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'The Best Welshman is a Welshman Abroad':

Wales, China, and the Globalized Nation in the Age of Empire

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Abstract

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This thesis considers and seeks to expand the way historians of Wales and of the British Empire have written late nineteenth and early twentieth century Welsh history, by examining Wales' connections to China and the Far East. I illustrate how media reports at home in 'gallant little Wales' concerning the Boxer Rebellion and the activities of Welshmen in China during the late-1890s and 1900s helped write Wales into the British Empire and the wider world and played into conceptions of national identity, shaping major anti-Chinese rioting in Cardiff in 1911. The connection between religion and national identity, which was particularly strong in the Welsh case and has been seen as intimately connected to a national struggle for church disestablishment within the United Kingdom, was also necessarily shaped by a globalized system of information, not least involving Welsh missionaries, and by imperial expansion and spectacle. Small but influential Welsh communities also emerged in the Europeanized metropolises of Shanghai, Singapore, and Hong Kong and – alongside Welsh individuals in the Chinese interior – were tuned into political and cultural debates occurring in Wales. Their approach to national identity was shaped by their tentative positions in the Far East, engendered by the British Empire's power and endangered by the rise of nationalism in China. They proved remarkably supportive of British imperial expansion and the exertion of imperial power in China – in contradiction to Welsh nationalists at home – yet they prioritized the Welsh language in their cultural celebrations, justifying Welsh nationalism as an expression of support for the empire. These individuals and communities looked back to Wales, working to recreate the national homeland in China at the same time that they sought to involve themselves in cultural developments in the metropole. Throughout all these interactions, Welsh individuals understood their position within Wales and the wider world as being shaped by their distinct national background. Thus, I make the case that in order to fully understand British activity overseas, distinctive national backgrounds have to be taken into account; and in order to understand a seemingly national Welsh history it is essential to consider the global and imperial.

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Introduction

"We gave you a dynasty once. Welshmen governed this Empire once, and it has never

been governed well since. We founded a navy for you, we founded the Empire for you, and you

are boasting of our deeds to-day. The worst of it is that it is monopolised as an English Empire.

It is a Welsh Empire!"[1] So joked David Lloyd George, future Prime Minister, during a meeting

of the House of Commons in spring 1903 as he advocated for Welsh Home Rule.[2] Englishness

pervaded the British Empire so deeply that many considered it an English Empire. Some have

argued that Scottish and Irish involvement was so extensive that there were even Scottish and

Irish empires.[3] But a Welsh Empire? Not even Lloyd George, the most strident of Welsh

nationalists, was serious.

Wales in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century occupied a seemingly

paradoxical position in the British Empire as both "colonizer and colonized".[4] The Welsh were

subject to "racialized logics that constrained Welsh political autonomy and disparaged Welsh

culture" at home, where they were at the geographic, linguistic, and cultural margins of the

British metropole.[5] But they also helped to build the empire, within which they were

undistinguishable to colonial peoples from the English.

Perhaps Lloyd George embodied this ambiguity better than anyone. George propelled

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[1] "Self Government for Wales," *The North Wales Express*, March 20, 1903.

[2] The Home Rule movement for Wales emphasized devolution of control in political matters to Wales under a model similar to that advocated by William Gladstone for Ireland. Kenneth O. Morgan, *Wales in British Politics, 1868-1922* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1962), 68-75.

[3] For example, see Tom Devine, *Scotland's Empire: 1600 to 1815* (London: Penguin Random House, 2004); Michael Fry, *The Scottish Empire* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2001), and Keith Jeffrey, ed., *An Irish Empire? Aspects of Ireland and the British Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996). A description of the centrality of imperial participation to the development of British identity in Scotland and the prevalence and extent of Scottish participation in the empire is also central to Linda Colley's 1992 *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837*. See pages 117-31.

[4] Lucy Taylor, "Global Perspectives on Welsh Patagonia: The Complexities of Being Both Colonizer and Colonized," *Journal of Global History* 13, no. 3 (November 2018): 466.

[5] Ibid., 448.

himself to political fame through his impassioned opposition to the Boer War, which he argued –

with incisively anti-imperial language – characterized the immoral overreach of the British

Empire. He saw a spitting image of Wales in the small Boer republics of southern Africa, made

up of farmers and miners, who were linguistically and religiously different from the English.

Their suppression was an act of political and moral wrongdoing. He remained consistent in his

belief that the Empire had to act morally towards small nations and that an empire that

suppressed the weak was morally bankrupt.[6]

Wales' presence in an increasingly globalized world, and one to which they had

exceptional access as constituents of the British metropole, fundamentally inflected and

contextualized attempts to grapple with Welshness in the late nineteenth and early twentieth

centuries. Lloyd George's words make clear that Welsh identity became increasingly influenced

and shaped by the global circulation of ideas. His speeches were imbued with imperial and

global motifs, underscoring the connection between Welsh nationalism and the empire and the

role of Wales as a moral and guiding light unto both the British Empire and the small, "five-foot-

five nations" of the world.[7]

Nevertheless, the connections between the British Empire and Wales, and Wales and the

wider world, have been the subject of very little research. Unlike for Scottish, Irish, and English

history, these relationships have never been central to historians of Wales or the empire. Only

with the global turn in the historical profession over the past two decades have transnational

connections begun to receive greater attention within the field of Welsh studies.[8]

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[6] Kenneth O. Morgan, "David Lloyd George and Wales," in *Wales, 1880-1914*, ed. Trevor Herbert and Gareth Elwyn Jones (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1988), 139.

[7] Mike Benbough-Jackson, "Five-Foot-Five Nation: Size, Wales and the Great War," *Welsh History Review* 28, no. 4 (2017): 618-645.

[8] For instance, Kathryn N. Jones, Carol Tully, and Heather Williams, ed., *Hidden Texts, Hidden Nation: (Re)Discoveries of Wales in Travel Writing in French and German (1780-2018)* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2020).

Most research has been oriented towards Welsh settler-colonialism in the United States, Argentina, and Australia. But excluded from the record are the sailors, soldiers, company-men, teachers, entrepreneurs and administrators – and frequently the families who accompanied them – that marked the other side of Welsh activities overseas. These individuals were linked back to Wales through networks of communication and print made possible through a world of empire and increasing globalization. In turn, linkages shaped discourses in Wales just as they did daily life in Welsh expat communities.

