not always clear whether such views originated from Welshness in the first place. The examples of religiously motivated Welsh people such as G.M. Mendus and the military vet Griffith Evans will be highlighted to demonstrate how some Welsh imperialists were reacting against the establishment views of their fellow Welsh, as well as a wider British Indian consensus. In some cases, not least in the case of Jenkins himself, it is unclear how far his views were influenced by his Welshness or by his Liberalism, and the intimate relationship between the two among the Welsh in British India will be examined. Ultimately, while certain individuals can be seen to have acted out of a deep commitment to the ideas of 'Welsh imperialism', the chapter will conclude that the Welsh were too small in number, and too varied in opinion, to have any real conceivable impact on how the administration of British India was carried out. While the idea had a strong influence domestically and impacted how the Welsh thought about their role globally, in India itself its impact was mostly rhetorical, with a few notable isolated exceptions which we shall explore below.

Sir Lawrence Jenkins and Sir Griffith Evans: Two Faces of Welsh Imperialism

In the last chapter there was a discussion of Sir Griffith Evans, senior member of Cymdeithas Gwladol y Cymru yn yr India, and his conception of the Welsh contribution of empire being primarily a spiritual one. Evans, with more than a hint of comedic touch, compared the 'stolid' Anglo-Saxon, represented by the dim-witted Berkshire peasant, with the imaginative and creative Celt who would apparently regale one with intense theological discussions.[1] Sir Griffith Humphrey Pugh Evans (1840-1902) was born in Aberystwyth to a wealthy family with ancestral links to Dyfed royalty of the ninth century. His father was a wealthy draper who twice served as Mayor of Aberystwyth, and his mother came from the Pugh family, another lofty lineage which became prominent during the Tudor era. Educated at Bradfield School in Berkshire, where he no doubt formed his opinions on Berkshire peasants, Evans studied at Lincoln College, Oxford, before graduating and taking up as a barrister in Calcutta. He had been persuaded to come to India by his older brother, Lewis Pugh Evans (later Lewis Pugh Evans Pugh, though typically rendered as Lewis Pugh Pugh, 1837-1908), who also had a distinguished career in law and eventually served as Attorney General of Bengal. Evans himself would become the first practicing barrister to serve on the Legislative Council of India on appointment by Viceroy Lord Lytton in 1877 and served on this advisory body for the next twenty-two years.[2] A fluent Welsh speaker, Evans helped establish the first incarnation of the Calcutta Welsh Society in 1899 as Cymdeithas Gwladol y Cymru yn yr India and served as one of its Vice Presidents, his brother Lewis serving as the inaugural president.[3] After retiring from a distinguished Indian legal career in 1901 he died at his Lovesgrove estate the following year. His brother Lewis had served one term as the Liberal MP for Cardiganshire between 1880-1885 but was resented in the constituency for his long absences in India, remaining there until his own death in 1908.[4]

Little source material exists on the relationship between Pugh's Welshness and his imperialism. He was a source of interest for the domestic press which highlighted his Welsh speaking and its maintenance over a long career in India, speaking to common themes surrounding language anxiety discussed earlier.[5] But it is not discernible whether he shared his brother's opinions on a particularly moral and spiritual role for the Welsh arising out of their deeper religious sentiment. However, what is discernible

[1] 'St David's Day in India', *The Western Mail,* 29 March 1899: 5.
[2] 'Death and Funeral of Sir Griffiths Pugh Evans', *The Cambrian News and Merionethshire Standard*, 14 February 1902: 3.
[3] Aberystwyth, NLW, Printed items relating to two Welsh societies formed in Calcutta, NLW ex 887.
[4] 'Obituary- Mr Lewis Pugh Pugh', *Welsh Gazette and West Wales Advertiser*, 9 January 1908: 4.
[5] 'By the Way', *The Western Mail,* 25 October 1893: 4.

from the evidence is that both Evans Pugh brothers subscribed to racist stereotypes of Indians which held them to be so implacably and violently hostile towards white Europeans that any minor reform that gave them any degree of control within the administration had to be aggressively opposed. So, while Evans may well have maintained that the Welsh had a moral/religious role to play in India, that did not equate to a view of indigenous peoples corresponding with the constructed idea of understanding and compassion. The 'anti-Indian' views of the Evans Pugh brothers came most prominently to the fore during the controversy surrounding the Ilbert Bill of 1883, their involvement in which we will analyse in the following paragraphs.

The Ilbert Bill, formally the 'Bill to amend the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1882, so far as it relates to the exercise of jurisdiction over European British subjects', and informally named after its drafter Sir Courtenay Ilbert, was introduced in 1883 as an attempt to grant senior Indian magistrates the ability to try Europeans. Prior to this, Europeans facing trial had to be tried in a court presided over by a European judge, a situation increasingly difficult to maintain as larger numbers of educated Indians gained seniority in the Indian Civil Service. Opposition to the bill, which nakedly focused on racial considerations, became a flashpoint for ethnic tensions between westernised educated Indians and the European community, and has been partly credited for the foundation of the Indian National Congress in 1885 to forward the political ambitions of primarily middle-class Indians.[6] According to its opponents, consisting primarily of planter communities in Bengal who had a notorious reputation for their attitudes and treatment towards Indian agricultural workers,[7] the Bill would allow Indian judges to pursue 'race vendettas' against Europeans whom they perceived had wronged other Indians.[8] They also argued that it would be obscene for European women to have trials involving sexual assaults by Indian men to be presided over by an Indian judge, a controversy E.M. Forster drew upon for the main plot point of his 1924 novel *A Passage to India* in which Aziz's trial on false charges of attempted rape against Adela Quested was conducted by an Indian judge.[9] Evans, in his capacity as a successful Calcutta lawyer, served as a leading voice for the Bengal planter and wider business community.

Evans' views on the matter were expressed in a series of undated letters he wrote to the Viceroy Lord Ripon and the Financial Member of the Legislative Council of India Sir Auckland Colvin, but which were

[6] James, *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire*, p. 231.
[7] Gandhi's first major campaign in India was the Champaran Satyagraha against the exploitation of tenants on indigo plantations in Bihar.
[8] London, BL, Ripon Papers, Letter to Lord Ripon, ADD MS 43600.
[9] Forster, *A Passage to India*, pp. 206-24.

certainly written during 1883. Referring to the strength of feeling both within the planter community and as expressed through the European press, Evans told Colvin that Indian judges were 'inadequate', would pursue 'vendettas' against the planters, especially in the indigo and tea areas, and that European communities in remote rural areas, commonly referred to indistinctly as the 'mofussil', would never accept the changes.[10] In a letter to Lord Ripon, who was the principal champion of the Bill, he argued that a big protest would occur if the Bill were to proceed and called for a public meeting and for opposition to be heard in Council, of which by this time Evans was a member.[11] There is no doubt that Evans expressed almost identically the views of not only the planter communities he represented, but also the general outrage displayed in the colonial and domestic press which played on racial stereotypes and presented Indians as a potential danger to be controlled. These racial attitudes were widespread among British communities in India and, though of course racialisation of Indians had occurred much earlier, had been hardened and 'justified' by the experience and memory of the Mutiny of 1857-8. Its aftermath had created a strong attitude that the British had become complacent and too trusting of Indians, who were portrayed as violent revolutionaries who would rise again given the opportunity of the slightest show of weakness. In this heated atmosphere, measures which sought to increase the role and power of Indians within the administration were viewed as dangerous and often opposed bitterly, the Ilbert Bill representing the most large-scale reaction.[12]

During the India leg of his world tour of 1884-5, the future Flint Boroughs and Flintshire MP Herbert Lewis (1858-1933) noted in his diary on several occasions the reaction he encountered against the Ilbert Bill. Lewis himself appeared to agree with the principle of the Bill though conceded that some concerns were 'worthy of consideration'. On a ship to Calcutta Lewis came across a planter couple who told him they thought Gladstone and Ripon were the 'worst men in the world' specifically due to the Ilbert Bill and described Indians as 'liars' and 'corrupt', though Lewis says they were not against them having a greater role in the administration. While accepting their 'absurd' arguments contained 'a grain of truth', he argued that 'Anglo-Indians', here referring to the British community in India, could not view the issue objectively.[13] In a later diary entry from 13 December 1883, Lewis dined with the 'thorough Liberal' Mr Sykes who, despite admiring Ripon greatly, disapproved of the Bill and said Bengalis were not competent to exercise jurisdiction over Europeans, suggesting that Conservatives and critics of

[10] London, BL, Ripon Papers, Letter to Sir Auckland Colvin, ADD MS 43600.
[11] London, BL, Ripon Papers, Letter to Lord Ripon.
[12] Kincaid, *British Social Life in India,* pp. 211-12.
[13] Aberystwyth, NLW, J. Herbert Lewis Papers, B62-74, Book VIII, pp. 50-1.

Gladstone were not alone in denouncing the Bill.[14] Lewis, over the course of his trip, took increasingly against the planter community, criticising their racial abuse of Indians and evidently regarding them as petty-minded, provincial, and backward. On 20 January 1884 Lewis recorded an encounter with W. Auschell, a surveyor of tea estates and a planter with whom he appeared to get on fairly well. Even here, however, he criticised Auschell's opposition to the Bill, though praised him for believing the planters had behaved too aggressively towards the Viceroy.[15] The last mention of the Bill came in a diary entry from Benares on 29 January 1884 where he claimed a missionary told him Indians were 'a greedy grasping lot' who would not help anyone for free when asked for his view on the legislation.[16] Lewis' diary captured first-hand much of the fallout from the proposal amongst the British community and demonstrates that opposition was intense both within and without the planter community of Bengal.

So, Evans' views fell neatly within the mainstream of opposition and did not demonstrate a peculiar Welsh imperialism which emphasised compassion towards Indians, despite his own views on the Welsh religious role. To Evans, Indians were an inferior people who needed to be tightly controlled by the British. This did not stop the press from attempting to portray him as friendly towards Indians. At his death in 1902, *The Cambrian News and Merionethshire Standard* eulogised that he possessed:

> Intimate knowledge of native life and character derived from his confidential relations with the leading members of the native community, both Hindu and Mahommedan, as their trusted adviser.[17]

That 'intimate knowledge', far from causing him to view Indians with any spirit of equality, evidently led him to denounce them as incapable and dangerous. In 1899 Evans addressed a gathering of students at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth. In the course of his speech, which focused on the Indian Civil Service and sought to encourage more Welsh people to seek an Indian career, Evans commented:

> The question was often asked: "Why don't you give the people of India self-government?" But that was impossible, chiefly owing to the hostility of tribe to tribe, whose laws respecting caste were of a very severe order, and especially so in the case of the Mohammedans. Out on the borders of the Indian Empire, they were faced by the turbulent tribes of Mongolians and others,

[14] Ibid, Book IX, p. 47.
[15] Ibid, Book XII, p. 82.
[16] Ibid, Book XIII, p. 15.
[17] 'Death and Funeral of Sir Griffiths Pugh Evans', *The Cambrian News and Merionethshire Standard,* 14 February 1902: 3.

> and those tribes added another grave obstacle to democratic government. The only dream of those tribes was the plundering of the plains of India, and the only way they were prevented was by the presence of the English army (applause). The warlike tribes of India would resent the government of India by the less warlike tribes and it was absurd to expect the idolatrous tribes to rule such Empire.[18]

Evans' lack of belief in Indians' ability to govern themselves would not disprove the reality of a Welsh imperialism, and neither would his basic belief in the superiority of Europeans. What dispels the idea that Evans practically demonstrated a specifically Welsh imperialism was his alignment with the mainstream of the deeply racialised hierarchies of British India,[19] which he did not challenge and from which he never varied. Evans' view of Indians was typical of a British official, and outside his purely idealistic view of the Welsh as particularly religious expressed only at Welsh society events, his Welshness did not appear to impact on his imperialism.

This was likewise for his brother, the one-time Liberal MP who broke with his party over Irish Home Rule and later joined the Unionists, which in itself was certainly indicative of his broader views on imperialism. In June 1883, just four months after the initial publication of the Ilbert Bill, Pugh addressed the annual musical and literary meeting of the Wilton Square Welsh Church in London. The South Wales Daily News reported his comments on the Ilbert Bill as follows:

> While greatly admiring Lord Ripon, and in the main agreeing with his policy, he, like most of the English residents in India, was averse to the measure giving further judicial power to the natives. He pointed out that, owing to religious and social differences, the administration of justice under such circumstances would be an extremely delicate and difficult task... he referred to the agitation now going on in Calcutta in consequence of a recent proceeding of Judge Norris... whose conduct was now being questioned by agitators for the purpose of stirring up religious and political excitement.[20]

Again, Pugh's opinions do little to evidence a Welsh imperialism understanding of indigenous ambitions and mimic the classic imperialist tropes about Indian communalism and violence. By 1884 a heavily

[18] 'University College of Wales Aberystwyth- Address on India', *Towyn-on-Sea and Merioneth County Times,* 26 October 1899: 7.
[19] See Moore, 'Imperial India', p. 429-30.
[20] 'The Welsh in London', *South Wales Daily News*, 2 June 1883: 2.

amended Ilbert Bill was passed which guaranteed the right to a jury trial to any European of which at least 50% of the jury would also be European. This 'compromise' did little to repair the rift with Indian opinion, with the controversy being cited with bitterness by the nationalist movement long into the twentieth century.

The Evans-Pughs demonstrate the potentially rhetorical nature of much Welsh thinking about empire, and point to how much of this thinking, evidenced by its prominence in the press, spoke more to the situation on the ground in Wales itself than what was being done by the Welsh in India. However, there is evidence that, for at least a minority of Welsh imperialists, these ideas formed a belief system and set of values which they made some effort to live their lives by. One of the key individuals to which the press dedicated much space was the High Court Judge Sir Lawrence Jenkins (1857-1928) who served as the president of Cymdeithas Gwladol y Cymru yn yr India. Jenkins was a first-language Welsh speaker from Cardigan. The son of a solicitor, he was appointed Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court in 1898 before becoming the Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court in 1909. He also served as a member of the Council of India and was involved in Freemasonry in Bombay and Calcutta before his retirement in 1915. The importance of Jenkins to the press and Welsh public centred around his representation of this idea of a gentler, more compassionate Welsh imperialism, as well as the idea that his Welsh speaking, nonconformity, and provincial Welsh origin from the lower middle classes represented an image of Wales they were keen to project. On his appointment to the Supreme Court of Calcutta as a justice in 1896, *The Cardigan Observer* described a huge celebration to mark the occasion and declared its pride at a Cardigan boy being given this honour. In his speech thanking the organisers, Jenkins described himself as a 'proud Welshman and Cardiganian'.[21] Jenkins became the classic example for the press when mentioning Welsh people who had become successful in the empire, especially in reference to those qualities which supposedly made the Welsh successful imperialists. In 1909 the *Barry Dock News* reported a speech given by William Jones MP to Barry County School (the same Jones who discussed the importance of recognising the value of indigenous cultures in missionary work above) who, on mentioning the 'creativity' and 'imagination' the Welsh brought to empire-building, held up Jenkins as an example of the globality of Welshness and an argument against the idea of 'Wales for the Welsh' or Welsh nationalism.[22] Jenkins was mentioned in this vein across several publications over the years, including *The North Wales Express* in 1902 which listed him among a select group of Welsh people who

[21] 'Visit of Justice Jenkins to Cardigan', *The Cardigan Observer and General Advertiser for the Counties of Cardigan, Carmarthen, and Pembroke,* 21 March 1896: 1.
[22] 'Barry County School Speech Day', *Barry Dock News,* 2 April 1909: 5.

had achieved prominent positions in India and inspired the 'Celtic race'.[23] The *Towyn-on-Sea and Merioneth County Times*, in an article also from 1902 which spoke of the 'adventure and imagination' of the Welsh, used Jenkins, his judicial colleague Justice Stephens, and Sir Griffith Evans as its main examples.[24] The press followed Jenkins throughout his career, reporting on his activities with the Welsh societies in Bombay and Calcutta, through to his retirement in 1915 and his death in 1928.

That Jenkins embraced his Welshness is not in doubt. He was a prominent member of the lower-key Bombay Welsh Society while he served on the High Court there and was a regular attendee at the far more famous and popular Calcutta society before becoming its president at its reformulation in 1909 after his move back to the city.[25] His self-description as a 'proud Welshman' in 1896 was followed by his poetic and emotional speeches at successive society events over the next twenty years. At the 1910 Calcutta dinner, he used his speech to describe St David as 'symbol to keep the flame of patriotism burning in the heart of every Celt',[26] representing the general rehabilitation of St David within Protestant circles after years of association with Catholicism.[27] In 1911, Jenkins presided over a special meeting of the Calcutta society which sent a loyal address to the monarch on the investiture of the Prince of Wales at Caernarfon. Amidst the usual pomp of imperial loyalty, which in itself demonstrated the importance of imperial Britishness to general Welsh identity, the message described the ceremony as a 'generous recognition of the claims of Wales'.[28]

But more than just a simple celebration of his Welshness within the usual trappings of St David's Day, dragons, and leeks, Jenkins also recognised the impact of his Welshness on his personal imperialism. At the 1914 Calcutta St David's Day dinner, reported in *The Times of India* on 6 March, he was said to have 'referred to the opportunities which Welshmen, as being neither English nor Indian, possessed of acting as mediators between the rulers and the ruled'.[29] The link with the press conception of Wales' imperial role is obvious, with Jenkins using the same concept of 'mediator' that appeared in various forms within the Welsh press, most notably in *The Weekly News* article from 1901 that dealt with the importance of recognising language in dealing with indigenous populations.[30] Jenkins clearly believed he possessed the

[23] 'Notes of the Week', *The North Wales Express*, 25 April 1902: 4.
[24] 'St David's Day in India', *Towyn-on-Sea and Merioneth County Times,* 27 March 1902: 7.
[25] 'Calcutta Notes: A Welsh Association', *The Times of India,* 9 July 1909: 8.
[26] 'Welsh Dinner in Calcutta', *The Times of India,* 12 March 1910: 10.
[27] Benbough-Jackson, 'St David Meets the Victorians'.
[28] 'News of the Day', *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 17 July 1911: 4.
[29] 'Our Calcutta Letter: The Welsh Dinner', *The Times of India,* 6 Mar 1914: 10.
[30] 'Wales and the Empire', *The Weekly News and Visitors' Chronicle for Colwyn Bay,* 15 November 1901: 6.

ability to understand what may have been deemed 'native sentiment' better than his English counterparts, and though he did not make the link with the language and nonconformism, this ability clearly derived from the fact of his Welshness, which included both these areas as important elements. These ideas maintained that the Welsh were not only fundamentally different to the English, though came together in a complementary and cooperative spirit within the United Kingdom, but also that their experiences of dealing with the English in such a manner over many centuries gave them an understanding of how other 'races' felt and were able to offer them advice for similar friendly relations. Likewise, they were able to dampen down the more assertive aspects of English imperialism.

The absurdity of this position is less important for our purposes here than the fact that it had real purchase in the mentality of Sir Lawrence Jenkins and his fellow Welsh imperialists. In fact, *The Times of India* article quoted near the start of this chapter which argued that the Welsh had the ability to stand between the two 'races' of English and Indian and bring them together in 'peace and harmony and mutual esteem' was reporting on the same St David's Day celebration, with these comments being shared from a Mr Williams who evidently took a similar approach to these ideas as Jenkins.[31] That the Welsh were white and Protestant, and thus not only treated as part of European civilisation but regarded as on the more enlightened end as compared to Catholic countries, regardless of English paternalism, whereas Indians were brown and non-Christian (in some cases even polytheistic), did not seem to be something recognised by this thinking. The reality is that while the Welsh undoubtedly had legitimate qualms with the operation and attitude of the British state, that state did not treat them as a colony and did not regard them, racially at least, as fundamentally inferior to the English who made up the majority. Relations between the British/English and India were far more defined through the prism of racial difference which made not only autocratic government possible, but also allowed the imperial state to treat Indians and Indian lives with a recklessness and contempt that never existed in regard to the Welsh.

A cursory glance of the respective scales of what may well be considered the worst expressions of 'oppression' towards the Welsh and Indians in the early twentieth century illustrates this point. The Tonypandy riots of 1910 stick in the Welsh psyche as a particularly insidious example of British state oppression, though it must be remembered that disputes between industrial workers and the state apparatus found their origins more in the operation of capitalism than genuine nationality or racial-

[31] 'Welshmen in India', *The Times of India*, 5 March 1914: 8.

based oppression.[32] This event, which saw the Home Secretary Winston Churchill send military personnel to reinforce the police response to striking miners, saw high levels of police brutality which resulted in a number of casualties from use of batons and truncheons, including one officially recorded death of Samuel Rays who died from blunt force trauma to the head on 8 November most likely inflicted by the police. The memory of this outrage remained in the South Wales Valleys for generations, with Churchill becoming a figure of hatred among many miners and their families.[33]

However, when compared with the Amritsar Massacre which took place in India on 13 April 1919 this racial differentiation by the British state becomes clear. The death toll from the massacre varies but could have been as high as 1500. The crowd, gathering in probably unrealised defiance of an official anti-assembly order, were confronted by the troops of General Reginald Dyer who ordered them to open fire without giving the crowd a warning to disperse. In his testimony to the official enquiry, Dyer described his motivations as wishing to strike terror throughout Punjab, and to inflict a moral lesson in a manner which clearly regarded Indians as child-like and inferior.[34] While the British Government at the time attempted to portray Amritsar as an unrepresentative and extreme outrage, a view which has made its way into the popular imagination, Kim Wagner has argued that Amritsar was not an isolated incident and spoke directly to the normalisation of state violence towards Indians after 1857. Wagner has argued that the governance traditions of Punjab, in which officials on the spot were trusted absolutely to make decisions which would almost always be retrospectively approved by the provincial centre, created conditions in which atrocities were possible and justifiable, and used the example of the Kuka outbreak in the 1870s as evidence for this.[35]

It is not the intended purpose here to draw an equivalence between the two events. Quite the opposite. They are outlined here to represent the fundamental differences between how the British state interacted with the Welsh as opposed to the Indians and aims to highlight that what was possible in the colonial context, and in many quarters widely celebrated, would almost certainly not have been anywhere on the British mainland. The conditions which governed the relationship between both peoples and the state were very different with British officialdom placing them on very different levels in order of priority.[36] Indeed, the Welsh enjoyed democratic rights on par with the English throughout

[32] Johnes, *Wales: England's Colony*, p. 2.
[33] Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation,* pp. 146-8.
[34] Kim A. Wagner, *Amritsar 1919: An Empire of Fear and the Making of a Massacre*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019), pp. 163-78.
[35] Ibid, pp. 8-17.
[36] See, for example, Samson, *Race and Empire,* pp. 4-7, for a discussion of British racial attitudes.

this period - rights which Indians would never receive under British rule. The comparison is made to highlight the innate absurdity of believing that the Indians could draw lessons in constitutional cooperation from a Welsh people deemed innately superior in the official mind.

It is worth noting that this Punjab tradition, which was widely celebrated by members of the Punjab ICS and admired elsewhere, had its Welsh adherents. Sir Evan Jenkins was said to be 'married to the Punjab to the point that he forgot that the rest of India existed'. While he was at pains to argue that he would never have objected to taking orders from an Indian, his commitment to a tradition that bred violence such as Amritsar was clear.[37] Another Welsh member of the Punjab ICS was Thomas Ellis of Wrexham, who served as a judge and advised the government on the implementation of martial law in 1919. He was a firm believer in the actions taken to impose order in Punjab during this time and refused an appointment to the High Court at Lahore in protest at amnesties given in the aftermath.[38] Finally, Kim Wagner has written about the actions of Sir Robert Henry Davies, Lieutenant Governor of Punjab during the Kuka rebellion of the 1870s. Davies was well aware of the mass summary executions which took place on the ground in retribution, and used the principles of the Punjab tradition to justify and protect British officials responsible to the Government of India.[39] These individuals provide further evidence of the general conformity of the Welsh to the norms, and excesses, of British India.

Returning to Sir Lawrence Jenkins, his subscription to these ideas of Welsh imperialism, unlike many of his contemporaries, represented more than rhetoric. Jenkins believed that Britain's imperial role in India was to prepare Indians to undertake their own administration and ultimately equip them for self-rule. To this end, he was a strong proponent of the Indianisation of the judicial system and, according to Abhinav Chandrachud in his history of the Bombay High Court, sought to promote more Indian judges over British ones which he believed would contribute to a system which provided equal access to justice for Indians.[40] In a series of letters between Jenkins and the Secretary of State for India, John Morley, between June 1909 and October 1910, during the first year of his time as Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court, his ideas around his role in India were expanded. Jenkins had been busy dealing with the trials surrounding the Alipore conspiracy case in which 38 Bengali nationalists, including the prominent nationalist Aurobindo Ghosh, were being prosecuted for a series of attacks against the imperial state,

[37] Farah Gul Baqai, 'Sir Evan Jenkins and the 1947 Partition of the Punjab', *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, 27 (2006), 78.
[38] Dictionary of Welsh Biography (DWB), https://biography.wales/article/s-ELLI-PET-1873, (28 June 2023).
[39] Wagner, *Amritsar*, pp. 8-17.
[40] Abhinav Chandrachud, *An Independent Colonial Judiciary: A History of the Bombay High Court During the British Raj, 1862-1947,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 29.

including the attempted assassination of magistrate Douglas Kingsford in Muzaffarpur and the attempted derailment of a train carrying Lieutenant Governor Sir Andrew Fraser. In a letter from 3 June 1909, Jenkins discussed the background to the case, reporting to Morley that Calcutta society believed the unrest was due to poor administration and the fallout from former Viceroy Lord Curzon's plans to partition Bengal, but highlighted what he regarded as the greater problem of the poor administration of justice and a tendency to convict Indians on little evidence. He attributed this issue to the poor quality of British judges, as the judicial branch was considered a lesser branch of the service and argued that half of district judgeships should be filled by Indians which would greatly improve the service.[41] Another letter of 18 July 1909 continued on this theme of Indian judges. Jenkins expressed his displeasure at a judge called Richardson being appointed over his preferred candidate Chatterji. Jenkins insisted that inferior white judges were being promoted above qualified Indians, and this was a complaint which continued throughout the course of his correspondence with Morley.[42] Jenkins confided that he had been supporting Indian judges who did not feel welcome in their roles, and his final two letters dated 12 and 22 October 1910 were almost entirely concerned with arguments for Indian appointments to a number of key roles.[43]

Jenkins was involved in the acquittal of Ghosh in the Alipore conspiracy case and his letters to Morley made several accusations that Ghosh was being persecuted because of his political opinions. On 15 August 1910 Jenkins complained about rumours that the government was planning to deport Ghosh, arguing that he was a moderate agitator who believed in independence but not anarchy.[44] In an earlier letter Jenkins hoped that the sedition charges against Ghosh would be dropped as there was no real evidence and he had only been preaching passive resistance and abstention from politics.[45] Jenkins had wider concerns that justice in India tended to view Indians as guilty and that British standards of justice had not been adequately exported. On 14 July 1909 Jenkins wrote of his concern over a case in Midnapore in which the enquiry had been kept private, against 'liberal' sentiment. He expressed concern that witnesses would not come forward as the government had not offered them indemnity from prosecution. In the same letter, Jenkins complained that charges were being pursued against people he had acquitted, despite a lack of evidence.[46] Later, in May 1910, Jenkins expressed lack of trust

[41] London, BL, Bundle of Letters from Sir Lawrence Jenkins, MSS Eur D573/46, 3 June 1909.
[42] Ibid, 18 July 1909.
[43] Ibid, 12 October 1910 & 22 October 1910.
[44] Ibid, 15 August 1910.
[45] Ibid, 13 April 1910.
[46] Ibid, 14 July 1909.

in the police, arguing that recent legislation allowed for the fabrication of evidence. He also expressed satisfaction that a recent conviction in a bomb case had been sent for retrial as he had always believed the confession had been false.[47]

Jenkins' letters throughout express a deep distrust of the racially charged sentiments of British India, a belief in the quality and ability of educated Indians, and the strong belief that India could be vastly improved through cooperation between the British and Indians in a true spirit of equality. Jenkins' conception of cooperation extended to nationalist politicians and in July 1909 he urged Morley to consider the Congress leader Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915) as a 'man Britain can do business with'.[48] He later argued that Indians resented European rule while white people distrusted them, highlighting a colleague who had received death threats for deciding a case for an Indian against a white man and who had become 'anathema' to the European community. Having more Indians in the administration would create greater understanding and bring government closer to the people.[49] In February 1910 Jenkins poured scorn on the extreme views of the European community on racial matters suggesting they were not to be taken seriously. He argued that Indians should be trained in industry, though these views would be considered as support for the Swadeshi, or home-spun movement, which sought to encourage Indians to buy Indian-made products at the expense of British manufactures. He ended the letter by saying that Britain must adapt to new conditions in India or else they will lose sight of why they were there, i.e. to develop India. Cooperation between the races would improve India for everyone.[50] Jenkins' view of the situation was not all doom and gloom. In April 1910 he suggested that the two sides were beginning to understand each other, which had not been previously possible, evidenced by the quieting of the outrage over the release of deportees in the Alipore case.[51]

The idea of the mediator, of aiding British and Indians to come together and understand each other better, permeates Jenkins' writing, and the influence of his Welsh society utterances about the role of the Welsh, though not made explicit in his letters to Morley, are clear. Jenkins viewed the Welsh as having a unique mediator role in India, born out of their own experiences in the UK, and took these views into his work as a judge. He believed he understood Indian opinion better than other British officials and attempted to promote their interests and point of view. He believed this approach would

[47] Ibid, 24 May 1910.
[48] Ibid, 7 July 1909.
[49] Ibid, 18 July 1909.
[50] Ibid, 14 February 1910.
[51] Ibid, 13 April 1910.

support British imperialism, maintain the empire, and contribute to Britain's imperial mission, which was to prepare Indians for self-government. That Jenkins represented a minority view in India came across in some of the responses to his actions and this adds greater weight to the idea that the Welsh represented a distinct form of imperialism, though, as the case of Sir Griffith Evans demonstrates, not one that was universally subscribed to.

One of the more virulent responses to Jenkins' approach came from judge Sidney Gordon Roberts who in 1918, three years after Jenkins' retirement, rather disgraced himself by aggressively criticising him in open court. The incident is recorded in a serious of memos between Indian Office officials which skirted around the actual detail, though an attached newspaper clipping was less coy about revealing the facts. Roberts, in a moment of anger at Jenkins' name being mentioned, described him as a 'scoundrel' and a 'disgrace to their race'. He further accused him of seeking 'cheap popularity' by allowing criminals to walk free and weakened the hand of the Indian Government. Interestingly, the clipping reported that the vakil (Indian lawyer or solicitor) who was appearing before Roberts defended Jenkins against the charges, stating that he was loved by Indians, restored confidence to the justice system, and helped bring peace to Bengal following the violence of the partition period. The India Office, internally describing Roberts as suffering from a poor mental state who could not try cases quickly, forced him to apologise and then retire, and were apparently satisfied at his 'full' apology in which he described Jenkins as a 'distinguished ornament of the bar and a gentleman who is worthy of this town'.[52] But his outburst revealed a strong strain of racial prejudice that characterised British Indian society and isolated those deemed too close to Indians, such as in the case of Jenkins' judicial colleague referenced above. In that same letter Jenkins informed Morley of suggestions among the Calcutta British that he had been sent out by the Liberal establishment in Britain to take on the police, and rumours that because he allowed Indians to call on him at his home he must be in league with the nationalist agitators.[53] As historians like David Gilmour have outlined in their work, British India was a highly racially stratified society in which 'race prestige' was held responsible for continued British power. Those who undermined that prestige by unnecessary or friendly contact with Indians were to be ostracised.[54] Jenkins was complaining about being a victim of that attitude, though it must be noted that this criticism of him did not seem to affect his respected leadership of the Calcutta Welsh society, over whom he

[52] London, BL, Case of insulting remarks delivered in court by Mr S.G. Roberts, IOR/L/PJ/6/1562, File 290.
[53] London, BL, Bundle of letters from Sir Lawrence Jenkins, 18 July 1909.
[54] Gilmour, *The British in India,* pp. 433-40.

presided until his retirement in 1915.[55] This could be reflective of the Welsh being more sympathetic to these ideas, though it could just as easily be a case of Jenkins being rescued by the seniority of his position and the high esteem he was held in by the Government of India and the British Liberal establishment. Wales being a largely Liberal country, the answer undoubtedly lies within a mix of both.

Liberalism and Welsh Imperialism

In telegraphs between John Morley and the Viceroy, Lord Minto, discussing Jenkins' potential appointment as Chief Justice of Calcutta in late 1908, both men expressed huge respect for Jenkins' abilities and revealed that his attitudes towards Indians, evidently already well-known from his time in Bombay, were the reasons for his appointment. Minto put strong pressure on Morley to release Jenkins from the Council of India, a body which advised the Secretary of State, to take up the Chief Justice position.[56] Morley initially resisted, arguing that Jenkins was one of the best men on his council and could not be spared.[57] He eventually relented, claiming that his 'self-denial' in releasing Jenkins knew 'no parallel in Anglo-Indian history'. Both Minto and Morley agreed that Jenkins would help calm the situation in Bengal, inflamed by Curzon's partition, and would be instrumental in dealing with the outbreak of 'terrorism'. Morley went so far as to describe him as a 'regular Congressman', a reference to his sympathy for the Indian National Congress, which constituted a rather remarkable comment for a senior British official to make in the positive.[58] This exchange unveils an important consideration when thinking about the idea of a Welsh imperialism conscious of Indian concerns. Imperial policy was one of the major differences between Conservative and Liberal foreign policy. Throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, policy issues such as Irish Home Rule, the South African War of 1899-1902, and debates about the economic pros and cons of Imperial Preference tariff policies pipped Conservatives and Liberals against each other, and quite often split the Liberal Party itself, with Lewis Pugh Pugh being one example of a Liberal who broke with the party over imperial policy.[59] Within this context, and speaking very broadly, the Liberals were often held up as the party of an egalitarian empire

[55] 'Our Calcutta Letter: The Welsh Dinner', *The Times of India,* 6 March 1914: 10, demonstrates that Jenkins was still president of the society in 1914.
[56] London, BL, Bundle of letters from Sir Lawrence Jenkins, 23 July 1908.
[57] London, BL, Letter from Morley to Minto, Mss Eur D573/3, f241, 10 August 1908.
[58] London, BL, Bundle of letters from Sir Lawrence Jenkins, 12 November 1908.
[59] See, for example, Nicholas Owen, 'Critics of Empire in Britain', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Twentieth Century*, ed. by Judith M. Brown and WM. Roger Louis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 191, for Liberal criticism of the South African War.

aimed at reform whereas the Conservatives presented themselves as defenders of British power and influence in its more tradition form.[60] Liberal opinion was frequently offended by the harsher examples of imperialism, such as the conduct of the South African War which future Liberal Prime Minister Henry Campbell-Bannerman described as involving 'methods of barbarism'.[61] In the context of India, the Liberal Party was more closely associated with constitutional reform, such as the limited measures introduced by Viceroy Lord Chelmsford and secretary of state Edwin Montagu in 1919 and, earlier, those pursued by Lord Minto and John Morley in 1909. The reality that many Liberals were more reform-focused when it came to the empire poses the question whether Jenkins' imperial views were more influenced by his Welshness or his Liberalism. Of course, there was a strong association between the two. By the late nineteenth century Liberal championing of Welsh causes, such as church disestablishment and the expansion of education, as well as their appeal to working-class voters especially under William Gladstone, contributed to a near clean sweep of Welsh seats at successive elections.[62] Political Liberalism also allowed the Welsh to pursue a distinct cultural and linguistic identity whilst participating fully within the British state. Within the agreed acceptability of Liberalism as a British political tradition, the Welsh could agitate in a culturally distinct direction while maintaining the air of respectability and loyalty.[63]

Jenkins, like the greater number of Welsh voters of the time and especially true of those from the middle-class who served in India, was a political Liberal. In his letters to Morley, he made references to the 'liberal' position, pitting himself in that vein against an apparently 'illiberal' British-Indian opinion, including within the government. On 14 July 1909 Jenkins made this point in reference to a case in Midnapore referenced above where he argued that official views had won out over the 'liberal' view of having the inquiry more open and transparent.[64] In a letter a week previously discussing Gokhale, Jenkins mentioned the editor of the Statesman, J. Arthur Jones, whom he described as a Welshmen and a liberal 'in its finest sense'.[65]

The prevalence of Liberalism as the political allegiance of much of the Welsh in India was acute, which by the 1920s put them out of kilter with political developments in Wales. The civil servant Leonard

[60] Gilmour, *The British in India,* pp. 418-21.
[61] Owen, 'Critics of Empire in Britain', p. 191.
[62] Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation,* p. 30.
[63] O'Leary, 'The Languages of Patriotism in Wales', p. 546.
[64] London, BL, Bundle of letters from Sir Lawrence Jenkins, 14 July 1909.
[65] Ibid, 7 July 1909.