Within Wales, the burgeoning commercial field was dominated by imperial representation, and Wales' particular variant of imperial exhibitions, the missionary exhibition, proliferated from its biggest cities to its smallest towns. Large numbers of immigrants flowed into Wales in the late nineteenth century, spurred by the booming industrialized economy that had developed on the back of the country's material riches. The result was a distinctive Welsh approach to the empire, that synthesized traditional conceptions of Welsh identity with practical approaches to imperial participation,[9] one that reached well beyond the confines of formal empire and brought a clear, global dimension to a presumably national culture and self-consciousness. Wales and Welshness were deeply embedded in the larger world, even if the historiography has failed to emphasize this connection.

This thesis seeks to address both the "considerable lacunae" in our understanding of the relationship between Wales and the British overseas empire, and the lack of a study of Wales in an explicitly global context.[10] It does so by tracking the relationship between Wales and China in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with a view to the multifaceted and

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[9] Jane Aaron, "Slaughter and Salvation: Welsh Missionary Activity and British Imperialism," in *A Tolerant Nation? Exploring Ethnic Diversity in Wales*, ed. Charlotte Williams, Neil Evans, and Paul O'Leary (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003), 51-68.

[10] Hugh Bowen, "Introduction," in *Wales and the British Overseas Empire: Interactions and Influences, 1650-1830*, ed. Hugh Bowen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), 1-12.

numerous, yet essentially unstudied connections that linked the Welsh to China and transferred representations of China back to Wales.[11] In the process, it takes as its focus those individuals and relationships traditionally ignored in discussions of Welshmen abroad.

The Welsh consistently pop up in China at some of the most important places and times in its modern history. Welsh military units were involved in every major British intervention in China from the Second Opium War to the Second World War (1856-1945) and played crucial roles during the Boxer Rebellion and the First World War.[12] And by the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Welsh missionaries had achieved considerable success and fame in China. The Carmarthenshire-born Baptist missionary Timothy Richard became an extremely influential reform figure and worked closely with some of the most important intellectuals in modern Chinese history.[13] As the first person to translate quotes of Marx and Engels into Chinese, he remains an important part of CCP history and was mentioned to this effect by Central Committee member Qu Qingshan this past July in a press conference celebrating the 100th anniversary of the Party.[14] Swansea-born missionary Griffith John, in a 50-year career operating the London Missionary Society mission station in Wuhan, founded the city's first modern hospital, which has evolved into the Wuhan Union Hospital, today one of China's largest

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[11] The relationship between Wales and China is one that few have ever considered, and even fewer sought to probe. The sole distinction in Wales is the late amateur Welsh historian Ena Niedergang. In the process of completing this project, I requested material from the Ena Niedergang (Wales-China) Papers held at the National Library of Wales, which were donated after her death in 2018. The material is not applicable to this project, and the majority of it deals with associational connections between Wales and China (for instance, the Wales-China Friendship Society) from the 1970s through the 2000s. Nevertheless, Niedergang deserves mention for being the only previous researcher to notice and investigate this connection.

[12] John Stevens, *The Welsh at War: From Mons to Loos & the Gallipoli Tragedy* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword Books, 2018), 58-63.

[13] Bill Hayton, "The Welsh Baptist Who Transformed China," *UnHerd*, April 18, 2019, https://unherd.com/2019/04/the-welsh-baptist-who-transformed-china/

[14] Qingshan, "First press conference held by the Press Center for the Celebration of the 100th Anniversary of the Founding of the Communist Party of China," *People's Daily*, July 12, 2021, http://english.scio.gov.cn/m/pressroom/2021-07/12/content_77621871_9.htm. Richard is also commemorated in the Museum of the Chinese Communist Party in Beijing.

with over 5,000 beds.[15] Both Richard and John were important mediators in the period after the Boxer Rebellion, as the Western powers needed trusted and fluent Chinese speakers to help bring a settlement to the war.

The missionary was a hallowed figure in Wales, where religious identity, schools, and publications shaped national life and collective identity, even among Welshmen who made their livings within the empire. Even though missionizing was an important part of Scottish and English approaches to empire, too, Wales' distinct religious tradition of non-conformism and its connections to issues of cultural and increasingly political nationalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries gave it a special place in the Welsh national conscience.[16] Timothy Richard and Griffith John were widely known figures, and are indicative of the way missionary work was central to a national discourse that was deeply entangled with the imperial. In this way, the Welsh came to see themselves as the "missionary voice" of the empire, a "model to the nationalities of the earth."[17]

Lively Welsh communities also developed in the treaty ports of Shanghai, Singapore, and Hong Kong, centered around small but active St. David's Societies founded in the early 1910s, where national identity was negotiated and connected back to the metropole. These communities sought to retain connections to Wales as they negotiated their national identity and Welshness against the backdrop of the Far East.

Back in Wales, media reports about Welsh 'empire-builders' and their communities in

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[15] Neil Prior, "19th Century Swansea missionary Griffith John celebrated," *BBC News*, February 1, 2017, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-wales-south-west-wales-38775379

[16] Esther Breitenbach, *Empire and Scottish Society: The Impact of Foreign Missions at Home, c. 1790 to c. 1914* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009).

[17] "South Wales Liberal Federation," *The Cambrian News and Merionethshire Standard*, February 7, 1890. R. Tudur Jones, "Nonconformity and the Welsh Language in the Nineteenth Century," in *The Welsh Language and its Social Domains, 1801–1911*, ed. Geraint Jenkins (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000), 239–64.

China created a picture of Wales as a central part of the imperial metropole.[18] Drawing on

Benedict Anderson's conception of imagined communities, I demonstrate how media

publications – both religious and secular – situated Wales within the wider world.[19] Though the

involvement of Welsh troops in the Boxer Rebellion and First World War in the Far East was

overshadowed by more substantial Welsh involvement in South Africa and Flanders, reports of

their gallantry contributed to a national imaginary where the Welsh were not just a part of the

empire – something that everyday Welsh individuals did experience, in the increasing

commodification, urbanization, industrialization, and globalization of their society – but a

distinctively Welsh part of it.

This project uses Welsh connections to China in the period between 1880 and 1937 to

demonstrate how global connections that transcended the imperial, and were not characterized by

large-scale immigration, had a direct impact on the formulation of the Welsh conception of

gwerin. Similar to the German *Volk*, *gwerin* was the Welsh national self-characterization of the

people, and held that "the Welsh people were the most upright, God-fearing, radical, moral,

philosophical, cultured and tolerant in the world".[20] But it goes beyond this assertion to

demonstrate how the creation of a picture of Wales that was meaningful to Welsh individuals at

home and abroad was deeply intertwined with developments in the British Empire and the wider

world.

My first chapter seeks to engage with questions of Welshness and of the wider Welsh

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[18] The term was often used in the major Cardiff-based daily newspaper *The Western Mail*. "Wales Day By Day," *The Western Mail*, January 20, 1900; "Wales Day By Day," *The Western Mail*, January 18, 1900; "Wales Day By Day," *The Western Mail*, October 6, 1900.

[19] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1999).

[20] Neil Evans, "Immigrants and Minorities in Wales, 1840-1990: A Comparative Perspective," *Llafur* 5, no. 4 (1991): 5.

relationship to the empire at home. It examines media reports in 'gallant little Wales' of the activities of Welshmen in China, and considers how they impacted the relationship between self-conceptions of Britishness and Welshness. At the same time, I take into consideration the way these accounts shaped perceptions and representations of China and the Chinese between 1880 and 1911, in the lead up to major anti-Chinese riots in Cardiff in the summer of that year. This narrative emphasized the particularly moral role of Welsh figures as a guiding light to British imperial expansion, but subsumed Welshness into Britishness. I argue that Welsh self-conceptions and views of the Chinese perpetuated by media reports and missionary activity drove the riots. In effect, media reporting helped create the view that the Welsh were a particularly moral people, which played an active role in justifying anti-Chinese rioting.

Chapter two, grounded in research into the Welsh national-cultural "St. David's Societies" founded in Hong Kong and Shanghai in the early 1900s, argues that the start of the First World War created a new narrative in the British settlements in the Far East, where national pride became tantamount to imperial patriotism. This spurred the solidification of previously unofficial connections into formal cultural nationalist associations and also fostered an explosion in celebrations marked by exclusionary aspects of Welshness – facets of identity, like the Welsh language, not accessible to individuals from the other nations of Britain.

The third chapter examines the discourse surrounding the Welsh language in Wales, and the way self-conceptions of Welshness were maintained and spread by individuals and families living in China, showing that Welsh national identity could be and was transferred from parent to child, even among children born and raised in China, who neither spoke Welsh, nor had ever visited the country. It concludes by demonstrating how 'invented tradition' – traditions seen as harking back to an ancient past, but which were actually modern developments – became

globalized in the early twentieth century, through the ways the Shanghai Welsh community sought to involve itself in the annual National Eisteddfods – the most important Welsh cultural festival.

This thesis shows how "the nationalizing effects of global circulation" were equally assimilatory, as they inspired Welsh national patriotism, but resulted in a narrative that subsumed Wales within the British Empire.[21] Though this research deals with Wales, its conclusions speak to a broader ambiguity of identity experienced by individuals in nations subsumed within larger imperial powers (for instance, Brittany within France) in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Furthermore, by offering a marginal approach to the empire, by means of the relationship between Wales and China, a region "at the social margins of empire," this project attempts to offer new perspectives on the British Empire.[22]

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[21] Sebastian Conrad, *Globalisation and the Nation in Imperial* Germany, trans. Sorcha O'Hagan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 15.
[22] Robert Bickers, *Empire Made Me: An Englishman Adrift in Shanghai* (New York: Penguin Books, 2003), 4.

Global Wales: National and Religious Identity and the Media

When "Welshmen…participated in British imperialism…they did so as Britishers, not as Welshmen…themselves the victim of a kind of imperialism".[23] Ned Thomas' formulation oversimplifies a complex relationship – something he himself realized – but it nevertheless characterizes the way the Welsh have viewed their relationship to the British Empire over the past century. Wales was England's first colony, a place where colonial policies were tested before they were applied to the empire;[24] how could the Welsh participate in it (especially as distinctly Welsh)? This chapter demonstrates how empire became entangled with the nation in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Wales through the ways the British Empire and the wider world were portrayed in Welsh media and religious spectacle. It shows the ways the global and imperial became intertwined with the local in Wales, creating discourses that had the ability to drive major national incidents, and playing into seemingly distinctive conceptions of nationhood.

Imperial expansion marked maps around the British Empire and the wider world with Welsh names, from Mount Everest to New South Wales.[25] But Wales itself was also renamed in response to greater exposure to the world.[26] For instance, the main street of the town of Llanidloes in the eastern county of Powys was named China Street.[27] The name 'China' also

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[23] Ned Thomas, *The Welsh Extremist: Modern Welsh Politics, Literature and Society* (Talybont: Y Lolfa, 1991), 36.

[24] Martin Johnes, *Wales: England's Colony? The Conquest, Assimilation and Re-creation of Wales* (Cardigan: Parthian Books, 2019); Gwyneth Tyson Roberts' "Cheaper and More Efficient than the Bayonet: Colonial Educational Policy in Mid-Nineteenth-century Wales and India," presented as part of Swansea's Glynn Vivian art museum's seminar series "Imperial Subjects: (Post)colonial Conversations between South Asia and Wales."

[25] Mount Everest was named after the Welsh surveyor George Everest in 1865. Mount Everest was even explicitly compared to Snowdon, the highest mountain in Wales. "Fellow Feeling," *TN-CHSC&CG*, April 17, 1935: 91.

[26] One of the more visible instances was Tel El-Kabir Street, named after the site of a British victory in Egypt in 1882, in the town of Hopkinsville in southern Wales. Davies, *People, Places and Passions* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2015), 230.