Owen described himself as a 'political Liberal' in the introduction to his memoir.[66] Sir Griffith Evans remained a Liberal throughout his life, with his brother Lewis Pugh Pugh only breaking with them after leaving Parliament.[67] The Second World War soldier David Elwyn Lloyd Jones identified as a Liberal and mentioned in a letter of 2 June 1943 that had he been home for the University of Wales by-election in 1943, he would have voted for William John Gruffydd, the Liberal victor.[68] He was not swept in by Labour enthusiasm in the 1945 General Election, and though he said he did not fear a Labour Government, he remained supportive of the Liberal Party.[69] The teacher W.R. Owain-Jones wrote that he came from a strongly Liberal family[70] and the other soldiering Lloyd Jones, John Meredith, took a strong interest in the Liberal candidate for Caernarvon Boroughs who was seeking to replace David Lloyd George in 1945.[71] Naturally the Welsh in India were not homogenously Liberal. The missionary G.M. Mendus reflected the changing face of Welsh politics in the 1930s through her support of the Labour Party[72] and the agriculturalist Sir Roger Thomas (1886-1960), who served in various government roles in colonial Punjab and independent Pakistan, campaigned for Gwilym Lloyd George at the 1945 General Election, who by that time was more associated with the Conservative Party than the Liberals.[73] Nonetheless, Liberalism was a powerful political draw for the Welsh in India and, almost certainly reflective of the slow pace of political change and tendency away from radicalism in the colonial environment, remained their politics of choice despite its eventual demise in Wales itself.

It is evident that Liberalism did impact on Welsh imperialism. As the main political tradition in Wales up to the 1920s it would be bizarre if the imperial views of the Welsh were not broadly reflective of those held by the party they tended to vote for. This is not a straightforward relationship. Political allegiance is nuanced, and one cannot assume that a vote represents agreement with a party's entire electoral platform. Indeed, the Liberal Party remained the dominant party in Wales at the 1900 'khaki' election despite their association with opposition to the South African War at a time when 'jingoistic' pro-war sentiment was as rampant in Wales as it was in other parts of Britain.[74] And we must also remember that both Jenkins and Evans supported the same party despite their very different approaches to

[66] Bangor, BUA, Leonard Owen Papers, v. 1, p. I.
[67] 'Obituary- Mr Lewis Pugh Pugh', *Welsh Gazette and West Wales Advertiser,* 9 January 1908: 4.
[68] Cambridge, CSAS, Lloyd-Jones, D.E. Papers, 2 June 1943.
[69] Ibid, 17 August 1945.
[70] Aberystwyth, NLW, Reminiscences of W.R. Owain Jones, p. 21.
[71] Aberystwyth, NLW, John Meredith Lloyd Jones Papers, 31 April 1945.
[72] Aberystwyth, NLW, Journal of Mrs G.M. Mendus, Book 7, p. 27.
[73] London, BL, Personal Correspondence, Sir Roger Thomas Papers, IOR:MSS EUR F 235/673, 30 June 1945.
[74] Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation*, p. 45.

Indians. However, the extent to which Welsh attitudes to imperialism were Liberal attitudes rather than specifically Welsh is probably attempting to dissect a step too far. Welshness was intimately connected with political Liberalism up to the 1920s and it is unlikely individuals would have felt a stark difference between the two. It should also be remembered that within the press concept of a Welsh imperialism, Liberalism did not tend to feature as a central tenet and, indeed, the Conservative-leaning *Western Mail* adopted this idea as forcefully as its Liberal counterparts, at times even taking a leading role in perpetuating it.[75] Liberalism undoubtedly reinforced and justified the imperial attitudes of Jenkins, and it is clear from his letters to Morley that he considered his more egalitarian opinions to be 'Liberal' ones.[76] However, his comments at the 1914 Calcutta St David's Day dinner where he spoke of the Welsh being mediators between Indians and the English demonstrate that his conception of a Welsh role went beyond mere political allegiance and had a deeper foundation than Liberalism itself.[77] Jenkins also did not always enjoy the support of the Liberal establishment. Despite his initial enthusiasm for the judge from Cardigan, Minto would later accuse him of possessing 'native proclivities', further demonstrating that Liberals were not above such racial politics.[78] Welsh imperialism was usually presented as arising from the specific conditions of Wales, most notably its linguistic and religious traditions, and did not typically consider itself to be simply a Welsh offshoot of the Liberal position on the empire.

Welsh Imperialism on the Ground: Reality or Rhetoric?

Jenkins and Evans represent the most prominent examples of a distinct Welsh imperialism, in terms of their domestic fame and their own musings on the subject. However, other examples exist. The next section will analyse other less prominent examples which will allow us to come to a wider conclusion on the reality of Welsh imperialism on the ground in India.

Some of the examples explored above demonstrate the nuanced nature of the idea of a Welsh imperialism. W.R. Owain-Jones subscribed heavily to the idea of the Welsh language endowing the Welsh with the ability to learn other languages and hence access the 'hearts and minds' of indigenous populations.[79] However, despite being raised as a Welsh nonconformist Owain-Jones placed little emphasis on it when describing his imperialism. In fact, he described the nonconformism of his youth as

[75] See, for example, 'St David's Day in India', *Western Mail,* 29 March 1899: 5.
[76] London, BL, Bundle of letters from Sir Lawrence Jenkins, 7 July 1909.
[77] 'Our Calcutta Letter: The Welsh Dinner', *The Times of India*. 6 March 1914: 10.
[78] Chandrachud, *An Independent Colonial Judiciary,* p. 211.
[79] Owain-Jones, 'The Contribution of Welshmen to the Administration in India', p. 261.

a ‘stern, cruel creed’ though accepting its importance for the survival of the language.[80] Later, in discussing how ‘hedonistic’ his life had become amongst the glitz and glamour of British society in India, he mused on how far he had come from his ‘stern’ upbringing.[81] This distance travelled from the traditional trappings of nonconformism, though he himself maintained the importance of religion throughout his life, may help explain why his language featured more prominently in his imperialism than his faith, though the point here is that some individuals were influenced by certain factors more than others.

The Calvinistic Methodist missionary G.M. Mendus on the face of it would appear to be an individual who fitted the category of ‘compassionate’ Welsh imperialist. A nonconformist Welsh speaker from Aberystwyth, Mendus considered the British in India, including many of her fellow missionaries, as pretentious and overbearing with anachronistic racial attitudes towards Indians, especially the Lushai and Khasi people for whom they were pastorally responsible. As early as November 1935, when she and her husband Lewis were still on the ship travelling to India, she recorded an incident in her diary when a group of Indian men were made to wait at the bottom of a ladder for her to descend, an officer shouting that a ‘memsahib’ needed to come down. This incident embarrassed her, and she made sure she thanked them profusely when she passed.[82] This irritation at the way Indians were treated remained a theme of her diaries. After arriving in the Lushai Hills, an entry from 3 December recorded her disapproval of Europeans always getting the front seat on buses.[83] A few days later she complained that Indians only treated her with deference because she was white, and not due to her position in the mission or any particular merit she possessed. On being told by her husband to be grateful as the alternative would be unpleasant, Mendus responded that this just made her more confident the entire system was wrong.[84]

Mendus continued to criticise physical segregation along racial lines (a feature of the mission field as detailed by Aled Jones)[85] including the seating arrangements in church which, like the bus, separated out ‘sahibs’ from the rest.[86] In February 1936 she wearily noted that the local reservoir was only for use by Europeans and not even Indian Christians could use it. The entry finished: ‘I know, but what is one to

[80] Aberystwyth, NLW, Reminiscences of W.R. Owain Jones, p. 25.
[81] Ibid, p. 176.
[82] Aberystwyth, NLW, Journal of Mrs G.M. Mendus, Book 1, pp. 5-6.
[83] Ibid, pp. 80-1.
[84] Ibid, pp. 95-6.
[85] Aled Jones, ’Sacred Spaces’, 215-45.
[86] Aberystwyth, NLW, Journal of Mrs G.M. Mendus, Book 2, p. 61.

do?', revealing a degree of her frustration at the intransigence of British society.[87] This feeling of helplessness became a regular theme. In November 1936 Mendus complained about her chowkidar (night watchman) having to sleep on the verandah rather than inside the house. In a similar tone to her previous entry, she wrote 'but what can I do against Government rules?'.[88] Earlier in the week she had been disgusted by a train conductor offering to hold the train at a station so they could eat their lunch. This was done, she said, because they were 'sahibs'.[89] A year later, in November 1937, Mendus praised two Welsh missionaries she met in Sylhet for always eating with their Indian workers while on tour, a practice that she claimed would never happen in the Lushai Hills.[90]

Mendus maintained a difficult relationship with British imperialism which she recorded in her diaries. On the one hand, she clearly believed the empire had brought 'civilisation' to her part of the Lushai Hills and recognised that Christianisation was dependent on the protection the British presence offered. On the other, she criticised its racism, was uncomfortable around rampant displays of imperial patriotism, and had a suspicion of its motives which derived from her general suspicion of government. In June 1936, in the aftermath of the death of King George V, students at the school she ran were told to produce an essay on the benefits of British rule. In her notes she listed ones from her own mind - 'peace, education, intercourse with other races, roads, justice, economic development and the gospel'.[91] As was common among missionaries, Mendus also tended to celebrate the spread of Western civilisation, comparing educated, 'clean', and 'cultured' Lushai Christianised and under British rule with their 'heathen' and 'ignorant' forebears, as well as 'uncivilised' Indians from less contacted parts of the Lushai Hills. On 2 February 1937 Mendus wrote, in response to a conversation she had with a Lushai named Muka, 'I'm no imperialist, but I think it is true that as far as Lushai goes, the benefits really are solid and the drawbacks negligible'.[92]

Mendus evidently believed that the empire was ultimately a good thing, though this did not prevent her from criticising its less desirable elements. She repeatedly teased and criticised her husband for his imperial pretensions, writing that he received salutes from Indians in an overly exaggerated way[93] and that she would have respected his Coronation Medal more if it was not associated with the British

[87] Ibid, Book 4, p. 15.
[88] Ibid, Book 13, pp. 38-9.
[89] Ibid, p. 30.
[90] Ibid, Book 22, p. 12.
[91] Ibid, Book 7, pp. 38-9.
[92] Ibid, Book 16, p. 2.
[93] Ibid, Book 1, p. 31.

Empire.[94] Her socialist mistrust of government motives was evident in a diary entry from February 1939 when she wrote in relation to the government's response to the Abyssinia crisis:

> I have never held a brief for Britain, but this passes all my imagining. It makes one feel what one is often reluctant to feel lest one be just a cynic - that governments and foreign offices simply are not to be trusted, and that they will never come into the open and proclaim their policy even to their own people. So that one can never be sure of what is really happening behind the scenes. And the only standpoint which we can therefore be sure as Christian is out and out pacifism.[95]

Similarly to Jenkins, it is possible to argue that Mendus' views on imperialism flowed from her political beliefs, in this case socialism, rather than her Welshness. But equally, the way socialism, in the form of the Labour Party, developed in Wales in the early twentieth century allowed it to permeate Welsh life through bread-and-butter issues like education and industrial relations in a similar way to the Liberal Party in the nineteenth century on issues such as disestablishment and Sunday closing. Wales' position as a largely industrial nation, particularly in the population centres of the south and northeast, and the large proportion of its population engaged in such highly organised industries, allowed socialism, trade unionism, and Labour politics to become incorporated into Welshness in a manner which makes it difficult to fully separate them.[96]

However, what does dampen down the idea that Mendus was motivated by a peculiarly Welsh imperialism was the fact that despite her operating in the most 'Welsh' environment in India, the Calvinistic Methodist mission field of the Northeast, her views among her fellow Welsh missionaries were generally considered too radical, unrealistic, and based on a 'misunderstanding' of conditions in India. We explored above how her husband, the missionary Lewis Mendus, suggested she should be grateful for the deference Indians paid to her.[97] He was generally far less sympathetic to anti-imperialist sentiment and was far more confident in his support for the British Empire. Lewis Mendus had served in India previously, first coming out in 1922 and again in 1929 before his third spell alongside his wife between 1935-44. In a letter of 14 February 1922 Mendus complained about Gandhi and his followers, writing that a 'mob' had recently arrived in Silchar and had 'made themselves obnoxious' towards Europeans. Despite this, he remained unworried about supplies to the mission as the Lushai were

[94] Ibid, Book 21, p. 33.
[95] Ibid, Book 27, pp. 46-7.
[96] Johnes, *Wales: England's Colony?,* pp. 126-42.
[97] Aberystwyth, NLW, Journal of Mrs G.M. Mendus, Book 1, pp. 95-6.

Christian and loyal, implicitly connecting the health of the mission to the existence and survival of the empire.[98] Mendus also wrote in her diaries, sometimes disparagingly, of the imperial sentiments of the mission around major events such as the death of King George V, Armistice Day, and the outbreak of the Second World War.[99] She evidently considered herself to be a maverick among devout Welsh imperialists, and due to this never attempted to draw a connection between her 'gentler' imperialism and her Welshness.

There was often tension between formal British imperialism in the form of the state and the mission in the Lushai Hills. Mendus wrote in her diary of the issues the mission faced in controlling and directing revivals which took place periodically among the Lushai, which seemingly took the form of a strong belief in the Holy Spirit to possess individuals, drawing on pre-Christian Lushai belief.[100] The Menduses found this issue difficult, wishing to encourage genuine Christian enthusiasm but condemning the more extreme elements, like speaking in tongues and claims to heal. In January 1936 G.M. Mendus wrote in her diary, again demonstrating there were limits to her belief in equality, that it was difficult 'to lead these primitive, emotional people, and to encourage their zeal while keeping it within the right bounds'.[101] The superintendent, Major A.J. McCall, while sympathetic to the mission, took a severe attitude towards the revival, accusing several proponents of plotting to murder him and threatening to shut down the entire mission if it did not control these breakaway elements.[102] However, despite this obvious ongoing tension, the evidence does not suggest that the Welsh missionaries in the Lushai Hills with whom Mendus served exhibited any particular form of imperialism which could be said to be more compassionate or gentler beyond the obvious differences explored above between state and missionary imperialism. G.M. Mendus was a maverick, and there is little to suggest it was her Welshness which made her so.

Other Welsh individuals expressed the breadth of imperialist views of the period and further demonstrate that being Welsh was no guarantee of a particularly compassionate attitude towards Indians. The Second World War soldier David Elwyn Lloyd Jones - Welsh-speaking, nonconformist, politically Liberal, from Aberystwyth - came from what would have been described as an Anglo-Indian

[98] Aberystwyth, NLW, Letters of Lewis Mendus, 14 February 1922.
[99] Aberystwyth, NLW, Journal of Mrs G.M. Mendus, Book 3, p. 63.
[100] Kyle Jackson, 'Possessing Christianity in Northeast India: Kelkank, 1937', *Modern Asian Studies*, 55 (2021), 488-513.
[101] Aberystwyth, NLW, Journal of Mrs G.M. Mendus, Book 3, p. 71.
[102] Ibid, Book 17, pp. 26-7.

family. His grandfather, David Edward Evans, had spent many decades as an engineer for the Ralli Bros firm (jute merchants) in Bengal, and both his parents had experienced, at least partly, an Indian upbringing.[103] Lloyd Jones was self-consciously Welsh and relished the opportunity to meet fellow Welsh soldiers and converse in the language.[104] Much like his unrelated namesake John Meredith Lloyd Jones, David Elwyn sought out other Welsh people and created a Welsh circle of friends which also included people his grandfather had known during his career. In a letter dated 27 December 1942 he wrote about spending time with Welsh people in Calcutta, including Mr Wordsworth, a family friend, with whom he often stayed during his leave, Vaughan Edmunds, a journalist at the Statesman newspaper, and Fred Thomas, an old friend from home.[105] Naturally there was a strong element of seeking out familiar faces in forming his circle, though Lloyd Jones often mentioned coming across Welsh people he was meeting for the first time and evidently saw value in meeting them.[106] However, Lloyd Jones' definite sense of Welshness did not formulate into a view of imperialism that was distinguishable from standard imperialist views of the time. He was very dismissive of Indian nationalism and wrote in a letter dated 24 June 1943 his condemnation of some Welsh clergy who had filed a petition for the government to reopen negotiations with Congress. Lloyd Jones argued that they knew nothing about the situation, that Congress did not represent 'ordinary' Indians, and that the government should not 'bend their knee before Gandhi and beg favours'.[107] He maintained his antipathy towards Indian nationalists throughout his time in India and Burma, writing in November 1945 that Congress would do anything to secure their 'selfish' ends[108] and blaming much of the strike action in industry, which he had volunteered to quell, on blind commitment to Congress orders.[109]

It seems likely that Lloyd Jones was heavily influenced in his views by his grandfather. David Edward Evans worked for the jute manufacturing and exporting firm Ralli Bros, rising to become its superintendent engineer for Bengal. He worked for Ralli Bros from 1889 until his retirement sometime in the 1920s,[110] and during that period seemed to make his section of the business somewhat of a haven for Welsh people seeking an Indian career, especially those from his native Aberystwyth. One of his close colleagues, the engineer in charge at Narayanganj, was Dan Roberts of Aberystwyth, who seemed

[103] Lloyd Jones, 'David Edward Evans', 135.
[104] Cambridge, CSAS, Lloyd-Jones, D.E. Papers, 15 March 1945.
[105] Ibid, 27 December 1942.
[106] Ibid, 31 October 1942.
[107] Ibid, 24 June 1943.
[108] Ibid, 14 November 1945.
[109] Ibid, 25 November 1945.
[110] Lloyd Jones, 'David Edward Evans', 135.

to have a difficult relationship with the firm and some of his colleagues. In a letter dated 10 July 1909, a colleague complained to Evans that Roberts was a good engineer but did not seem to care about the work.[111] Later in 1927, and seemingly after Evans' retirement, he received letters from Roberts directly gossiping about the firm and expressing resentment over his career. On 19 June 1927 Roberts claimed he was on the verge of a breakdown having grown 'sick and tired' of the 'perfect drudgery.[112] Despite this, Roberts wrote in another letter that his 'Welsh blood' would never allow him to work for a rival firm, suggesting that Evans had in some way secured employment in Bengal for enough Welsh people to have given it a reputation.[113] In October 1922 a letter to Evans referenced some of these people, mentioning Ernest Williams who had apparently turned down a role, and T. Stuart Jenkins who was enquiring about the same position. Both men were from Aberystwyth.[114] This is somewhat reminiscent of Sir Roger Thomas' experiences in Punjab where he seemed to work closely with a number of Welsh individuals.

Evans appeared to be well-respected by at least some of his Indian colleagues. In 1933 he received a Christmas card from former colleague Kiran Chunder Dutt, who wrote of his 'dear memories' of Evans and said that India and the British Empire were 'bound by bonds of friendship'. [115] However, like his grandson, Evans took a dim view of Indian nationalism and did not countenance criticism of the British Empire. In a letter to Lloyd Jones dated Christmas 1943, Evans complained that media coverage of the Bengal famine was 'anti-British' and claimed that no other nation would have fared better in dealing with it.[116] A year earlier, in September 1942, Evans wrote to his grandson that he was glad the government had 'kicked Gandhi', arguing that they needed to be firm in their dealings with Congress.[117] The views of grandfather and grandson can be neatly summarised in a letter written by Lloyd Jones in 1945 in which he outlined opinions Evans had shared with him when asked about Indian independence. He wrote that while on paper self-government seemed the 'just and idealistic' thing to do, it would turn out to be a 'major tragedy'. India lacked 'conscience, morality, and leadership' and Indianisation of the officer class had created problems. Despite insisting he was 'no imperialist', Lloyd Jones predicted India would regret 'turfing out' the British and hoped that Britain would be willing to return if and when asked

[111] Cambridge, CSAS, David Edward Evans Papers, 10 July 1909.
[112] Ibid, 19 June 1927.
[113] Ibid, 18 June 1927.
[114] Ibid, 8 October 1922.
[115] Ibid, Christmas 1933.
[116] Ibid, Christmas 1943.
[117] Ibid, 3 September 1942.

to do so. He concluded by suggesting that leaving India would actually be beneficial for the British but extremely problematic for the Indians, betraying this sense of imperial duty and paternalism that was so common among the British in India throughout the period.[118] Evans, like his grandson, was a Welsh-speaking nonconformist from Aberystwyth who was proud of his roots and was involved in the foundation of both iterations of the Welsh society in Calcutta in 1899 and 1909.[119] However, it is clear from his letters and from his discussions with Lloyd Jones that he did not possess an imperialism that was particularly 'soft' nor was it geared towards greater understanding of Indians.

This lack of sympathy towards Indian nationalism was a common refrain among the Welsh in India, reflecting a wider British antipathy. In a letter from 5 August 1942, the army nurse Vera K. Jones, who served in India between 1941-5, expressed satisfaction that the authorities were taking a firm hand against agitators and making many arrests.[120] Olwen Carey Evans, the daughter of David Lloyd George who was married to Sir Thomas Carey Evans, resident surgeon for Mysore in the early 1920s, wrote in a letter of 31 March 1920 that she was shocked at the courtesy of the Indians given the current political situation, and praised her father (then Prime Minister) for his firm attitude towards the disturbances surrounding the Khilafat Movement – a protest movement in support of continued Muslim sovereignty over the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, as well as other important Muslim sites.[121]

A further and rather unusual example of the hollowness of Welsh imperialism can be seen in the military vet Griffith Evans. The most striking thing about Evans, in relation to our topic, was his very devout and extremely individualist nonconformist faith. Evans generally rejected organised religion, and in particular rejected any idea of a priesthood standing between the faithful and God. A belief against the intercessional role of priests is common amongst Protestant sects, and especially so among nonconformists, with the role assigned to Catholic priests being seen as antithetical to a personal relationship with Scripture and God. However, Evans took this to an unusual level by rejecting the legitimacy of all and any priests and advocating an entirely direct relationship with God. In a letter from January 1879, written in Futtehpore in the United Provinces, Evans recounted a meeting with an Italian priest who told him that he did not belong to any sect but was in 'communion' with all who served God as Christ did. Evans told his wife in the letter that he himself was against the ordination of priests in any

[118] Cambridge, CSAS, Lloyd-Jones, D.E. Papers, 21 September 1945.
[119] Lloyd Jones, 'David Edward Evans', p. 136.
[120] Aberystwyth, NLW, Letters from Vera K. Jones, NLW Facsimiles, NLW Facs 763-4, p. 278.
[121] Aberystwyth, NLW, Letters, Lloyd George Manuscripts, NLW MSS 20467 I-ii C, 2582, 31 March 1920.

religion and regarded them a an 'unholy mediator' between God and man.[122] The religious views of the Evans family were considered so unorthodox that in August 1879 Katie wrote to Evans to inform him that they had been excommunicated from their local Calvinistic Methodist 'corph' (chapel).[123] Evans' religious views heavily influenced his perception of India. However, it is important to remember that while Evans was heavily influenced by his faith, his brand of nonconformism was peculiarly his, and was forthrightly rejected by the structures of the Calvinistic Methodist Church.

Evans' first posting was to Sialkot in Punjab. He arrived in Bombay in December 1877, and his first impressions of the Indians he encountered, detailed in his letters home, differed little from the standard cultural superiority of the day. On 9 December 1877, Evans, having previously served in the American Civil War, physically compared Indians to African-Americans in a highly derogatory fashion, suggesting that they could be beautiful if they dressed like Europeans.[124] He went on to compare Indians to children and took an unsurprisingly high-minded and paternalistic attitude towards them.[125] However, what was distinctive about Evans' attitudes towards Indians was his deep and intense interest in their religious customs which he often compared favourably to Christianity and, in some instances, considered particular aspects as superior. On arrival Evans complained about the insular attitude of the British in Bombay, reporting that they spent their days 'visiting each other', 'loitering on verandahs', 'smoking and drinking soda water', 'going to the club', and 'seeing the natives in the fashionable part of the Fort and European town'. Evans was more interested in visiting cultural sites and interacting with Indians outside the highly Europeanised fashionable centres but could find no-one who would visit the Elephanta caves or the Towers of Silence (Parsi burial site) with him.[126] Through the period covered in the letters Evans sought out 'ordinary' Indians in order to deepen his knowledge of Hindu and Muslim religious customs, including his Hindu bearer Munshi (a Persian origin word meaning teacher or secretary), and discussed how this knowledge altered and interacted with his own nonconformist Christianity. On 18 December 1877, having moved on from Bombay to Agra, Evans discussed the presence of God with a Hindu who used a stone as a focus for his devotion. Evans correctly understood the mischaracterisation of Hindus as 'idol-worshippers' and argued that it was absurd to think that God could enter a church or mosque as the 'house of God' to be worshipped but could not, or would not, do so for any other object. He believed the Hindu custom of worshipping God through statues, objects, or shrines made much more

[122] Bangor, BUA, Letters of Griffith Evans, pp. 298-9.
[123] Ibid, p. 307.
[124] Ibid, p. 115.
[125] Ibid, pp. 116-17.
[126] Ibid, p. 118.

sense than the 'hypocritical iconoclasm' of Christians and Muslims who expected God to enter their specific place of worship to be worshipped.[127] On 24 March 1878, Evans wrote of his increasing attendance at Hindu festivals and events, claiming that most Europeans were not interested in such occasions and he was often the only white person present,[128] a situation which mirrored a scene in George Orwell's 1934 novel *Burmese Days* in which John Flory horrified Elizabeth Lackersteen by taking her to a Buddhist festival away from the European town. [129] In March 1878, Evans attended two Hindu festivals as the sole European, writing that Europeans often treated Hindus and Hinduism with contempt and were fearful of being in a large crowd of Indians. He argued that most of what he had been led to believe about Hindus - their supposed polytheism and idol worship, as well as the backwardness of their beliefs - was simply propaganda, and that Hinduism, like all religious matters, was worthy of respect.[130]

Evans focused much of his praise on Hinduism, which he argued was more similar to Abrahamic religions than was commonly credited and believed had more sophisticated conceptions of the Almighty than many Christians did. Evans had many conversations about religion with Munshi. On 16 April 1878, when Munshi's child was ill, Evans described his earnest faith in God as almost Christian-like.[131] Later that year, in November, Evans wrote that Munshi was more sincere in his prayers to God than many Christians. He also mentioned that Munshi's children feared Evans because they believed Europeans would be nasty to Hindu children.[132] Though Hinduism was clearly the focus of Evans' studies, he also looked into other Indian religions, such as Islam and Zoroastrianism, and though he was more critical, he approached them in the same spirit of comparison as he did with Hinduism. By December 1878 he was in Meerut. He wrote to Katie that while Muslims always treated him very kindly, they had a generic aggression towards 'infidels'. He also considered Muslim ablutions to be less hygienic than Hindus, mentioning a pool he saw some people ritually wash in which was dirty, though he also argued that this was little different to the working class in Wales.[133] Overall, Evans considered Islam to be a harsher and crueller religion than Hinduism, though in a letter of 2 January 1879 he wrote that he preferred Islam to Catholicism and Greek Orthodox Christianity[134] and argued that Indian Christianity should be organised by Indians in the

[127] Ibid, pp. 130-2.
[128] Ibid, pp. 141-2.
[129] George Orwell, *Burmese Days,* (London: Penguin Modern Classics, 2001).
[130] Bangor, BUA, Letters of Griffith Evans, pp. 146-7.
[131] Ibid, p. 153.
[132] Ibid, p. 244.
[133] Ibid, pp. 247-54.
[134] Ibid, p. 274.

same way that Indian Islam was organised independently.[135] He held similarly critical views of Zoroastrians, known as Parsis in India, though he took a great interest in the Towers of Silence in Bombay and spent a great deal of time discussing faith with Parsis before leaving the city.[136]

Evans' views on Indians went beyond religious observations. The memory of the Mutiny of 1858 had a long and far-reaching impact on British India right through to 1947, impacting on governance, social relations, and military strategy, among other areas. In the late 1870s, the period covered by Evans' letters, the Mutiny was still very much within near living memory and occupied the minds of the British in India like no other issue. The sense of paranoia inspired by the idea that another Mutiny was possible, with all its attendant violence, drove race relations and contributed to the insular, suspicious, and highly racist society that increasingly characterised British India.[137] Evans was no different in seeing the legacy of the Mutiny in the society around him, and in his personal take drifted between distaste at the excesses of the British response and fear and loathing of the original uprising. On 25 December 1878 Evans recounted to his wife in grisly detail the massacre of Europeans at Cawnpore during the conflict, expressing a clear disgust at the actions of the mutineers. However, later in the letter he argued that the British response in massacring 'sepoys' was unfair and heavy-handed, writing that only the Mutiny leaders should have been punished.[138] Earlier in December he had suggested that some of the legacies of the Mutiny were unhelpful and damaging, using the example of the Maharajah of Gwalior having to pay to have British troops stationed in his territory due to fears of a repeat uprising.[139]

Evans expressed a trust in Indians which was unusual for the time. In an unusual criticism of the missionary movement for such a devout nonconformist, Evans argued that it was damning that Indian Christians were not trusted to create and maintain their own institutions despite missionaries having worked among them for so long.[140] He also believed Indians to be more morally upright than Europeans, claiming there was a far higher incidence of teetotalism and very little impropriety between the sexes.[141] Evans maintained a respect for the teachings and practices of Indian religions, especially Hinduism, and believed strongly that Indian civilisation had much to teach Europe rather than claiming a standard and straightforward cultural superiority. While attending a wedding ceremony for the son of the Maharajah

[135] Ibid, p. 326.
[136] Ibid, p. 123.
[137] Burroughs, 'Imperial Institutions and the Government of Empire', p. 174.
[138] Bangor, BUA, Letters of Griffith Evans, pp. 269-71.
[139] Ibid, p. 263.
[140] Ibid, p. 324.
[141] Ibid, p. 120.

of Kashmir, Evans criticised the attitude of other European guests who mocked their hosts for attempting Europeans airs while also criticising their inherent Indianness.[142] He even went as far as to claim that the Welsh and Indians originated from the same branch of 'Old Aryans', claiming he had noticed similarities between Welsh words and those in Indian languages.[143] However, it would be inaccurate to claim that Evans was free from the racism that defined his society. He invariably characterised Muslims as unclean, casually used racial slurs, and in a letter of 17 May 1880 described Indian society as 'half-civilised'.[144] Evans' attitude towards Indians was certainly more complex than many other British people in India at the time. It was, however, still couched in the racial assumptions of the British.

Evans' approach to Indians, in particular their faiths, clearly sprang from his Welsh nonconformism. He used his own understanding of God and Scripture to argue for the essential similarity of the major world religions and believed Hinduism in particular to be a rich and logical faith which was badly misunderstood by the West. However, Evans was clearly an outsider within nonconformism, clashed aggressively with many of its values and norms, and took a critical attitude towards the missionary movement which was very unusual among the faithful. His nonconformism was different to that espoused by the press, the Welsh societies, and the missionary movement as having a beneficial role to play within British imperialism. He did not consider most organised religion as offering a greater spirituality or morality and placed much more faith in the individual to find their own religious path based upon their own cultural experience. This is not to make his nonconformism irrelevant. Evans clearly had a far more accepting attitude towards Indians, within certain parameters, than many of his fellow British, though he himself never really suggested this was Welsh in origin. The point here is that while Evans' nonconformism had an impact on his attitude to Indians, this did not spring from an idea of a Welsh nonconformism in which the Welsh were bringing a particular morality to the empire, and therefore did not comfortably fit with this idea part constructed by the press and subscribed to by much of Welsh society. Nonconformism was, and remains, a diverse and nuanced creed, and it is not surprising that it led adherents in different directions. While clearly relevant to the topic at hand, Evans' views were too maverick and too unique to draw many conclusions about nonconformism's impact on Welsh imperialism as a whole, but his own personal experience of the nature of British Indian society does further suggest that for all the rhetoric of a Welsh imperialism, its impact on the ground was

[142] Ibid, pp. 167-8.
[143] Ibid, p. 186.
[144] Ibid, pp. 358-9.

minimal and restricted to a handful of mavericks who defined, perhaps subconsciously, their Welshness in a far more pro-active way.

Many of the examples above provide a reminder that imperialist views were nuanced and adapted over time. By the 1940s many imperialists in India were conscious that British rule was coming to an end and began to emphasise a pre-existing though previously softer rhetoric that the British aim was to lay the groundwork for independence as quickly and efficiently as possible.[145] Judith M. Brown has written about how the attitudes of the imperial state changed markedly after the First World War, with much of the hard-nosed attitudes towards forms of Indian self-government becoming more anachronistic, even if it was not typically accepted that British rule would end by the late 1940s.[146] Within this context, and indeed prior to this when less hardened imperialists critical of the nastier elements of British rule did still exist, it is important not to associate *any* view of this ilk among Welsh imperialists as, in the first instance, that unusual and, in the second instance, automatically stemming from Welshness. Imperialism was not a monolithic entity, either structurally or ideologically. John Darwin has written about how different ideological pressures acted over time to expand or contract imperial ambition,[147] and there is a wealth of scholarship available on the variety of thought on imperial issues and the empire more broadly.[148] Trends came and went, priorities and values changed, what was acceptable in the nineteenth century ceased to be so in the twentieth. In order to prove the existence of a Welsh imperialism that impacted on the ground in India, it is critical to link such sentiments of a more compassionate imperialism more focused on the needs of indigenous peoples to Welshness directly, conscious and active in the minds of those participating, or at least implicit in their motives. Otherwise, in the absence of a near monolithic attitude which, as we can see, simply did not exist among the Welsh, there is little to distinguish the Welsh imperialist who took greater concern over the feelings of Indians to the English, Scottish, or Irish imperialist who did likewise, and these individuals did exist even if they, like G.M. Mendus and Sir Lawrence Jenkins, were mavericks swimming against the norms of their immediate and wider society.[149]

---

[145] See, for examples, Aberystwyth, NLW, Reminiscences of W.R. Owain Jones, Notes of Sir Evan Jenkins, p. 4, in which Jenkins argued that Indianisation would have rendered British rule pointless by 1960 if the Second World War had not sped up Indian independence.
[146] Brown, 'India', p. 429-30.
[147] Darwin, 'Imperialism and the Victorians', 614-42.
[148] See, for example, Thomas R. Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), which deals with official ideologies of British India.
[149] Gilmour, *The British in India*, pp. 414-44.

This chapter has explored an idea of Welsh imperialism that became prominent in the late nineteenth century and remained an aspect of thinking about the British Empire, imperialism, and Wales into the twentieth century and through to Indian independence. This idea maintained that the Welsh experience within the United Kingdom forged a distinct way of thinking about empire and the Welsh role within it. Religious and linguistic distinctness, developed within a strong sense of Britishness and a deep loyalty to the British state which sought to prove its innate respectability, provided the basis for a brand of imperialism which drew upon religiosity and bilingualism. Welsh nonconformism was thought to provide a moral foundation upon which imperialism could be pursued with a human face. Welsh bilingualism provided a potentially essential skill for communicating with indigenous peoples, and hence governing them better. This Welsh imperialism was formulated by the press into a theory that the Welsh excelled at those aspects of empire which involved close contact with indigenous peoples - missionary work and the judicial and civil service being the most prominent examples. These ideas were also developed by Welsh societies, especially the Calcutta Welsh, who in celebrating Welsh achievement and contribution to empire, also had a tendency to seize upon aspects of Welshness which made them distinct. These ideas interacted with Welsh self-perception and identity and influenced how the Welsh public thought about their place within the empire, especially in regard to missionary work which took on the dimension of a great imperial civilising mission.