[27] Coflein, "China Street," February 10, 2022, https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/28971?term=china.

became attached to a notoriously crime-ridden district in the major industrial city Merthyr Tydfil – analogous to the lawless 'Alsatia' district of seventeenth-century London.[28] By the mid-nineteenth century, Merthyr's China had become a byword for lawlessness, "injurious accounts which in all parts of Wales I had heard concerning it."[29] China was so well-known throughout the country that when it was inspected during the extensive 1847 parliamentary Inquiry Into the State of Education in Wales, the investigators were pleased to find that though China was "a mere sink of thieves and prostitutes," it was no worse than similar districts found in most cities.[30]

Why was Merthyr's 'East-End' called China? Merthyr had no Chinese population. Instead, it has been argued that the name became stuck to the area from the early 1840s, during the period of the First Opium War, because of how "mysterious and dangerous" it had become to the upstanding citizens of the town.[31] The actual origin of the term was likely not related to the "strange culture and customs" of the area, but instead owed itself to a missionizing tee-totaler and owner of the Canton Tea Shop on Merthyr's High Street named Walter Watkins, who preached for temperance and religiosity in the area of town that came to be called 'China'.[32] This origin is a clear testament to the importance of the 'missionizing spirit' of the Welsh, even

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[28] 'Alsatia' was an area of London where a confusion of administrative boundaries in the late seventeenth century created a level of extraterritoriality where individuals could seek sanctuary from the law. Its residents were the subject of "extravagant claims for criminality or intoxicating suggestions of pure anarchy." John Levin, "Introducing Alsatia," *Alsatia: The Debtor Sanctuaries of London*, August 24, 2009, https://alsatia.org.uk/site/. The connection between Alsatia and China in Merthyr was originally made in the Inquiry Into the State of Education in Wales sighted below, but was also later replicated in the press, John G.E. Astle, "The Progress of Merthyr: A 'Diamond Jubilee' Review, with Synopsis of Local Information," *Merthyr Times and Dowlais Times and Aberdare Echo*, June 18, 1897.

[29] Commissioners of Inquiry Into the State of Education in Wales, *Reports of the Commissioners of Inquiry Into the State of Education in Wales* (London: William Clowes & Sons, 1848), 304.

[30] Ibid. With Merthyr's decline between the late 1860s and 1880s, Butetown in Cardiff replaced 'China' as the preeminent symbol of the lascivious and lawless aspects of rapid urbanization. It is not surprising that Butetown was the center of the 1911 anti-Chinese riots (as well as considerable ethnic tensions during the early and mid-twentieth century).

[31] Joe England, *Merthyr, The Crucible of Modern Wales* (Cardigan: Parthian Books, 2017), 35.

[32] Keith Strange, *Merthyr Tydfil, Iron Metropolis: Life in a Welsh Industrial Town* (Cheltenham: Tempus, 2005), 107; Anthony Rhys, "The True Origin of the 'China' nickname for Merthyr's Prostitute District," October 17, 2018, http://upsetvictorians.blogspot.com/2018/10/the-true-origin-of-china-nickname-for.html. Watkins preached regularly in the seedy riverside area of the town, and individuals in Merthyr slowly began to use the name 'China', either mockingly or affectionately, to describe it.

within Britain.[33] But the term remained popular through the 1880s, long after Wilkins' death, because of associations between the backwardness of China and the depravity of the area, and variations on the Chinese theme like the epithets 'Forbidden City' and 'Celestial Empire' were invoked in the popular press when speaking of China.

Merthyr's China played into a multifaceted system of localized and variable discourses surrounding the way Qing China and the Chinese were viewed in nineteenth-century Britain. Generally, Enlightenment philosophers had looked to China as offering valuable alternative approaches to Western ways of thinking. But perceptions had changed by the mid-nineteenth century as Qing defeat in two wars with the British presented the Chinese as incapable and unwilling to accept reform, the spitting image of stagnancy.[34] Moreover, these wars made the Chinese out to be opium addicts, a view that was extremely common in Wales in the late nineteenth-century and even well into the twentieth.[35] Nevertheless, there was no single approach to China and the Chinese, and multiple discourses abounded over time, in different spaces, and among separate groups.[36]

Even when a certain discourse was dominant (such as that of Chinese intransigence), it was mediated by local discourses and contingencies. The opium den that remains ubiquitous in popular depictions of Victorian London – even if it was largely the result of flights of literary

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[33] The most blatant instances are the multiple, large-scale religious revivals that occurred throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in which hundreds of thousands participated. More obscured from view was the strong Welsh presence in various missionizing efforts among Jewish populations within the United Kingdom. John Hughes Morris, *The History of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists' Foreign Mission: To the End of the Year 1904* (Carnarvon: C.M. Book Room, 1910), 273-278.

[34] Dickens provides a remarkable depiction of this view see "The Great Exhibition and the Little One's," *Household Words* 3 (July 5, 1851): 356-60.

[35] T.P. Beddoes, "The Opium Vice," *The Aberystwyth Young Men's Magazine* 1, no. 2 (June 1891): 17-19.

[36] Ulrike Hillemann, "Introduction," in *Asian Empire and British Knowledge: China and the Networks of British Imperial Expansion* ed. Ulrike Hillemann (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 11.

fancy – was mostly absent from images of the Welsh city.[37] The large influx of Chinese

immigrants into London also meant that there was a considerably different localized discourse

around what the Chinese were and what China represented in the city than in Wales and the rest

of Britain. Nor were media representations of the Chinese experienced uniformly within Wales.

Though Cardiff's Chinese community was extremely small – no more than 200 or 300 – they

were nonetheless present and visible: "In what other port will you meet…so many Chinese or so

many men of other nationalities as you will in Cardiff?"[38] Chinese stereotypes had much

different import in metropolitan Cardiff, where one might actually meet a Chinese person and

find their views confirmed or challenged, than in rural Carmarthenshire.[39] Indeed, it was

precisely Chinese visibility that strengthened discourses concerning their immorality.

The empire and the wider world were received in many different guises throughout the

British Isles. Media receptions in Wales were deeply tied into the local, even as they confronted

the wider horizons made possible by a rapidly growing press and global commodity market.

This was visible in the mundane and the commercial, in what had become the everyday aspects

of life. Russell Davies invokes Pear's Soap's infamous 'white man's burden' advertisement in

his massively influential *People, Places and Passions–'Pain and Pleasure': A Social History of*

Wales and the Welsh, 1870–1945 to talk of the role of imperialism in everyday Welsh life.[40] But

a careful examination of the National Library of Wales' Welsh newspaper and journal archives

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[37] Though there were some reports of opium dens in the Butetown district in Cardiff, they did not have a significant imprint on understandings of the city. "Gaming and Opium Den," *Weekly Mail*, April 23, 1910.

[38] Joanne M. Cayford, "In Search of John Chinaman: Press Representations of the Chinese in Cardiff, 1906-1911," *Llafur* 5, no. 4 (1991): 37, citing *Western Mail*, July 19, 1911.