Welsh imperialism's impact in India, however, is far more difficult to measure. The Welsh were numerically tiny in India, with census records, even when taken as conservative estimates, indicating that their numbers never rose above the low thousands.[150] While they maintained a strong community and fellowship wherever they went, as demonstrated by the existence of the Welsh societies, and though in some areas they were dominant, such as some missionary fields in the Northeast, they are extremely difficult to assess as a collective. Outside the missionary movement it was of course unlikely that such scattered groups of Welsh people, dotted as they would be across different geographies and occupations, would exert much influence on the bureaucratic structures and functioning of British India. There were Welsh people in senior positions - the senior civil servants Sir John Lewis Jenkins and his son Sir Evan Meredith Jenkins, as well as the senior judge Sir Lawrence Jenkins being major examples (it was not a requirement to be named Jenkins to reach such a position). But they were working within a highly structured bureaucracy within which it was not possible for one person to inspire much change, even if they had been inclined to do so, and there were far too few of them to instigate a distinctly Welsh

[150] See Figure 1.

method of governance along the lines achieved by some Scots who held a near monopoly on some aspects of the services.[151] Within these numerical and structural limitations, it is necessary to take an individualised approach and assess whether these ideas found practical expression on the microlevel - i.e. whether there is evidence that how individuals operated in the imperial environment was influenced by their Welshness and whether this influence was related to the constructed idea of Welsh imperialism.

And there is evidence that suggests the affirmative. The figure of Sir Lawrence Jenkins looms large in this respect. He explicitly regarded the role of the Welsh in India to be that of a mediator between the English and Indians, representing an almost halfway house between colonised and coloniser. He drew on this belief when attempting to reform the judiciary in Bombay and subsequently Calcutta, pushing hard on Indianisation of the service and believing passionately that having more Indians in senior roles would improve outcomes and create a more harmonious relationship between what he described as the 'two races'.[152] Jenkins fitted the archetype of the Welsh imperialist with a greater understanding of Indians well and paid a price for it in terms of his reputation and standing among the wider British community in Calcutta, being described as a 'race traitor'.[153]

However, the relationship of other Welsh people with this Welsh imperialism can be harder to clarify, and several layers of nuance sat between their rhetoric and their action if they even, and it was certainly not always the case, subscribed to that particular rhetoric in the first place. Sir Griffith Evans certainly believed there was a distinct religious role to be played by the Welsh in India, through the missionary movement and through a moralistic approach to governance, but this did not induce him to regard Indians through anything approaching mutual respect or equality. His vociferous opposition to the Ilbert Bill in 1883 echoed general British Indian opposition and grew out of a fundamental belief in the racial superiority of Europeans over Indians and the latter's essential unsuitability for senior roles. He and his brother, Lewis Pugh Pugh, maintained this belief until their deaths in the early 1900s. Other Welsh agents shared similar beliefs about Indians, including later generations such as the civil servant Leonard Owen who took a highly lax approach to the rights of Indian protestors as late as his retirement in 1939.

For others who did seemingly have a more wholesome attitude towards relations with Indians, it can often be difficult to make an explicit link with their Welshness. The missionary G.M. Mendus certainly

[151] See, for example, MacKenzie, 'Irish, Scottish, Welsh and English Worlds?', 1244-63, on Scottish imperial bureaucracies.
[152] London, BL, Bundle of Letters from Sir Lawrence Jenkins, 14 February 1910.
[153] London, BL, Case of insulting remarks delivered in court by Mr S.G. Roberts.

took a more equitable approach towards the Indian Christians in her charge, though this remained within the context of a belief in the civilising potential of British imperialism. However, Mendus herself often defined her more progressive views in opposition to her fellow Welsh missionaries, including her husband, who took a far more traditionally imperialistic approach to relations between Europeans and Indians. It may be more helpful to regard Mendus' views, in some ways, as the modern face of industrial, socialist Wales of the 1930s against an older, more rigidly paternalistic Liberal Wales pre-1914, somewhat frozen in time by the glacial pace of political change in the colonial environment and the traditional face of Welsh nonconformism. Regardless, Mendus would not have viewed herself, and neither was she viewed by her fellow missionaries, as representing a distinctly Welsh imperialism, but as a maverick espousing unusually critical opinions about the empire.

The vet Griffith Evans can be viewed in a similar vein. Though his more curious approach to Indian culture, within a context which still allowed him to express racist views, clearly sprang from his nonconformism, this was defined in opposition to traditional Calvinistic Methodism from which he was estranged and eventually excommunicated. In this sense Evans would not have viewed his attitude to Indian religions as originating from his Welshness, though his particular brand of nonconformism was forged out of a Welsh tradition. While it would be tempting to link the imperial ideologies of both Mendus and Evans explicitly to their Welshness through a simple causal assumption, their varying levels of estrangement from the associated traditions of their immediate fellow Welsh, alongside their own lack of association between their Welshness and their imperialism, means that in the final analysis it is difficult to see much difference between them and imperialists from other British nationalities who pushed against the assumptions of their time in similar ways. In the Indian context one can point to the English civil servant Malcolm Darling, who took a strong interest in Punjabi culture and made a determined effort to befriend Indians in the same manner he would Europeans,[154] and Viceroys such as Lord Ripon and Lord Reading who demonstrated a greater understanding of the political ambitions of Indians than many of their successors and predecessors. [155]

While Sir Lawrence Jenkins demonstrably believed in the Welsh mediation role and carried this through to his work in India, the most explicit example of the principle of Welsh imperialism remains W.R. Owain-Jones, who consistently identified a 'Celtic' closeness to Indians deriving mostly from experience of bilingualism through the Welsh language. However, it is not irrelevant that Owain-Jones was writing

[154] Dewey, *Anglo-Indian Attitudes,* pp. 12-13.
[155] Masselos, *Indian Nationalism,* pp. 74-5.

in the 1960s and 1970s, decades after the end of British rule in India, and within a context of imperial memoir writing that sought to portray the story of later imperialism in South Asia as one of British guardianship towards independence. Within this context, it is feasible that Owain-Jones absorbed the constructed imperialism of the Welsh press to fit with this theme of defensiveness of the role of British imperialism more widely, though it would be uncharitable to say that some of the central points of his memoirs were entirely invented. The wider point is that explicit association with a distinct form of Welsh imperialism on the ground in contemporary colonial India was rare outside the rhetoric of the Calcutta Welsh society and the clear example of Jenkins. Where it was more common was within the Welsh domestic press, which tells us far more about the situation in Wales than it does about the Welsh in India.

Within this domestic press construction several aspects of Welsh identity melded together to contribute to a theory of Welsh imperialism - the importance of the Welsh language, nonconformism, and a commitment to Britishness, the Crown, and the empire. Linking aspects of Welshness that was under threat from English encroachment to the greatest expression of English/British global power was logical, and not only sought to justify Welsh involvement in empire but, more importantly, sought to justify the Welsh language and Welsh nonconformism to the English. If Welsh offered so much to imperial governance, it made sense for the British Government, dominated by the English, to protect, preserve, and promote it. While the relationship between the British Government and the Welsh language has generally been characterised by the former's apathy, there were times during this period when the government seemingly bought into this idea of the imperial importance of the Welsh and certainly recognised the value in promoting a distinct Welshness as an integral part of a wider Britishness. This certainly became the case during the later years of the Liberal Ascendency prior to the First World War, when the importance of Welsh seats to the Liberal Government, as well as the dominant presence of David Lloyd George, led to a greater appreciation of Welsh cultural difference in official government circles. This reached a crescendo with the investiture ceremony at Caernarfon Castle in 1911, an event stage managed by Lloyd George and designed to link explicitly traditional Welsh cultural identity with the Crown, loyalty, and Britishness. John C. Ellis has argued that the symbolism of the ceremony was an attempt to 'capture the Celtic fringe' and celebrate the concept of a 'race-blind' empire that was strong and united in its diversity, fitting comfortably with the idea of Wales as a 'model constitution' for the rest of the empire to follow.[156] The First and Second World War also represented moments in which

[156] Ellis, 'Reconciling the Celt', 391-418.

Welsh cultural distinctiveness was celebrated within the context of a strong loyalty to the empire. Martin Johnes has argued that the experience of the Second World War sharpened Welsh identity, despite the retreat of traditional markers such as language and nonconformism, with regimental identities melding with national ones to create a sense of shared solidarity and comradely experience.[157] This attitude can also be seen through *The Men of Harlech* Welsh Regiment magazine of the 1890s and 1900s, in which Welsh distinctiveness is celebrated as essentially British and loyal.[158] These ideas therefore often had more to do with the Welsh relationship with the British state than it did with colonial peoples in places like India.

Welsh imperialism existed as a sophisticated concept. It traced its origins through the experience of Welshness in the nineteenth century and represented a need and desire to justify that Welshness as part of a greater imperial Britishness. It filtered through in varied and fragmented ways to the colonial environment, and undoubtedly was itself influenced by a two-way process of domestic and colonial experience. But ultimately it remained a prism through which the Welsh thought about themselves rather than a method of action, with those Welsh operating in India usually influenced by the requirements and needs of an insular European society far more than by constructed ideas of imperial Welshness back home. In the end, Welsh imperialism, beyond a few noteworthy examples, represented reality only in so far that these ideas were important to a domestic Welshness, and given the general unimportance of imperial matters in the everyday lives of ordinary people, one must assume that even this represented little. For the most part it was rhetoric that represented preoccupation with matters closer to home.

[157] Johnes, 'Welshness, Welsh Soldiers and the Second World War', pp. 65-88.
[158] See, for example, 'Sergeants' Smoking Concert', *The Men of Harlech,* 14 April 1893: 4-5, which described a concert which celebrated the four national identities within the United Kingdom.

8

Conclusion: Wales as an Imperial Nation and the Welsh as an Imperial People

> The development of Wales has been twofold – in national intensity and in the expansion of imperial sympathy. From Cressy and Agincourt to Albuera and Inkerman, its levies and regiments have done their duty… its sons have been where the surge of the advancing British wave has been fiercest… The life of Wales, in the intense conservatism of its unbroken continuity, has not been selfish. The desire to give has been as strong as the desire to retain. No colonist throws himself more readily into the life of his adopted country, but the new country will have an Eisteddvod (sic) and a Sunday school. His conservative desire for independence is strong enough to send him to almost superhuman toil in inhospitable Patagonia, and to maintain Welsh newspapers and magazines.[1]

The challenge posed at the start of this thesis was to centre imperialism as an important aspect of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Welsh thinking about themselves and their place in the world. The intention here was to analyse imperialism and empire as a living concept within the lives and minds of Welsh people of this period, and to understand it within the context of their own Welshness. It was to give agency to the Welsh, for whom empire was an important and dynamic part of their sense of self, rather than dismissing their enthusiasm as a form of English brainwashing - a colonial people who had been tricked into thinking themselves imperial by centuries of sleight of hand. The patronising tone of such statements, which have occasionally slipped into modern popular discourse, is obvious. They are riddled with the idea that contemporary society has achieved a level of understanding of the past that supersedes people's own experiences, to the extent that we understand better the ideas and identities of past generations of Welsh people than they themselves did. This thesis took as its starting point that Welsh views of nineteenth and twentieth-century empire and their place within it, such as expressed through the Welsh press, were genuinely held and born out of their lived reality.

[1] Owen M. Edwards, *Wales*, pp. 403-4.

In this sense, the thesis has been an exercise in social history, and had as its main objective establishing what ordinary people (including ordinary in the context of British colonial agents) thought about the world around them. In focusing on Welsh people who served in India, it has sought to examine imperial ideas through the quintessential expression of British imperial power - the clichéd but very real 'jewel in the crown'. But it has also sought to examine imperial ideas in their purest form - through the minds of those who had a direct stake in British India. The way many of these individuals integrated their Welshness and imperialism together, to be Welsh and British imperial, fundamentally distinct from their English counterparts but as central a part of a British imperial enterprise, speaks to the great sophistication and lack of contradiction in their own thinking and sense of self.

Furthermore, the thesis has also sought to recapture a Welsh imperial story that places Wales at the heart of imperial expansion and governance and to challenge a contemporary perception of distance and disassociation. Whether it was the aggressive racism of Sir Griffith Evans in his agitations against the Ilbert Bill in the 1880s,[2] the disregard of Indians lives as exhibited in the attitude of Sir Robert Henry Davies towards the Kuka uprising of the 1870s,[3] or the paternalistic and brutal approach to policing protests by Leonard Owen in the 1920s and 1930s,[4] the Welsh were not innocent bystanders of empire watching from afar. They were culpable, and, as former Plaid Cymru leader Adam Price has put it, this must be 'foregrounded... in the story that we tell about ourselves'.[5] The purpose here has been to place the empire at the heart of the Welsh national story - a position the Welsh of past generations would have clearly understood.

Chapter two discussed how the New Imperial History of the 1990s, which introduced the idea of empire as 'spatial webs' of mutual interactions,[6] breaking down the metropole/periphery dichotomy, had not immediately benefited Welsh imperial history but had introduced the possibility of growth. While imperial history had fragmented into more thematic topics, such as the imperial dimensions of race, sexuality, and gender, and had broken down national boundaries to focus on the interconnectedness of the global, Welsh history had remained largely focused on its insular traditional themes, primarily modern labour and industrial history and medieval history. The two therefore failed to come together until postcolonialism's focus on ongoing imperial legacies highlighted Wales' awkward position as

[2] See London, BL, Ripon Papers, Letter to Lord Ripon, ADD MS 43600.
[3] Wagner, *Amritsar*, pp. 8-17.
[4] See Bangor, BUA, Leonard Owen Papers, v. 1, p. 41.
[5] Quoted from 'Plaid Leader Adam Price "sorry" for reparations language', *BBC News*, 21 June 2020, https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-wales-53128269.
[6] Lambert, 'Reflections on the Concept of Imperial Biographies', 27.

colonised colonisers and sparked a degree of interest in Wales' imperial past (and present). This backdrop provided the theoretical framework in which the imperial relationship with Wales, exemplified through the case study of India, could be progressed.

The chapter roots Welsh imperial ideas in the political and social conditions of nineteenth-century Wales, in particular the linguistic and religious debates and divides in the aftermath of the Blue Books controversy. Welsh ideas about imperialism grew out of a Welsh-speaking, nonconformist milieu in which respectability, loyalty, and a commitment to the British crown and state became defining features of nineteenth-century Welshness.[7] Prior to linking Welsh imperialists with this heritage, chapter three and four established the actual Welsh presence in India and explored its extent and nature, both professionally and socially. Using census data, chapter three established that, though the precise numbers are far from conclusive, the Welsh population of British India probably never rose higher than the lows thousands at any stage during Crown Rule. This is out of a total British-born population that rose above 100,000 people at the end of the nineteenth century, with the Welsh representing by some way the smallest population of the British nationalities.[8] While establishing its disproportionally small size, chapter three also found that the Welsh population was primarily concentrated in major cities, such as Calcutta and Bombay, and army cantonments, such as Peshawar and Hyderabad. Therefore, while being very small overall, there were reasonably sizeable Welsh communities in these areas.

Chapter four explored Welsh occupations and the everyday lives, both professionally and socially, of this small group. While Welsh missionaries, especially in the Northeast, represented a distinctly Welsh profession in which being Welsh was an important determinant, more broadly it found that the Welsh did not exist in large enough numbers to establish any kind of occupational dominance. This was in contrast to the Scottish, who dominated areas of the administration,[9] especially the Indian Political Service, and the Irish, who dominated the army and the Indian Medical Service, as well as having a strong presence in senior government positions, including as governors and viceroys.[10] In many ways, this conclusion pre-empts many of the potential questions we may have about the Welsh in India, specifically what was distinct about them when compared with other British nationalities. In all practical ways, in which one might consider the Welsh to have an influence on British professional and social life,

[7] O'Leary, 'The Languages of Patriotism in Wales', pp. 534-60.
[8] *General Report on the Census of India 1891,* South Asia Open Archives, XXXI; contributed by J.A. Baines, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25352825.pdf, (2 December 2021).
[9] MacKenzie, 'Irish, Scottish, Welsh and English Worlds?, 1244-63.
[10] Fraser, 'Ireland and India', pp. 77-93.

their scarcity precludes any major impact. In most instances, a Welsh individual in secular service would have found themselves either the only Welsh person in a station, or else one of a miniscule number. Their ability to bring any distinctly Welsh influences into that space would be limited by the forces of conformity, which as we have seen were aggressive in British India. Individuals like Leonard Owen and Sir Roger Thomas had to conform to their adopted environments or risk exclusion or expulsion. In truth, there is little evidence either of them, or indeed most of the other Welsh people we have examined, had any inclination to challenge the existing order in the first place beyond limited grumbling that they likely shared with non-Welsh colleagues. The only exceptions to this isolation were missionaries and soldiers, both highly regulated professions which left little opportunity to leave a great impact upon wider British Indian society. And even these Welsh communities were small. Even when considering explicitly Welsh gatherings, such as the St David's Day dinners organised by the Welsh societies, these slotted into a social calendar that made complete sense to the wider British Indian community and were occasions in which imperial loyalty and conformity were on full display. In both professional and social terms then, the Welsh in India were conformists.

But this did not mean they felt unWelsh and were unwilling to express this national and cultural difference in explicit ways. What the Welsh in India were conforming to was a British imperial system that valued British rule over India and placed white Britons as inherently superior to Indians. They were conforming to a system of racial and class segregation that underpinned the very idea of British colonial rule. They were not conforming to being English or to eradicating the cultural differences between the English and Welsh. Chapter five explored Welsh Indian identity, rooting it in these political and social conditions of nineteenth-century India, and highlighting as its major themes Welsh religious practices, primarily in the form of their own distinct brands of nonconformism, and the Welsh language. Though certainly not uncontested identity markers in nineteenth and twentieth-century Wales (by the 1930s far from it), to the Welsh in India they were the two major points of differences between themselves and their English counterparts. These differences were recognised and expressed in the military, among individual soldiers like John Meredith Lloyd Jones and David Elwyn Lloyd Jones, but also officially in distinctly Welsh regimental identities.[11] They were celebrated within the ICS and wider administration by people like Leonard Owen and Sir Lawrence Jenkins. And most of all, they were marked collectively through the establishment of several Welsh societies from the turn of the twentieth century onwards, and the St David's Day dinners and other events organised under their auspices. These societies, though

[11] See 'By the Way', *The Men of Harlech*, 14 May 1893: 22.

broadly inclusive of the full variety of Welshness, were under no illusions as to what they believed their Welsh inheritance consisted of. They drew upon the idea of a deeply religious Welsh nation with a vibrant and ancient language, racially 'Celtic', forged in the mountains of a romantic physical inheritance.[12] This was a confident identity, but it also expressed anxiety, most explicitly at the future of the Welsh language and the potential for full cultural absorption by their more powerful English neighbour. These gatherings were not simply social occasions. They contained a deeper cultural purpose of cultural maintenance, both of an identity at threat, but also as a means of taming an alien colonial environment. The Welsh in India, most especially through these societies, were constructing Welsh spaces in which they could experience the familiar.

Chapters six and seven explored how ideas of identity and imperialism expressed themselves both in the domestic and imperial space. Britishness was a crucial aspect of Welshness during this period, emerging out of the nineteenth century drive for respectability within the British state. Within a global British world in which the empire was the most tangible expression of British power, Welsh imperialists rushed to link their Welshness with this expression and secure a place within its power structures. To be an integral and valued part of Britain during this period presupposed an imperial purpose. Britain, at least in its propaganda, was above all else an imperial power, and for the Welsh to gain true respectability they needed to find some complementary niche.

This niche forms the central crux of this thesis. It goes beyond a simple assertion that the Welsh supported and appreciated the empire - a position from which one could still claim physical and moral distance. In early eighteenth-century Britain, for example, there was little overt opposition to slavery, though distance from its main centres of operation (there were few slaves in Britain itself) meant there was little appreciation of its full horrors.[13] One could certainly present a similar argument for imperialism - that the average Briton would have had little to no direct experience and supported imperialism through societal conformity. This argument, in an amended form, is essentially Bernard Porter's approach to imperial culture in Britain,[14] and as it is impossible to get fully within the minds of nineteenth and twentieth century 'average' Britons, it is difficult to disprove. However, the sophistication of ideas circulating about 'Welsh imperialism', its nature and its purpose, and the density of such content in the mass domestic press, suggests that Welsh connection to empire went beyond a

[12] See 'Welshmen in India', *The Montgomeryshire Express and Radnor Times*, 30 March 1909: 3.
[13] J.R. Oldfield, *Popular Politics and British Anti-Slavery: The Mobilisation of Public Opinion against the Slave Trade, 1787-1807* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), pp. 42-6.
[14] Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists,* pp. 306-22.

mere ignorant support. The reading Welsh public, as well as chapel goers and those who engaged in any kind of national event such as the National Eisteddfod, were constantly exposed to intense debate around Wales' place in Britain and the empire, and the imperial role that Wales had to play. Such an output over many decades and across the political and linguistic divides of the press cannot be explained away as an editorial whim. It undoubtedly reflected the instincts and perceptions of a Welsh public committed to the imperial ideal, and a specifically Welsh aspect to it. And it undoubtedly impacted on those Welsh who did have direct imperial experience, especially in India.

This 'Welsh imperialism' was constructed around familiar building blocks of Welsh identity explored in chapter five. It was underpinned by the sense that the Welsh were a more moral people than the English. That they were fundamentally more spiritual and Christian. This identity marker clearly developed out of the stinging attacks of the Blue Books and reflected a deeply felt desire to present Welsh nonconformism as godly and highly moralistic. But it also filled a potential niche alongside an English imperialism that often focused on its military might. Sir Griffith Evans summed up this belief most succinctly in his 1899 speech to the inaugural St David's Day dinner of the Calcutta Welsh when he said 'No doubt, the Saxons were a powerful people: they had a bulldog tenacity, and gave backbone to the English race, but he ventured to think that the Welsh gave the spiritual side.'[15]

Welsh religiosity was not just a means of proving themselves to the English within the UK. It was a powerful tool of imperial governance. To its proponents, like Evans, the Welsh could exert a moral influence on their English colleagues who were too preoccupied with achieving power to establish a truly moral rule which looked to the needs and development of the indigenous population. That the Welsh had a strong missionary presence in India was further proof of their imperial use. The Welsh were busy bringing civilisation to 'backward heathens', often in conflict with the more worldly aims of imperial government.

The second underpinning of this concept was the bilingualism of the Welsh. The Welsh language, to individuals like W.R. Owain-Jones and the Welsh press, was essential training in the ability to learn multiple languages. In a colony like India, with its enormous variety of everyday spoken tongues, this ability was particularly useful. It meant they could hit the ground running, wherever they were placed. In practice of course, language ability is far more individualised. While Owain-Jones supposedly found it easy to pick up an array of useful languages on the North West Frontier,[16] G.M.

[15] 'St David's Day in India', *Western Mail*, 29 March 1899: 5.
[16] Aberystwyth, NLW, Reminiscences of W.R. Owain Jones, p. 615.

Mendus struggled with just Khasi,[17] and Leonard Owen almost quit the service rather than undergoing the ordeal of learning Tamil.[18] But the myth of collective Welsh language ability had its impact. Beyond the idea that it made the Welsh quick learners, there was also the suggestion that such ability made the Welsh closer to colonial peoples. They could speak to them on their own terms in their own way, and thus understand their lives, culture, and concerns much more closely. In part, this sprung from the Welsh's own status as a cultural, religious, linguistic, and national minority within the United Kingdom. The theory went that as India was a country with wide ethnic, linguistic, and religious diversity, the Welsh were ideally placed to understand such issues, as opposed to the English who were used to being dominant in such areas. In this sense, the arguments behind the power of the language were similar to those behind the power of the faith and were brought together in a sophisticated idea. To individuals like Sir Lawrence Jenkins, this represented a mediation role between English power and colonial subjects.

While there appeared to be wide agreement on the pillars of 'Welsh imperialism' there was little clear evidence of what it meant in practice. A very limited number of Welsh imperialists were willing to break out of the social conformity described in chapter four to push forward any kind of indigenous first policy, and those that did were hardly treading new ground that had not already been occupied by English, Scottish, and Irish imperial mavericks. Sir Lawrence Jenkins was one of the few who was willing to put his career and reputation on the line to pursue a programme of equal justice for Indians and Indianisation of the judicial service, and this was with strong backing from the Secretary of State for India.[19] Others, like Owain-Jones, celebrated the principle while exhibiting little action, and more still, like Leonard Owen, celebrated their Welshness while allowing it little influence on their professional actions. In Owen's case, class impacted on his worldview far more obviously than his Welshness.[20] The missionary G.M. Mendus did harbour views that aligned with 'Welsh imperialism', but within a strongly Welsh environment that did not share them.[21] And even those who outwardly subscribed to such a position often found themselves failing to live up to its rhetoric. Sir Griffith Evans, in his capacity as one of the leaders of the anti-Ilbert agitation, leaves us in little doubt as to his real feelings towards indigenous populations.[22] For many others, like Sir Roger

[17] Aberystwyth, NLW, Journal of Mrs G.M. Mendus, Book 7, p. 37.
[18] Bangor, BUA, Leonard Owen Papers, v. 1, p. 1.
[19] London, BL, Bundle of Letters from Sir Lawrence Jenkins, 3 June 1909.
[20] See Bangor, BUA, Leonard Owen Papers, v. 1, p. 15.
[21] See Aberystwyth, NLW, Journal of Mrs G.M. Mendus, Book 3, p. 63.
[22] London, BL, Ripon Papers, Letter to Sir Auckland Colvin.

Thomas and Sir Evan Meredith Jenkins, these ideas were seemingly so irrelevant they never felt a need to address them directly and became less relevant the closer decolonisation loomed.

So 'Welsh imperialism' did exert an influence. It was a powerful rhetorical idea both at home and in India and created a theory of Welsh contribution to empire which served domestic need. However, its practical effect was limited to a few committed individuals for whom it underpinned a 'softer' imperialism that existed within some English, Scottish, and Irish minds in another form. There was nothing unique about an imperialist shouting off about 'native rights' and the sheer conformity of most of the Welsh makes it difficult to argue that the Welsh criticism of 'full blown' empire had any notably tangible form. The liberal ideas of people like Malcolm Darling were far more influential, and far more visible, than the Welshness of Sir Lawrence Jenkins.

Ultimately, we are left with an image of the Welsh as a deeply imperial people, extremely thoughtful about what that imperialism meant and where it fitted into the wider picture, but in the end too few, too conformist, and too far from the patronage networks of true imperial influence to have much of an impact on the governing of India. At first glance this conclusion would appear to add credence to claims that the Welsh were distant to empire, as they themselves could exert little direct influence when compared to other British nationalities, most notably the Scottish. However, in reality it places empire at the very heart of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Welsh society, and the Welsh themselves at the very heart of the empire, even if their ability to direct that empire was lacking. Imperialism became an important aspect of how the Welsh thought about themselves and who they wanted to be - godly, culturally distinct, recognised as an integral and valued part of the United Kingdom. And Welshness remained an important aspect of how Welsh imperialists in India thought about themselves and their contribution. Far from disappearing into a broader British identity in the plains and hill stations, Welsh imperialists maintained their distinctiveness and experimented with its imperial relevance. To be Welsh was to be imperial, both at home and abroad, and this most of all underlines the inaccuracy of assertions that empire was something that happened to Wales, or something that was relevant over there across the border.

This thesis plays a role in challenging the insularity of Welsh history, but its ambition is to further challenge many of the assumptions that underline imperial and global history as wider disciplines. It has been fifteen years since John MacKenzie issued his call for a four-nations approach to the British Empire that would nuance the metropolitan experience. While progress has been made, historians are still minded to treat the British in the overseas empire as a homogenous group. For the various

excellent studies that do take a more nuanced approach, the focus, reasonably enough when considering numbers, are the Irish and the Scottish. By challenging the long-held assumption within imperial history that Wales was an imperial irrelevance we add greater plurality to how the empire was experienced and greater depth to the range of ideas competing for influence.

In relation to India, examining the Welsh experience adds entirely new dimensions to imperial thinking, especially in relation to how faith and language issues were transported, reimagined, and contested in the colonial sphere and given a global dimension. It demonstrates how, far from being absorbed into a general British imperial identity, the British exported their national and regional ideological baggage which continued to influence their thinking, and to an extent their behaviour, despite being far removed from the physical landscape in which they were initially forged. These were not simply theoretical musings - Welsh people like Sir Lawrence Jenkins and the missionaries of the Northeast of India had tangible impacts on the colonial space which were fundamentally inspired by their Welshness. This greatly adds to our understanding of how British imperialism operated and has implications far beyond India.

Modern Wales and modern Britain are at a crossroads when it comes to conceptions of our history and its cultural ramifications. Few would deny the empire's importance, but a reduction to a balance sheet view of history has divided people between those who want to maintain the empire as a source of national pride, and those who wish to highlight its essential violence and continuing oppressive impact. When primarily motivated or buoyed by contemporary politics (something no historian can or should escape entirely) both tendencies can lead to dangerous revisionism rather than the kind that opens our perspectives to previously hidden voices. In relation to contemporary Wales, a further explosive element is the debate around Wales' constitutional future, and whether independence represents the best way forward. In the heat of this debate, Wales as an imperial nation can take on a political meaning which does little justice to the complexities of the histories we are engaging with. In amongst it all, a clear-eyed view of how the Welsh of the past thought about themselves and their world provides citizens with some understanding to assess and perhaps even challenge political assertions which draw on justification from history, if they indeed choose to be moved by such arguments. It also provides an opportunity to understand the experiences of fellow citizens who are still daily impacted by the racialising impacts of British, and indeed Welsh, imperialism, and how shoehorning ourselves into traditional historical boxes have hidden their own histories for far too long. We need to bring these into the open and make them a part of our shared

national heritage. Ultimately, Wales was an imperial nation, and the Welsh were a devoted imperial people. This reality matters in the stories we tell about ourselves.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Archival Sources

Anglesey County Record Office

The Link (1934), WM 1645/5.

Bangor University Archive

Leonard Owen Papers, BMSS/13531.

Letter from Major Gen. John Vaughan to Ellinor Anne Vaughan, NWC/569.

Letters of Griffith Evans, BMSS/2854.

British Library

Bundle of Letters from Sir Lawrence Jenkins, MSS Eur D573/46.

Case of insulting remarks delivered in court by Mr S.G. Roberts, IOR/L/PJ/6/1562, File 290.

Letter from Morley to Minto, Mss Eur D573/3, f241.

Personal Correspondence, Sir Roger Thomas Papers, IOR:MSS EUR F 235/673.

Ripon Papers, Letter to Lord Ripon, ADD MS 43600.

Ripon Papers, Letter to Sir Auckland Colvin, ADD MS 43600.

Roger Thomas 1886-1960: draft manuscript memoir by Lady Thomas, Sir Roger Thomas Papers, IOR:MSS EUR F 235/685.

Sind Diary Kept by Lady Thomas, Sir Roger Thomas Papers, IOR:Mss Eur F235/682.

Centre of South Asian Studies, University of Cambridge

David Edward Evans Papers.

J.D. Jenkins.

Lloyd-Jones, D.E. Papers.

Parry Papers.

Modern Records Centre, University of Warwick

Correspondence and Reports on the Tinplate Company of India Ltd, Golmuri, MSS.36/I32 J32/4, 7 & 12.

'Making Tinplate in Jungle Land', article from *Iron Trade*, MSS.36/I32 J32/11.

Modification of Agreement with Welsh Millmen, 1924, MSS.36/I32 J32/9.

Schedule of Rates, MSS.36/I32 J32/5.

The Tinplate Company of India: Circular to Welsh Branches on Members Employed in India and set of Replies, MSS.36/G14/2.

National Library of Wales

D. Rhys Phillips Papers, Letters from Pugh, G. Lloyd at Carmarthen and Girivilas Palace, Sarangarh State, India.

Gwen Rees Roberts Papers, GB 0210 GWERTS, fil 2/1.

H. Jones Davies Manuscripts 41, NLW MS. 12672 E.

J. Herbert Lewis Papers, B62-74.

John Griffith (Bombay) Papers, NLW MS 15331C.

John Meredith Lloyd Jones Papers, GB 0210 JMLLONES.

Journal of Mrs G.M. Mendus, HZ1/3/1-31.

Letters by John Griffith Price and Augustus William Price, Garn Estate Records, FPG1/16.

Letters from India, Pryce, Gwynydd, NLW MS 23288B.

Letters from Vera K. Jones, NLW Facsimiles, NLW Facs 763-4.

Letters of Lewis Mendus, HZ1/3/31.

Letters to Mathilda Susanne Lloyd from Morgan Stuart Williams while he was in India, Aberpergwm Estate Records, Mathilda Susanne Lloyd (from Morgan Stuart Williams), Series 2657.

Letters, Lloyd George Manuscripts, NLW MSS 20467 I-ii C, 2582.

Printed items relating to two Welsh societies formed in Calcutta, NLW ex 887.

Reminiscences of W.R. Owain Jones, Brynsiencyn, relating to India, Pakistan and the North-West Frontier Area, NLW Minor Deposits, Minor Deposit 1079, *An Exile Have I Been.*

The Delhi Welsh Society, Cardiff MS 4. 1012.

Royal Welsh Regimental Museum

Papers of William Henry Evans SWB, BRCRM: 2020.23.8.

Online Archival Sources

British Newspaper Archive (BNA)

BNA, https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/search/results/1940-01-01/1949-12-31?retrievecountrycounts=false&sortorder=dayearly, (21 June 2023).

'Local Lads in India', *Neath Guardian*, 15 February 1946: 6.

'Mission Work in India', *North Wales Weekly News,* 12 October 1922: 8.

'Serious Menace to Welsh Export Trade', *Western Mail,* 24 May 1920: 8.

'Tin-Plate Making in India', *Western Mail,* 17 January 1923: 9.

'To Wed in India', *Port Talbot Guardian*, 15 January 1932: 3.

'Wales and India', *Western Mail*, 14 March 1932: 14.

'Wavell's Welsh Secretary', *Western Mail*, 27 March 1945: 2.

'Welsh Aptitude for Other Languages', *Western Mail,* 9 February 1926: 6.

‘Welsh Chief of India Tin-Plate Company’, *Western Mail*, 11 December 1940: 3.

‘Welsh Society in India’, *Pontypridd Observer,* 17 February 1945: 4.

‘Welsh Woman on India’, *Western Mail,* 17 December 1942: 2.

‘Welshmen in India’, *Western Mail*, 13 November 1924: 6.

’Wales Day By Day’, *Western Mail*, 21 November 1941: 2.

’Welsh Weddings’, *Western Mail,* 4 March 1926: 8.

Welsh Journals Online

’By the Way’, *The Men of Harlech*, 14 May 1893: 22.

’By the Way’, *The Men of Harlech*, 14 May 1893: 22.

’Cricket’, *The Men of Harlech*, December 1896: 7.

’Death of a Welsh Regiment Veteran’, *The Men of Harlech*, 14 December 1893: 2.

’Editor’s Letter’, *The Men of Harlech*, 14 April 1893: 1.

’Final Tie’, *The Men of Harlech,* October 1895: 12-13.

’International Foot-ball', *The Men of Harlech*, February 1897: 12-13.

‘Letters to the Editor‘, *The Men of Harlech*, January 1895: 13.

’Madras Notes’, *Men of Harlech*, February 1897: 4.

’Notes and Reminiscences’, *The Men of Harlech*, July 1896: 4.

’Original Poetry’, *The Men of Harlech*, 14 June 1893: 13.

’Recollections of Wales’, *The Men of Harlech*, 14 May 1893: 7.

’Sergeants’ Smoking Concert’, *The Men of Harlech*, 14 April 1893: 4-5.

’The Red Dragon of Wales’, *The Men of Harlech,* 14 June 1893: 7.

’The Welsh Regimental Football Club’, *The Men of Harlech*, 14 March 1893: 12.

Symons, Jelinger C., ’Reports of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of Education in Wales, Pt. 2, Brecknock, Cardigan, Radnor, and Monmouth’, 6 March 1847.

Welsh Journals Online (WJO), https://journals.library.wales/search?query=India&range%5Bmin%5D=1858&range%5Bmax%5D=1947 (18 September 2023).

Welsh Newspapers Online (WNO)

‘Aberystwyth’, *The Cambrian News and Merionethshire Standard*, 12 January 1906: 8.

’Aberystwyth’, *Welsh Gazette and West Wales Advertiser*, 2 May 1901: 8.

’Aberystwyth’, *Welsh Gazette and West Wales Advertiser*, 8 October 1908: 8.

‘Barmouth’, *Welsh Gazette and West Wales Advertiser*, 16 August 1900: 5.

‘Barry County School Speech Day’, *Barry Dock News,* 2 April 1909: 5.

‘Brecon Soldier’s Experiences in Mesopotamia’, *The Brecon County Times Neath Gazette and General Advertiser for the Counties of Brecon Carmarthen Radnor Monmouth Glamorgan Cardigan Montgomery Hereford*, 19 October 1916: 5.

‘By the Way’, *Western Mail*, 25 October 1893: 4.