[39] One potentially interesting area for future research is to consider the way perceptions of the colonial 'Other' differed in Aberystwyth, the intellectual center of Welsh nationalism, compared to Swansea, which valued being the birthplace of some of Wales' most important missionaries.

[40] Davies himself cites Niall Ferguson, *Empire: How the British Made the Modern World* (London: Allen Lane, 2003), 256.

actually shows that Pear's Soap never ran this ad in Wales.[41] Products that flowed to Wales in

the increasingly interconnected global market were advertised in remarkably local ways,

appealing to both place and national identity. Doan's Backache Kidney Pills – a miracle cure –

used evocative sketches and testimonies of bedridden Cardiffers to advertise its product, even

though the company was American.[42] And ads for Vi-Cocoa – a colonial commodity frequently

associated with colonial motifs in advertising – often included elaborate drawings of

British/Welsh miners drinking their product.[43] Far from showing that imperial dimensions were

absent from everyday Welsh life – as Welsh history has generally assumed – or were identical to

those in other parts of the Isles, as the generalizations of imperial historians have implied, they

point to newspaper advertising as a location where the global and imperial became particularly

entwined with the local.

This is not to deny the value of appealing to the exotic in advertising. Packaging for

commodities like tea, coffee, and chocolate, as well as cigarettes and playing cards, bore the

"icons and images of empire," and the allure of many products was precisely their high prestige

within a global commodity system.[44] Even if Welsh media was not nearly as glitzy as the image-

focused gazettes of Europe's major metropolises – particularly Paris, Vienna, Berlin, and

London – and so lacked the types of racial and imperial advertising that dominated in these

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[41] Whereas Pear's Soap advertised heavily in Welsh newspapers through the end of the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, there are no instances in the newspaper and journal archives for this specific advertisement in either Welsh or English-language Welsh publications. Pear's emphasized the brightness that their product offered – touting "fair white hands" and "bright clear complexions" – but without reference to different skin tones (e.g., like advertisements that showed African children using soap and turning into white Europeans).

[42] "Advertising," *Evening Express*, November 7, 1906; "Lasting Cure by Doan's Pills," *The North Wales Express* August 12, 1910; "Straight Talk by Cardiff People About Doan's Backache Kidney Pills," *Evening Express*, February 19, 1900.

[43] "Advertising," *The Cambrian*, March 29, 1907. Advertising was conducted by multi-national companies and local businesses, and so cannot be thought of as a monolithic enterprise. Nevertheless, it appears appealing to the local was valuable for both.

[44] Davies, *People, Places and Passions* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2015), 230. For example, the allure of Neave's Food for Infants & Invalids – its supposed use by the Russian Imperial Family – was precisely its worldly orientation. "Advertising," *The Cardiff Times*, April 29, 1899.

places, products were still legitimized by appealing to their worldly origins. This was only possible because of the growth of a globally oriented press in Wales in the late nineteenth century.

The process of media emergence occurred later in Wales than in most of Europe. Wales' first newspaper, *The Cambrian*, entered circulation in 1804, and the first Welsh-language periodical *Seren Gomer* did so a decade later in 1814. Mainly local papers, like the *Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald*, followed them for the next half-century. Before the 1860s, the main publications that appealed to a Wales-wide audience were Welsh-language religious periodicals, particularly those published by the Calvinistic Methodists (the branch of religious non-conformism most dominant in Wales). It was only between the late 1850s and 1870s that the Repeal of the Stamp Act (1855) and Paper Duties (1861), heightened demand for news due to the Crimean and American Civil wars, and the creation of a body of individuals who could afford increasingly cheap papers through rapid urbanization and industrialization enabled considerable growth in the media. During these years, some of the most influential English and Welsh-language periodicals entered circulation: *The Cardiff Times* (1857), *Baner ac Amserau* (1859), *Western Mail* (1869), and *South Wales Daily News* (1872).[45]

Aled Jones has argued persuasively that mid to late-nineteenth century journalism helped manifest the Welsh nation by means of underpinning a growing public sphere, demonstrating Wales' cultural autonomy from the other nations of Britain. This helped to map out Wales, allowing readers to "see a place called Wales virtually on every page".[46] But this argument

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[45] The reading population exploded in this period, and was considerably higher than already high publication numbers – such as 120,000 Welsh language newspapers being printed each week – suggest, perhaps by as much as 30 times in towns and seven to eight in rural areas. Gruffydd Jones, *Press, Politics and Society: A History of Journalism in Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1993), 95-96.

[46] Aled Jones, "The Nineteenth-Century Media and Welsh Identity," in *Nineteenth-Century Media and the Construction of Identities* (New York : Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), 311, 318.

needs to be amended. When print media helped readers conceptualize the nation, it simultaneously cemented Wales into a wider world. Newspapers helped write Wales into the British Empire, and a global system of nations. Thus, Lloyd George could measure the advancement of nationalism among the Welsh by their successes within the British Empire, and also campaign passionately in the name of anti-imperial national solidarity with the Boer States.[47]

Newspapers cemented Wales into a wider world and gave readers a picture of this world, helping them conceive of their place within Britain and the empire and transforming it into a mundane and normal part of life. Weekly interest columns painted glowing pictures of Welsh individuals throughout the empire and the wider world and were extremely popular. The *Western Mail* and the *Evening Express* regularly received responses to, comments about, and recommendations for articles in "Wales Day-by-Day" articles.[48] Local papers commonly included parts of these sections in their own pages, like the story of one "D. L. Jones, whose 60 years' stay in the States has not weakened his love of Gwalia nor impaired his knowledge of Welsh," that was originally published in the *Evening Express*, but copied into the *Aberdare Leader*.[49] The *Evening Express* took advantage of the popularity of "Wales Day-By-Day", following up on more amusing or intriguing antidotes in later issues.[50]

Though different papers held different ideological inclinations – for instance, *South Wales Daily News* leaned Liberal, *Western Mail* Conservative – these sections were generally supportive of the Welsh language, cultural nationalism, and an increased Welsh global footprint,

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[47] "Mr. Lloyd George on Nationality," *Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald and North and South Wales Independent*, March 10, 1905; "Mr. Lloyd-George, M.P., and His Constituents," *The North Wales Times*, April 28, 1900. As one commentator noted, he "has the warm Celtic temperament which predisposes him to sympathise with small States, which he is ready to believe are always being oppressed. Thus he naturally took the Boer side." "Mr. Lloyd George: The Parnell of Wales," *The Rhondda Leader*, September 4, 1904.