‘Cardigan’, *The Cambrian News and Merionethshire Standard*, 9 January 1903: 6.

‘Cardigan’, *Welsh Gazette and Welsh Wales Advertiser*, 28 November 1907: 5.

‘Carmarthen and District News’, *The Welshman,* 30 September 1910: 5.

‘Colwyn Bay in India’, *The Weekly News and Visitors’ Chronicle for Colwyn Bay, Colwyn, Llandrillo, Conway, Deganwy, and Neighbourhood*, 28 November 1902: 7.

‘Curiosities of a Census’, *The Aberystwyth Observer*, 3 February 1883: 7.

‘Death and Funeral of Sir Griffiths Pugh Evans’, *The Cambrian News and Merionethshire Standard*, 14 February 1902: 3.

‘Death of a Cardiganshire Medical Man’, *The Cambrian News and Merionethshire Standard*, 9 January 1914: 6.

‘Deisyfiad Taer Y Fyddin Gymreig O Lucknow, India’, *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, 26 June 1861: 14.

‘Denbigh’, *The North Wales Chronicle and Advertiser for the Principality*, 27 August 1864: 2.

'Frenni Fawr Notes', *The Pembroke County Guardian and Cardigan Reporter*, 3 May 1902: 2.

'From Carnarvon to India', *Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald and North and South Wales Independent*, 8 April 1910: 8.

'From India's Coral Strand', *Llangollen Advertiser Denbighshire Merionethshire and North Wales Journal,* 19 March 1915: 6.

'Genhadaeth yn India', *Y Goleuad,* 14 August 1907: 4.

'Glanamman Celebrity', *The Cambrian*, 21 October 1910: 7.

'Holyhead', *The North Wales Chronicle and Advertiser for the Principality*, 25 June 1915: 8.

'In the Districts', *The Cambria Daily Leader*, 3 September 1919: 8.

'Language in India', *South Wales Echo*, 24 December 1881: 2.

'Llith O Bengal, India', *Y Gwyliedydd*, 23 January 1884: 6.

'Llythyr Oddiwrth Filwr Ieuanc o'r India', *Y Llan*, 26 April 1918: 4.

'Local and District', *Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald and North and South Wales Independent*, 19 May 1893: 5.

'Local Intelligence', *The Cambrian*, 24 September 1886: 5.

'Local News', *Haverfordwest and Milford Haven Telegraph and General Weekly Reporter for the Counties of Pembroke Cardigan Carmarthen Glamorgan and the Rest of South Wales*, 26 December 1917: 3.

'Missionary Exhibition at Llandudno', *The Welsh Coast Pioneer and Review for North Cambria*, 2 December 1909: 10.

'Missionary Meeting at Cadoxton', *The South Wales Star,* 4 December 1891: 7.

'Missionary Work Among the Hindus', *The County Echo,* 13 March 1902: 3.

'Mynd I'r India: O Sir Gaernarfon A Sir Fon', *Yr Herald Cymraeg*, 17 November 1914: 8.

'Newtown', *The Montgomeryshire Express and Radnor Times*, 7 April 1903: 8.

'Newyddion Cymraig', *Y Dydd*, 18 February 1876: 6.

'Nodiadau Wythnosol', *Y Goleuad*, 13 January 1909: 3.

'Notes and Comments', *Welsh Gazette and Welsh Wales Advertiser*, 25 September 1902: 4.

’Notes of the Week’, *The North Wales Express*, 25 April 1902: 4.

‘Obituary- Mr Lewis Pugh Pugh’, *Welsh Gazette and West Wales Advertiser*, 9 January 1908: 4.

‘Penmark’, *The Cardiff Times*, 16 September 1864: 6.

’Pontypool’, *Baner Ac Amserau Cymru*, 9 February 1907: 7.

‘Remember the Native Indians’, *South Wales Daily News*, 29 April 1890: 2.

‘Soldier’s Life in India’, *South Wales Daily News*, 25 September 1895: 6.

‘St David’s Day in Calcutta’, *The Cambrian,* 28 March 1902: 6.

‘St David’s Day in Calcutta’, *Weekly Mail,* 7 April 1900: 8.

‘St David’s Day in India’, *The Cambrian News and Merionethshire Standard*, 3 April 1903: 2.

’St David’s Day in India’, *The Cambrian News and Merionethshire Standard,* 28 March 1902: 6.

‘St David’s Day in India’, *The Cambrian,* 6 April 1900: 5.

‘St David’s Day in India’, *The Western Mail*, 29 March 1899: 5.

‘St David’s Day in India’, *Towyn-on-Sea and Merioneth County Times*, 27 March 1902: 7.

‘The Late Richard Pryce Harrison, Esquire’, *The Montgomery County Times and Shropshire and Mid-Wales Advertiser*, 1 June 1895: 6.

‘The Welsh in London’, *South Wales Daily News*, 2 June 1883: 2.

‘University College of Wales Aberystwyth- Address on India’, *Towyn-on-Sea and Merioneth County Times,* 26 October 1899: 7.

‘Visit of Justice Jenkins to Cardigan’, *The Cardigan Observer and General Advertiser for the Counties of Cardigan, Carmarthen, and Pembroke,* 21 March 1896: 1.

’Wales and the Empire’, *The Weekly News and Visitors’ Chronicle for Colwyn Bay, Colwyn, Llandrillo, Conway, Deganwy, and Neighbourhood*, 15 November 1901: 6.

‘Week by Week’, *Weekly Mail*, 17 April 1909: 6.

‘Welsh Gleanings’, *The Cardiff Times*, 21 July 1888: 1.

‘Welsh in India’, *The Cambrian*, 21 September 1900: 3.

‘Welshmen in India’, *The Montgomeryshire Express and Radnor Times*, 30 March 1909: 3.

’Welsh Notes from America’, *Weekly Mail*, 21 January 1882: 3.

‘Welsh Papers for Welsh Soldiers’, *Y Cymro,* 13 February 1918: 4.

WNO, NLW; https://newspapers.library.wales/search?range%5Bmin%5D=1858&range%5Bmax%5D=1919&query=&lang%5B%5D=wel, (1 February 2023).

WNO, https://newspapers.library.wales/search?range%5Bmin%5D=1858&range%5Bmax%5D=1919&query=India, (1 February 2023).

WNO, https://newspapers.library.wales/search?range%5Bmin%5D=1858&range%5Bmax%5D=1919&query=India&lang%5B%5D=eng, (1 February 2023).

WNO, https://newspapers.library.wales/search?range%5Bmin%5D=1858&range%5Bmax%5D=1919&query=India&lang%5B%5D=wel, (1 February 2023).

World Newspaper Archive

’A Welsh Society: Inaugural Dinner in Bombay’, *The Times of India*, 6 March 1930: 9.

’Anniversaries’, *Pioneer*, 17 March 1891: 2.

’Bombay Engagements: Today’, *The Times of India*, 27 February 1918: 5.

’Calcutta Notes: A Welsh Association‘, *The Times of India,* 9 July 1909: 8.

’Calcutta Notes: The Calcutta Welsh’, *The Times of India*, 11 March 1911: 10.

’Calcutta Notes: The Welsh Dinner’, *The Times of India*, 9 August 1909: 6.

’Congress and Conference Pandals’, *Leader*, 12 August 1918: 7.

’Current Topics: A Welsh Gathering’, *The Times of India*, 3 September 1932: 10.

’Current Topics: Welsh Choir’, *The Times of India*, 25 September 1945: 4.

’Education Through Vernaculars’, *Leader*, 7 May 1914: 7.

’Mr T.J. Extance Dead: President of Welsh Society of Bombay’, *The Times of India*, 17 January 1933: 3.

'News of the Day', *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 17 July 1911: 4.

'Our Calcutta Letter: Calcutta Welshmen', *Times of India*, 5 July 1909: 7.

'Our Calcutta Letter: The Welsh Dinner', *The Times of India,* 6 Mar 1914: 10.

'Poona Welsh Society', *The Times of India*, 30 March 1945: 3.

'St David's Day in Poona', *The Times of India*, 6 March 1946: 5.

'The Bombay Welsh Society: Second Annual Dinner', *The Times of India*, 2 March 1931: 7.

'The Sense of Nationality in Englishmen', *The Times of India*, 4 August 1865: 4.

'Welsh Dinner in Calcutta', *The Times of India*, 12 March 1910: 10.

'Welshmen at Dinner', *The Times of India*, 3 March 1922: 6.

'Welshmen in India', *The Times of India*, 5 March 1914: 8.

South Asia Open Archives

Census of His Highness the Nizam's Dominions 1881, Vol. 1, South Asia Open Archives; contributed by Sir William Chichele Plowden, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/saoa.crl.25057663?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents, (1 December 2021).

Census of India 1891, Assam, South Asia Open Archives; contributed by E.A. Gait, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25352804.pdf, (8 December 2021).

Census of India 1891, General Tables for British Provinces and Feudatory States, South Asia Open Archives; contributed by J.A. Baines, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25318666.pdf, (2 December 2021).

Census of India 1891, Vol. 14, Madras: Tables 1 to XVII-C, British Territory, South Asia Open Archive; contributed by Harold A. Stuart, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25352817.pdf, (13 December 2021).

Census of India 1891, Vol. 23, His Highness the Nizam's Dominions, South Asia Open Archive; contributed by Mirza Mehdy Khan, Provincial Superintendent of Census Operations; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25352822.pdf, (8 December 2021).

Census of India 1901, Vol. 1, India, Pt. 1, Report, South Asia Open Archives; contributed by H.H. Risley and E.A. Gait, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25352837.pdf, (1 December 2021).

Census of India 1901, Vol. 1, India, Pt. 1, Report, South Asia Open Archives; contributed by H.H. Risley and E.A. Gait, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25352837.pdf, (13 December 2021).

Census of India 1901, Vol. 1, India, Pt. 1, Report, South Asia Open Archives; contributed by H.H. Risley and E.A. Gait, India Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25352837.pdf, (14 December 2021).

Census of India 1901, Vol. 1A, India, Pt. 2, Tables, South Asia Open Archives; contributed by H.H. Risley and E.A. Gait, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25352838.pdf, (2 December 2021).

Census of India 1901, Vol. 25, Rajputana, Pt. 1, Report, South Asia Open Archives; contributed by A.D. Bannerman, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25366888.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A83836c800f7640ec70db637c2713231b, (3 December 2021).

Census of India 1901, Vol. 4, Assam, South Asia Open Archives; contributed by B.C. Allen, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25352836.pdf, (13 December 2021).

Census of India 1901, Vol. 7, Calcutta: Town and Suburbs, Pt. 4, Report: Statistical, South Asia Open Archives; contributed by J.R. Blackwood, Corporation of Calcutta; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25318673.pdf, (1 December 2021).

Census of India 1911, Vol. 12, Madras, Pt. 1, Report, South Asia Open Archive; contributed by J. Chartres Molony, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25393785.pdf, (13 December 2021).

Census of India 1911, Vol. 12, Madras, Pt. 2, Imperial and Provincial Tables, South Asia Open Archives; contributed by J. Chartres Molony; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25393786.pdf, (8 December 2021).

Census of India 1911, Vol. 13, North West Frontier Province: Pt. 1, Report: Pt. 2, Tables, South Asia Open Archives; contributed by C. Latimer, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25394102.pdf, (2 December 2021).

Census of India 1911, Vol. 2, Andaman and Nicobar Islands: Pt. 1, Report: Pt. 2, Tables; South Asia Open Archives; contributed by R.F. Lowis, Superintendent of Census Operations; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25393760.pdf, (3 December 2021).

Census of India 1911, Vol. 21, Mysore, Pt. 2, Tables, South Asia Open Archives; contributed by V.R. Thyagarajaiyar, Superintendent of Census Operations; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25394113.pdf, (8 December 2021).

Census of India 1911, Vol. 7, Bombay, Pt. 2, Imperial Tables, South Asia Open Archives; contributed by P.J. Mead and G. Laird MacGregor, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25393770.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3Ae5068f2d243c3d12b9a356e297e9ac84, (3 December 2021).

Census of India 1921, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Vol. XVI, Pt. 1, Report, South Asia Open Archives; contributed by: E.H.H. Edye, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25430166.pdf?refreqid=fastly-default%3A8091dcd62393d4dd8f5d45d694aadf88&ab_segments=0%2Fbasic_search_gsv2%2Fcontrol&origin=search-results (4 May 2022).

Census of India 1921, Vol. 19, Cochin: Pt. 1, Report: Pt. 2, Tables, South Asia Open Archives, 63; contributed by P. Govinda Menon, Superintendent of Census Operations; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25430172.pdf, (2 December 2021).

Census of India 1921, Vol. 23, Mysore, Pt. 1, Report, South Asia Open Archives; contributed by V.R. Thyagarajaiyar, Superintendent of Census Operations; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25430178.pdf, (8 December 2021).

Census of India 1921, Vol. 3, Assam, Pt. 2, Tables, South Asia Open Archives; contributed by G.T. Lloyd, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25394123.pdf, (14 December 2021).

Census of India 1921, Vol. 6, City of Calcutta, Pt. 1, Report, South Asia Open Archives; contributed by W.H. Thomson, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25394126.pdf, (8 December 2021).

Census of India 1921, Vol. 6, City of Calcutta, Pt. 2, Tables, South Asia Open Archives; contributed by W.H. Thomson, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25394127.pdf, (3 December 2021).

Census of India 1921, Vol. 8, Bombay Presidency, Pt. 2, Tables: Imperial and Provincial, South Asia Open Archives; contributed by L.J. Sedgwick, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25394131.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3Ab2f4a5144cfb423876bbdb149c101ce5, (3 December 2021).

Census of India 1921, Vol. 8, Bombay Presidency, Pt. 2, Tables: Imperial and Provincial, South Asia Open Archives; contributed by L.J. Sedgwick, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25394131.pdf, (3 December 2021).

Census of India 1921, Vol. III, Assam, Pt. 1, Report, South Asia Open Archives; contributed by G.T. Lloyd, India Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25793194.pdf, (14 July 2023).

Census of India 1921, Vol. III, Pt. 1, Report, South Asia Open Archives; contributed by G.T. Lloyd, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25793194.pdf, (7 February 2023).

Census of India 1931, Vol. 1, India, Pt. 2, Imperial Tables, South Asia Open Archives; contributed by J.H. Hutton, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25793234.pdf, (14 December 2021).

Census of India 1931, Vol. 13: H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions (Hyderabad State), Pt. 1-2, South Asia Open Archives; contributed by Gulam Ahmed Khan, Census Commissioner; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25793213.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A8645e83a64b9d5904e2e2cf352f9960f, (3 December 2021).

Census of India 1931, Vol. 16, Delhi, South Asia Open Archives; contributed by Khan Ahmad Hasan Khan, Superintendent of Census Operations; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25793230.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A92eebd6d6c1b393a4e40cedf782192b1, (3 December 2021).

Census of India 1931, Vol. 24, Jammu and Kashmir State, Pt. 2, Imperial and State Tables, South Asia Open Archives; contributed by Rai Bahadur, Pt. Anant Ram, Census Commissioner; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25797120.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A80f1300206490b6be73a1cab5b2f5e62, (3 December 2021).

Census of India 1931, Vol. 3, Assam, Pt. 1, Report, South Asia Open Archives; contributed by C.S. Mullan, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25797113.pdf, (13 December 2021).

Census of India 1931, Vol. 6, Calcutta, South Asia Open Archives; contributed by A.E. Porter, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25793232.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A8a001c8c2a6314e924cf3dba5d3d2ca3, (3 December 2021).

Census of India 1941, Vol. 1, India, South Asian Open Archives, 2; contributed by M.W.M. Yeatts, Census Commissioner for India; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.28215532.pdf, (30 November 2021).

Census of Mayurbhanj State 1931, South Asia Open Archives; contributed by Mohammad Laeequddin, Census Officer; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25352830.pdf, (2 December 2021).

Census of the Bombay Presidency, taken on 21 February 1872, South Asia Open Archives; contributed by D.A. Blane, Revenue Commissioner's Office, Government of Bombay; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25057641.pdf, (30 November 2021).

General Report on the Census of India 1891, South Asia Open Archives; contributed by J.A. Baines, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25352825.pdf, (2 December 2021).

General Report on the Census of India 1891, South Asia Open Archives; contributed by J.A. Baines, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25352825.pdf, (2 December 2021).

Imperial Census of 1881: Operations and Results in the Presidency of Madras, South Asia Open Archives; contributed by Lewis McIver, Madras Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25057664.pdf, (13 December 2021).

Memorandum on the Census of British India of 1871-72, 29. See also *Census of India 1921, Vol. 8, Bombay Presidency, Pt. 1, General Report,* South Asia Open Archives; contributed by: L.J. Sedgwick, Indian Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25394130.pdf, (30 November 2021).

Memorandum on the Census of British India of 1871-72, South Asia Open Archives; contributed by: Henry Waterfield; Great Britain, India Office, Statistics and Commerce Department; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25057647.pdf, (30 November 2021).

Operations and Results in the Presidency of Bombay, including Sind 1881, Vol. 1, South Asia Open Archives; contributed by J.A. Baines, Bombay Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25057677.pdf, (2 December 2021).

Operations and Results in the Presidency of Bombay, Including Sind 1881, *Vol. 2,* South Asia Open Archives; contributed by J.A. Baines, Bombay Civil Service; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25057678.pdf, (13 December 2021).

Report on the Census of Baroda Territories 1881, South Asia Open Archives; contributed by Gajanan Krishna Bhatavadekar, Census Superintendent; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25057669.pdf, (1 December 2021).

Report on the Census of British India, taken on the 17 February 1881, South Asia Open Archives; contributed by Sir William Chichele Plowden, Census Commissioner; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25057655.pdf, (2 December 2021).

Report on the Census of Calcutta, taken on 26 February 1891, South Asia Open Archives; contributed by H.F.J.T. Maguire; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25318673.pdf, (13 December 2021).

Report on the Census of the Panjab taken on 17 February 1881, Vol. 1, South Asia Open Archive; contributed by Denzil Charles Jelf Ibbetson; https://www.jstor.org/stable/saoa.crl.25057656?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents, (13 December 2021).

Report on the Census of the Town and Suburbs of Calcutta, taken on the 17 February 1881, South Asia Open Archives; contributed by H. Beverley, Special Census Officer; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25057670.pdf, (13 December 2021).