[48] "Page 3," *Evening Express* January 22, 1896; "Gas Cookery at Barry," *Barry Dock News*, February 25, 1898.

[49] "Page 8," *The Aberdare Leader*, February 27, 1909.

[50] For example, "The Language of Eden," *Evening Express*, August 1, 1894.

even if they often approached these topics sardonically. Stories of "Welsh empire-builders" and immigrant communities in surprising places (e.g., of a bustling community in Singapore) were of particular interest.[51] Oftentimes, the visit of someone of Welsh heritage from overseas was also notable enough to be reported.[52]

Issues of local, as well as national pride were central to town and county papers' depictions of the imperial. Under the title "Welshmen Abroad" – echoing a popular column run at various points by the *Evening Express*, *Western Mail*, and *Cardiff Times* – the *Llandudno Advertiser and List of Visitors* published a letter to the editor noting with interest that many members of the Welsh *Y Wladfa* settlement in Patagonia hailed from North Wales.[53] This letter was in fact sparked by a wider discussion in the Welsh media of *Y Wladfa* – the singular Welsh attempt at colonization – in late 1901 and early 1902, as a large number of settlers pondered departing Argentina for Canada.[54]

Connecting Wales to Welsh individuals overseas was only one way that papers melded Wales into the wider world. Many major papers also ran "Empire" pages, with news of the empire and wider global events, and those that did not still headlined the same stories of imperial intrigue and foreign happenings. They relied on articles written by reporters for the major London-based dailies or overseas English-language papers – like the *North-China Herald and Supreme Court and Consular Gazette*, which provided British papers with detailed and regular reports of happenings in the Far East – for nearly all of this information.[55] Welsh papers of all sizes regularly padded their pages with general interest pieces nabbed from non-Welsh papers,

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[51] "Welshmen in the Malay Straits Occupying Important Posts," *The North Wales Express*, 3rd September 1909.
[52] Including Timothy Richard's eldest daughter visiting his birthplace in Carmarthenshire. "Welsh Gleanings," *Cardiff Times*, August 22, 1908.
[53] "Welshmen Abroad," *Llandudno Advertiser and List of Visitors*, April 4, 1902.
[54] "Welsh Colonists Important Deputation to the Home Office," *Western Mail*, March 4, 1899.
[55] Robert Bickers, *Getting Stuck in for Shanghai: Putting the Kibosh on the Kaiser from the Bund* (London: Penguin Books, 2015), 12.

and representations of the Chinese before 1900 were primarily visible in the copied columns of English or American newspapers. Not only did these sections have very little to do with Wales, they often were clearly intended for different audiences. An 1873 article in the *Aberystwyth Observer*, copied from an American journal, noted that the "cleanliness, honesty, and sobriety, the Chinese have, as servants" meant they "proved a boon to those who owed years of misery and torment to Irish emigrants."[56]

Chinese representations in the early twentieth century are usually framed in terms of the "Yellow Peril." [57] This discourse was more subdued in Wales in the lead-up to 1911.[58] But in the years before 1911, the potential of the Chinese laborer to work eighteen hours a day for wages near zero was far from a dominating concern. Most accounts in Welsh papers portrayed it as a worry for the British overseas territories, Continental Europe, or America, and genuine criticisms were largely taken from English or American commentators and papers.[59] But in Wales the Chinese, hardly visible throughout most of industrial Wales when the industrialized economy was thriving, were not seen as a threat. The subject was clearly a topic of discussion in the media, as the terminology was used to advocate other issues, like the reconstruction of a more representative and church-bound form of Liberalism.[60] But the "Yellow Peril" that could be said to resonate far more for most for the Welsh, "vastly more dangerous than the coming of John Chinaman," was that of jaundice.[61] Thus, news of the empire and wider world came to Wales often within contexts that did not fit for Wales.

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[56] "The Heathen Chinese," *The Aberystwyth Observer*, March 1, 1873.
[57] Sascha Auerbach, *Race, Law, and "The Chinese Puzzle" in Imperial Britain* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).
[58] Cayford, "John Chinaman," 37.
[59] "The Yellow Peril," *Evening Express*, September 9, 1907; "The Yellow Peril," *Evening Express*, January 2, 1907.
[60] "The Moral Problem: Gold the Real Yellow Peril," *Evening Express*, May 9, 1905.
[61] "Yellow Peril," *Evening Express*, July 11, 1905; "The Yellow Peril," *Llandudno Advertisers and List of Visitors*, September 10, 1904; "The Yellow Peril," *The North Wales Express*, September 23, 1904. This again points to the need to separate Wales from generalized understandings of imperial discourses in Britain.

Getting away from the overplayed case of the Boer War[62], reporting on the Boxer

Rebellion offers an illuminating view into the ways this global stream of information combined

with Welsh interests to create a distinctively Welsh reception to news of British imperial

involvement. A coalition war made possible by the modernized and industrialized economies,

militaries, and transportation and communication systems of its members, the Boxer Rebellion

was just as modern as the Boer War, even though research has focused far more heavily on the

latter, not least for the presence of early concentration camps.[63] Britain became involved in

China after Chinese forces laid siege to the European legations in Beijing. In response, the 2nd

Battalion Royal Welsh Fusiliers, who had been re-stationed from their regimental headquarters

in Wrexham to Hong Kong in 1897, were mobilized. The other British imperial units in China

during the war were Sikh regiments, making the 2nd Battalion the only British Infantry Regiment

from the home islands present.[64] Fighting with the Americans, Russians, and Japanese on their

flanks, Welsh involvement in the war embodied the increasingly globalized world that Wales

was becoming a part of.[65]

Just like the Boer War, the Boxer Rebellion was a 'media war'.[66] The media presented

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[62] Although recent scholarship has provided less sweeping appraisals of the importance of the Second Boer War (1899-1902) for understanding the British Empire or the development of the global capitalist system, it nevertheless remains a central point for approaching the late Victorian British Empire. Andrew Porter, "The South African War and the Historians," *African Affairs* 99, no. 397 (October 2000): 633.

[63] For a comprehensive discussion of the emergence of concentration camps during the Boer War, see the introduction and chapter five of the edited collection Aidan Forth, ed., *Barbed-Wire Imperialism: Britain's Empire of Camps, 1876-1903* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2017).

[64] Howel Thomas, *A History of the Royal Welsh Fusiliers: Late the Twenty-third Regiment* (London : T. Fisher Unwin, 1916), 250-259. For the unit's bravery, it earned the battle honor 'Pekin', the only unit in the British Army to receive the honor. For a more recent account of the Royal Welsh Fusiliers' operations during the Boxer Rebellion, see chapter 10 of Michael Glover and Jonathon Riley, *'That Astonishing Infantry': The History of The Royal Welch Fusiliers, 1689–2006* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2008).

[65] During their time in China, many Fusiliers formed close bonds with members of the U.S. Marine Corp's 1st Regiment also participating in the war. In 1929, at the behest of an American veteran of the war, John Philip Sousa composed a march for the regiment, eponymously titled "The Royal Welsh Fusiliers," commemorating their role in the war.

[66] Richard Trembath, "Press/Journalism (Australia)," *International Encyclopedia of the First World War*, April 23, 2015.

the reading public with vast amounts of information about the origins and progress of the war,

including comprehensive casualty lists. These were followed up on by stories about the families

of Welshmen who died in the conflict, helping the reading public to invest itself in an

intervention on the other side of the world.[67] While the major Welsh papers responded

differently to the highly politicized Boer War based on their ideological leanings – including a

strong divide between a relatively 'pro-Boer' Welsh-language press and a predominantly

imperialist English-language one (even across ideological lines) – this was not the case for the

Boxer Rebellion, where the narrative focused on humanitarian intervention on behalf of the

Westerners being besieged and killed throughout the country.[68]

The media reports of this involvement also played into the image of the Welsh people as

powerful representatives of the British Empire, even if it was overshadowed by the simultaneous

exploits of the 1st Battalion Royal Welsh Fusiliers in South Africa. The "Welsh Fusiliers

Praised" in the *North Wales Times* on October 13, 1900 were fighting the Boers in the Transvaal;

those evoked with the same term five days later in the *Towyn-on-Sea and Merioneth County

Times* had just taken Tientsin in northern China from Boxer forces.[69] The Fusiliers fighting in

the "great China drama" were inspiring "representatives of 'gallant little Wales'".[70] Reports in

the major Welsh dailies were also distributed in local papers, ensuring a wide readership for

stories of Welsh bravery, which included letters from soldiers detailing the conditions faced

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[67] Chris Williams, "'Our War History in Cartoons Is Unique': J.M. Staniforth, British Public Opinion, and the South African War, 1899–1902," *War in History* 20, no. 4 (November 2013): 494; "News of the Royal Welsh," *Wrexham and Denbighshire Advertiser and Cheshire Shropshire and North Wales Register*, November 3, 1900.

[68] The main difference in the case of the Boxer Rebellion between the Welsh and English-language presses was the attention they gave to missionary as opposed to military matters; the former visible in both – although in a more sustained fashion in the religious-leaning Welsh-language press – and the latter primarily in the English-language papers. For a discussion of the reception of the Boer War in Wales, see the exchange between Henry Pelling and Kenneth O. Morgan in the volume 4, number 4 of the 1969 *Welsh History Review*, pages 363 to 380. For a more general discussion, see Paula M. Krebs, *Gender, Race, and the Writing of Empire: Public Discourse and the Boer War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

[69] "The War," *North Wales Times*, October 13, 1900; "Welsh Fusiliers Praised," *Towyn-on-Sea and Merioneth County Times*, November 8, 1900.

[70] "Welsh Fusiliers: More Stories of Bravery," *South Wales Daily News*, November 8, 1900.

during battle, and from their superiors, describing their "splendid heroism", which evoked pride among their readers.[71] In these reports, the Fusiliers were representative of a moral British imperialism, as opposed to the barbarity of some of the other nations of Europe, particularly Russia.[72]

Press reporting on the war played up the inhumanity of the Boxers/Chinese (the distinction was seldom clear, not least because the Chinese Empress declared war on the coalition powers in mid-1900). They were clearly the aggressors in the public eye, even though Welsh missionaries more versed in the conditions on the ground in China cautioned congregations to be skeptical of the claims in the press.[73] Under evocative headlines like "A City of Blood", "China's Crime", "Ruthless Butchery", and "Roasted to Death", papers tempted readers with "full details of the great slaughter".[74] These headlines, even with their hints of media sensationalism, speak to the other side of reporting on the Boxer Rebellion: news of the hundreds of Western missionaries and Chinese Christians executed by Boxer forces.[75]

The Welsh press paid special attention to the fates of Welsh missionaries in China.[76] In-mid 1900, Boxers murdered the Porthcawl-born missionary W.T. Beynon and his family in Shanxi province. Beynon's plight had been the subject of discussion in the press since July 1900, after reports of the Taiyuan Massacre of foreign missionaries had circulated back to

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[71] "The Gallant 23rd," Wrexham and Denbighshire Advertiser and Cheshire Shropshire and North Wales Register, November 10, 1900.

[72] "How We 'Civilise'", South Wales Daily News, November 8, 1900. This narrative was bolstered when the Fusiliers guarded native Chinese homes from troops from other nations'. "Latest Telegrams: Serious Affray at Tientsin," The Times of India, June 4, 1901: 5.

[73] "The Conference," The Cambrian News and Merionethshire Standard, July 6, 1900. William Hopkyn Rees believed the war was in part the result of Western meddling in the country.

[74] "China War," Evening Express, July 16, 1900; "China's Crime," South Wales Daily News, July 16, 1900.

[75] This even included a roll of all English-speakers killed by the Boxers in the July 16 Evening Express and July 17 Western Mail.

[76] Indeed, it was partially Griffith John and Timothy Richard's roles as translators during the peace process that followed coalition victory, which made them so well known in Wales.