Report on the Mysore General Census 1871, Vol. 2, South Asia Open Archives; contributed by A.W.C. Lindsay, Mysore Commission; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25057651.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A240a1a08f2eec1556314eb3a190c8428, (3 December 2021).

The Punjab and its Feudatories, Pt. 1, the Report on the Census, South Asia Open Archives; contributed by Sir Edward McLagan, Census Commissioner; https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/saoa.crl.25318668.pdf, (2 December 2021).

Published Primary Sources

Edwards, Lilian, *A Welsh Woman's Work in India* (Caerphilly: self-published, 1940).

Evans, Hubert, *Looking Back on India* (London: Frank Cass, 1988).

Richards, Frank, *Old Soldier Sahib* (Uckfield: The Naval and Military Press Ltd, 2003).

Miscellaneous Primary Sources

'Plaid Leader Adam Price "sorry" for reparations language', *BBC News*, 21 June 2020, https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-wales-53128269.

'Savanta ComRes Wales Voting Intention', 29 April 2021, https://savanta.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/Final_38028217-Wales-Poll-20210429_Private.pdf.

'Should Wales be an Independent Country?', *Statista*, https://www.statista.com/statistics/572299/welsh-attitudes-of-independence-in-wales/.

'UK should compensate Wales for "reducing it to poverty"- Plaid Cymru', *The Guardian*, 3 October 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/oct/03/uk-should-compensate-wales-for-reducing-it-to-poverty-plaid-cymru.

Secondary Sources

Aitken, Edward Hamilton, *Behind the Bungalow* (Moscow: Dodo Press, 2009).

Akala, *Natives: Race and Class in the Ruins of Empire* (London: Two Roads, 2018).

Alborn, Timothy L., 'Age and Empire in the Indian Census, 1871-1931', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 30:1 (1999), 61-89.

Allen, Charles, *Plain Tales from the Raj*, (London: Futura, 1976).

Atwal, Priya, *Royals and Rebels: The Rise and Fall of the Sikh Empire* (London: C. Hurst and Co. Publishers Ltd, 2020).

Baker-Jones, D.L., 'Sir Lawrence Hugh Jenkins of Cilbronnau, Cardiganshire: his Family Background and Career', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,* 1 (1968), 122-32.

Baqai, Farah Gul, 'Sir Evan Jenkins and the 1947 Partition of the Punjab', *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, 27 (2006), 77-96.

Bates, Crispin, 'Race, Caste and Tribe in Central India: The Early Origins of Indian Anthropometry', *Edinburgh Papers in South Asian Studies*, 3 (1995), 1-35.

Baucom, Ian, *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire, and the Locations of Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

Benbough-Jackson, Mike, 'Negotiating National Identity During St David's Day Celebrations on Merseyside, 1880-1900', *Merseyside: Culture and Place* ed. by Mike Benbough-Jackson and Sam Davies (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011).

Benbough-Jackson, Mike, 'St David Meets the Victorians', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 26.4 (2013).

Bhagat, Ram B., 'Census and Caste Enumeration: British Legacy and Contemporary Practice in India', *Genus*, 62.2 (2006), 119-34.

Bowen, H.V., 'Asiatic Interactions: India, the East India Company and the Welsh Economy, c1750-1830', in *Wales and the Overseas Empire: Interactions and Influences, 1650-1830*, ed. by H.V. Bowen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).

Bowen, H.V., 'Introduction', in *Wales and* the *Overseas Empire: Interactions and Influences, 1650-1830,* ed. by H.V. Bowen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).

Brendon, Vyvyen, *Children of the Raj* (London: Phoenix, 2005).

Brown, Judith M., 'India', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Twentieth Century*, ed. by Judith M. Brown and WM. Roger Louis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

Burroughs, Peter, 'Imperial Institutions and the Government of Empire', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Nineteenth Century,* ed. by Andrew Porter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

Cain, P.J. and Hopkins, A.G., 'Gentlemanly Capitalism and British Expansion Overseas II: New Imperialism, 1850-1914', *The Economic History Review*, 40 (1987), 1-26.

Cain, P.J., 'Economics and Empire: The Metropolitan Context', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Nineteenth Century,* ed. by Andrew Porter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

Cell, John W., 'Colonial Rule', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Twentieth Century*, ed. by Judith M. Brown & WM. Roger Louis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

Chandrachud, Abhinav, *An Independent Colonial Judiciary: A History of the Bombay High Court During the British Raj, 1862-1947,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

Clark, Peter, *British Clubs and Societies 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford University Press, Oxford: 2000).

Darwin, John, 'Imperialism and the Victorians: The Dynamics of Territorial Expansion', *The English Historical Review*, 112 (1997), 614-42.

Darwin, John, *After Tamerlane: The Rise and Fall of Global Empires, 1400-2000* (London: Penguin, 2008).

Darwin, John, *Unfinished Empire: The Global Expansion of Britain* (London: Penguin Books, 2013).

Davies, H.M., '"Very Different Springs of Uneasiness": Emigration from Wales to the United States of America During the 1790s', *Welsh History Review*, 15 (1991), 368-98.

Davies, John, *A History of Wales* (London: Penguin Books, 2007).

Davies, Russell, *People Places and Passions: "Pain and Pleasure": A Social History of Wales and the Welsh, 1870- 1945*, 2015 (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2015).

Devine, T.M., *Scotland's Empire: The Origins of the Global Diaspora* (London: Penguin, 2012).

Devine, T.M., *The Scottish Nation: 1700-2007* (London: Penguin, 2006).

Dewey, Clive, *Anglo-Indian Attitudes: The Mind of the Indian Civil Service* (London: The Hambleton Press, 1993).

Dictionary of Welsh Biography (DWB), https://biography.wales/article/s-ELLI-PET-1873, (28 June 2023).

Edwards, Owen M., *Wales* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1912).

Ellis, John S., 'Reconciling the Celt: British National Identity, Empire, and the 1911 Investiture of the Prince of Wales', *Journal of British Studies*, 37 (1998), 391-418.

Evans, Neil, 'Writing Wales into the Empire: Rhetoric, Fragments - and Beyond?', in *Wales and the Overseas Empire: Interactions and Influences, 1650-1830*, ed. by H.V. Bowen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).

Fieldhouse, D.K., 'The Metropolitan Economics of Empire', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Twentieth Century*, ed. by Judith Brown and WM. Roger Louis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

Fieldhouse, D.K., *The Colonial Empires: A Comparative Survey from the Eighteenth Century* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1966).

Fleming, Laurence, *Last Children of the Raj: British Childhoods in India: Volume 1, 1919-1939* (London: Dexter Haven Publishing, 2016).

Forster, E.M., *A Passage to India*, (London: Penguin Modern Classics, 1961).

Fraser, T.G., 'Ireland and India', in '*An Irish Empire'? Aspects of Ireland and the British Empire*, ed. by Keith Jeffery (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996).

French, David, *Military Identities: The Regimental System, the British Army, and the British People c. 1870-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

Gallagher, John and Robinson, Ronald, 'The Imperialism of Free Trade', *The Economic History Review*, 6 (1953), 1-15.

Gallagher, John and Robinson, Ronald, with Denny, Alice, *Africa and the Victorians: The Official Mind of Imperialism* (London: MacMillan, 1961).

Gilmour, David, *The British In India: Three Centuries of Ambition and Experience* (London: Penguin Books, 2019).

Glass, Bryan S., and MacKenzie, John M., 'Introduction', in *Scotland, Empire and Decolonisation in the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Bryan S. Glass and John M. MacKenzie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015).

Gopal, Priyamvada, *Insurgent Empire: Anticolonialism and the Making of British Dissent* (London: Verso, 2019).

Guha, Sumit, 'The Politics of Identity and Enumeration in India c. 1600-1990', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 45 (2003), 148-167.

Harper, Marjory, 'Initiatives, Impediments and Identities: Scottish Emigration in the Twentieth Century', in *Scotland, Empire and Decolonisation in the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Bryan S. Glass and John M. MacKenzie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015).

Harris, Trevor, 'British Informal Empire During the Great War: Welsh Identity and Loyalty in Argentina', *Itinerario*, 38.3 (2014), 103-17.

Hickman, Katie, *She-Women, Buccaneers and Gentlewomen: British Women in India* (London: Virago, 2019).

Hobson, J.A., *Imperialism: A Study* (London: J. Nisbet, 1902).

Holmes, Richard, *Sahib: The British Soldier in India, 1750-1914* (London: Harper Perennial, 2006).

Horn, James, 'British Diaspora: Emigration from Britain, 1680-1815', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Eighteenth Century*, ed. by P.J. Marshall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

Hughes, Arthur Festin, 'Welsh Migrants in Australia: Language Maintenance & Cultural Transmission', unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Adelaide, Dept. of Education, (1994).

Hughes, Heather, 'How the Welsh Became White in South Africa: Immigration, Identity and Economic Transformation from the 1860s to the 1930s', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,* 7 (2001), 112-27.

Hutchins, Francis G., *The Illusions of Permanence: British Imperialism in India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967).

Hutchinson, Sam, *Settlers, War, and Empire in the Press: Unsettling News in Australia and Britain, 1863-1902*, (Palgrave MacMillan: Cambridge, 2017).

Hyam, Ronald, *Empire and Sexuality: The British Experience* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991).

Jackson, Kyle, 'Possessing Christianity in Northeast India: Kelkank, 1937', *Modern Asian Studies*, 55 (2021), 488-513.

James, Lawrence, *Raj: The Making and Unmaking of British India*, (London: Abacus, 1997).

James, Lawrence, *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire* (London: Abacus, 1995).

Jeffery, Keith, 'Introduction', in '*An Irish Empire'? Aspects of Ireland and the British Empire*, ed. by Keith Jeffery (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996).

Jeffery, Keith, 'The Irish Military Tradition and the British Empire', in '*An Irish Empire'? Aspects of Ireland and the British Empire*, ed. by Keith Jeffery (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996).

Johnes, Martin, 'Welshness, Welsh Soldiers and the Second World War', in *Fighting For Britain? Negotiating Identities in Britian during the Second World War*, ed. by Wendy Ugolini and Juliette Pattinson (Peter Lang: Oxford, 2015).

Johnes, Martin, *Wales: England's Colony? The Conquest, Assimilation and Re-Creation of Wales* (Cardigan: Parthian, 2019).

Jones, Aled and Jones, Bill, 'Empire and the Welsh Press' in *Newspapers and Empire in Ireland and Britain*, ed. by Simon J. Potter (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004).

Jones, Aled and Jones, Bill, 'The Welsh World and the British Empire c. 1851-1939: An Exploration', in *The British World: Diaspora, Culture and Identity*, ed. By Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich (Abingdon: Routledge, 2003).

Jones, Aled, 'Culture, "Race" and the Missionary Public in Mid-Victorian Wales', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 10:2 (2005), 157-83.

Jones, Aled, 'Sacred Spaces: Cultural Geographies of Mission in Welsh Sylhet, 1849-1940', *The Welsh History Review*, 26 (2012), 215-45.

Jones, Aled, 'Welsh Missionary Journalism in India, 1880-1947', in *Imperial Co-Histories: National Identities and the British Colonial Press*, ed. by Julie F. Codell (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2003).

Jones, Bill, 'Representations of Australia in Mid-Nineteenth-century Welsh Emigrant Literature: Gwlad yr Aur and Awstralia A'r Cloddfeydd Aur', *The Welsh History Review*, 23 (2007), 51-74.

Jones, Bill, 'Welsh Identities in Ballarat, Australia, During the Late Nineteenth Century', *Welsh History Review*, 20.2 (2000), 283-307.

Jones, Bill, *Wales in America: Scranton and the Welsh, 1960-1920* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1993).

Judd, Denis, *Empire: The British Imperial Experience from 1765 to the Present* (London: HarperCollins Publishers, 1996).

Keay, John, *India, A History: From the Earliest Civilisations to the Boom of the Twenty-First Century,* (London: Harper Press, 2010).

Khan, Yasmin, *The Raj at War: A People's History of India's Second World War* (London: Bodley Head, 2015).

Kincaid, Dennis, *British Social Life in India, 1608-1937* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973).

Kirk-Greene, Anthony, *Britain's Imperial Administrators, 1858-1966* (MacMillan Press Ltd: London, 2000).

Lambert, David, 'Reflections on the Concept of Imperial Biographies: The British Case', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 40 (2014).

Lenin, V.I., *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism: A Popular Outline* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1975).

Lewis, Ron, *Welsh Americans: A History of Assimilation in the Coalfields* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008).

Lloyd Jones, D.E., 'David Edward Evans: A Welshman in India', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1 (1967), 132-41.

MacKenzie, J.M., *A Cultural History of the British Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2022).

MacKenzie, John M., 'Irish, Scottish, Welsh and English Worlds? A Four-Nation Approach to the History of the British Empire', *History Compass*, 6 (2008).

MacKenzie, John M., 'The Popular Culture of Empire in Britain', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Twentieth Century*, ed. by Judith Brown and WM. Roger Louis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

MacKenzie, John M., 'Essay and Reflection: On Scotland and Empire', *The International History Review*, 15 (1993), 714-39.

MacKillop, Andrew, 'A "Reticent" People? The Welsh in Asia, c1700-1815', in *Wales and the Overseas Empire: Interactions and Influences, 1650-1830,* ed. by H.V. Bowen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).

MacMillan, Margaret, *Women of the Raj: The Mothers, Wives, and Daughters of the British Empire in India* (New York: Random House, 2007).

Mangan, J.A., and McKenzie, Callum, *Militarism, Hunting, Imperialism: 'Blooding the Martial Male* (London: Routledge, 2010).

Martin, Ged and Kline, Benjamin E., 'British Emigration and New Identities', in *The Cambridge Illustrated History of the British Empire*, ed. by P.J. Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Mason, Philip, *A Matter of Honour: An Account of the Indian Army its Officers and Men* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1976).

Mason, Tony and Riedi, Eliza, *Sport and the Military: The British Armed Forces 1880-1960*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Masselos, Jim, *Indian Nationalism: A History*, (New Delhi: Sterling, 2002).

Matthews, Gethin, 'Miners, Methodists, and Minstrels: The Welsh in America and their Legacy' in Michael Newton (ed.) *The Celts in the Americas* (Sydney: Cape Breton University Press, 2013).

May, Andrew J., *Welsh Missionaries and British Imperialism: The Empire of Clouds in North-East India*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012).

May, Andrew, 'Mountain Views: Welsh Missionaries, Diaspora and Empire', *The Welsh History Review*, 25 (2010), 239-50.

Metcalf, Barbara D. & Metcalf, Thomas R., *A Concise History of India,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Metcalf, Thomas R., *Ideologies of the Raj* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

Midgley, Claire ed., *Gender and Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998).

Moore, Robin J., 'Imperial India, 1858-1914', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Andrew Porter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

Morgan, Kenneth O., *Rebirth of a Nation: Wales 1880-1980* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982).

Morton, Graeme, 'Applying the Diasporic Lens to Identity and Empire in Twentieth-Century Scotland', in *Scotland, Empire and Decolonisation in the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Bryan S. Glass and John M. MacKenzie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015).

O'Hanlon, Rosalind, 'Gender in the British Empire', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Twentieth Century*, ed. by Judith Brown and WM. Roger Louis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

O'Leary, Paul, 'The Languages of Patriotism in Wales, 1840-1880', in *The Welsh Language and its Social Domains 1801-1911,* ed. by Geraint H. Jenkins (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000).

Oldfield, J.R., *Popular Politics and British Anti-Slavery: The Mobilisation of Public Opinion against the Slave Trade, 1787-1807* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).

Orwell, George, *Burmese Days,* (London: Penguin Modern Classics, 2001).

Owain-Jones, W.R., 'The Contribution of Welshmen to the Administration in India', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,* 2 (1970), 250-62.

Owen, Nicholas, 'Critics of Empire in Britain', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Twentieth Century*, ed. by Judith M. Brown and WM. Roger Louis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

Porter, Andrew, 'Trusteeship, Anti-Slavery, and Humanitarianism', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Nineteenth Century,* ed. by Andrew Porter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

Porter, Bernard, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

Potter, David C., *India's Political Administrators 1919-1983* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).

Powell, Martyn J., 'Celtic Rivalries: Ireland, Scotland and Wales in the British Empire, 1707-1801', in *Wales and the Overseas Empire: Interactions and Influences, 1650-1830,* ed. by H.V. Bowen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).

Pryce, Huw, 'Culture, Identity, and the Medieval Revival in Victorian Wales', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, 31 (2011), 1-40.

Rees, Lowri Ann, 'Welsh Sojourners in India: The East India Company, Networks and Patronage, c. 1760-1840', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 45 (2017), 165-87.

Roberts, Gwyneth Tyson, *The Language of the Blue Books: The Perfect Instrument of Empire* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1998).

Said, Edward W., *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books, 2003).

Samson, Jane, *Race and Empire* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005).

Sanghera, Sathnam, *Empireland: How Imperialism has Shaped Modern Britain* (New York City: Viking, 2021).

Taylor, Lucy, 'Global Perspectives on Welsh Patagonia: The Complexities of Being Both Colonizer and Colonized', *Journal of Global History*, 13.3 (2018), 446-468.

The Encyclopaedia of Empire, (John Wiley & Sons: 2016), Tirthankar Roy, British Empire: 8. India, from 1858.

Tyler, Robert Llewellyn, 'Occupational Mobility and Cultural Maintenance: The Welsh in a Nineteenth Century Australian Gold Town', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 24 (2006), 277-99.

Tyler, Robert Llewellyn, 'Occupational Mobility and Social Status: The Welsh Experience in Sharon, Pennsylvania, 1880-1930', *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies*, 83 (2016), 1-27.

Ugolini, Wendy, 'The "Welsh" Pimpernel: Richard Llewellyn and the Search for Authenticity in Second World War Britain', *Cultural and Social History*, 16 (2019), 185-203.

Wagner, Kim A., *Amritsar 1919: An Empire of Fear and the Making of a Massacre*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019).

Webster, Wendy, *Englishness and Empire, 1939-1965* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

Williams, Gwyn A., *The Welsh in Their History* (London: Croom Helm, 1982).

Williams, Gwyn A., *When Was Wales? A History of the Welsh* (London: Penguin, 1991).

Woodruff, Philip, *The Men Who Ruled India: The Founders* (Oxford: Alden Press, 1953).

Woodruff, Philip*, The Men Who Ruled India: The Guardians* (Oxford: Alden Press, 1954).