Britain.[77] By August, it was feared the absence of reports from Beynon meant he had been

killed, confirmation of which came two months later.[78]

The way news of Beynon's death circulated back to Wales demonstrates

interconnectivity between the secular and religious presses. Having been a member of the

British and Foreign Bible Society, Beynon had been providing reports on his progress to the

Society. When Beynon and his family were killed, the Society was the first to know, just as they

were able to suspect something had gone awry when they stopped receiving his reports. The

secular press was able to contact the Society's agents in Shanghai to get information on the

Beynon family and their deaths.[79] This news was then synthesized with information the secular

press could gather in Wales, such as his information about his family and upbringing, to provide

a compelling and powerful connection to the average Welsh reader. Beynon's family

connections to South Wales and his father's role as a community leader in Porthcawl are

mentioned in nearly all reports concerning his death in the secular Welsh press. In fact, the death

of Beynon's wife and children was tacked on to the end of most reports almost as an

afterthought; had his wife been from Wales and not Leeds, this would likely not have been the

case.[80] The interconnection between religious and secular media also allowed the event to

remain visible in print over the coming years.[81]

Any discussion of nineteenth century Welsh media has to address religious publications,

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[77] "North China Mission: A Local Missionary," *South Wales Daily News*, July 27, 1900.

[78] "The Bible Society and the Compensation for Damage," *North Wales Times*, November 10, 1900.

[79] "Porthcawl Missionary in China," *Evening Express*, August 11, 1900.

[80] Whereas the Welsh secular press devoted space to talking of Benyon's connections to Wales, the non-Welsh religious press emphasized the death of the entire family. "Report on the British Operations," *Evening Express*, November 21, 1900; "The Murdered Porthcawl Family," *South Wales Daily News*, November 21, 1900.

[81] Marshall Broomhall, *Martyred Missionaries of the China Inland Mission: With a Record of the Perils and Sufferings of Some Who Escaped* (Toronto: China Inland Mission, 1901), 116, 142; British and Foreign Bible Society, *Behold a Sower: A Popular Illustrated Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society for the Year 1900-1901* (London: The Bible House, 1901), 23; E. H. Edwards, *Fire and Sword in Shansi: The Story of the Martyrdom of Foreigners and Chinese Christians with Introductory Note by Alexander Maclaren* (London: Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, 1903), 298; "Porthcawl Missionary's Fate," *The Cardiff Times*, February 28, 1903.

as their reach was just as extensive as that of the secular press.[82] Indeed, it is impossible to think

of Wales in the nineteenth century without thinking first and foremost of religion and non-

conformity. Religious identity was central to Welsh self-conceptions, and undergirded the

emergence of political nationalism in Wales in the late nineteenth century. The lack of a stable

Welsh nationalist party advocating Home Rule until the founding of Plaid Cymru in 1925 –

seemingly much later than other small nations throughout Europe – has been attributed to the

massive non-conformist campaign for Church Disestablishment which filled the same role.[83]

Many believed that religion in Wales was unique, allowing the Welsh a clearer

understanding of religious morality.[84] Welsh religious leaders – no matter the language they

preached in – "were unanimous in believing that there were special features belonging to the

religious organizations which had been developed in Wales over the generations".[85] Non-

conformism was the "spokesman of a nation", and became deeply tied to the Welsh language,

national identity, and local life.[86]

The religious press in Wales – both English and Welsh language – in the late nineteenth

and early twentieth century was an enormous enterprise. Religious periodicals connected even

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[82] By 1860, the foreign secretariat of the London Missionary Society estimated at the Conference on Foreign Missions in Liverpool that in Britain there were "more than 200,000 of these monthly missionary periodicals circulated by the different societies," including an immensity of heralds' and chronicles and reports that one commentator later noted "are sent by the Societies and are straightaway consigned by the subscribers to the waste-paper basket." Arthur Tidman, "Value of the Regular Missionary Periodicals," in *Conference on Missions Held in 1860 at Liverpool: Including the Papers Read, the Deliberations, and the Conclusions Reached: with a Comprehensive Index Shewing the Various Matters Brought Under Review*, ed. the secretaries to the conference (London: Strangeways and Walden, 1860), 72; Terry Barringer, "What Mrs Jellyby Might Have Read Missionary Periodicals: A Neglected Source," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 37, no. 4 (Winter 2004): 52.
[83] Kenneth O. Morgan, "Welsh Nationalism: The Historical Background" *Journal of Contemporary History* 6, no. 1 (1971): 157-159.
[84] Ieuan Gwynedd Jones, *Mid-Victorian Wales: The Observers and the Observed* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1992), 60.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Kenneth O. Morgan, *Wales in British Politics (1868-1922)* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1980), 16. For a discussion of the way non-conformism was deeply tied to the Welsh language and identity, see Harold Mytum, "Language as Symbol in Churchyard Monuments: The Use of Welsh in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Pembrokeshire," *World Archeology* 26, no. 2 (Oct. 1994), 252-267.

the smallest communities into a national and international system of communication and

knowledge spread, and were particularly important in rural communities oriented around

religious institutions.[87] They had the ability to create communities of readers, linked by

"commonly read religious journals and other devotional literature, and by the circulation of

reports about activities in the settlements and missionary outposts," in the same way that

newspapers did.[88] And though these journals served to disseminate religious propaganda, in

large part connected with the need to encourage donations from their readers, they were also

remarkably evocative, chock full of interesting information and pictures, and offering extremely

recent information, made possible by complex systems of information distribution, connecting

missionaries in the field to major print centers overseas, and back to the metropole.[89]

Religious periodicals were part of a global information network by the late nineteenth

and early twentieth century that connected even Wales' smallest, most isolated villages to

globalized metropolises like Shanghai and Los Angeles.[90] Religious shifts in Wales had been

connected to overseas events since at least the eighteenth-century.[91] But in the late nineteenth

and early twentieth religious identity became truly globalized.

Between 1904 and 1905, a major religious revival – a large-scale religious event which

has as its "object some sort of conversion or experience of grace in the individual," and which

[87] Felicity Jensz and Hanna Acke, "The Form and Function of Nineteenth-Century Missionary Periodicals: Introduction," *Church History* 82, no. 2 (June 2013): 369.
[88] Gisela Mettele, "Global Communication among the Moravian Brethren: The Circulation of Knowledge and its Structures and Logistics," in *Reporting Christian Missions in the Eighteenth Century: Communication, Culture of Knowledge and Regular Publication in a Cross-Confessional Perspective*, ed. Markus Friedrich and Alexander Schunka (Weisbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2017), 150.
[89] Shanghai served as the base of operations for Western missionaries in China that connected the mission field to the metropole. The Welsh missionaries Timothy Richard and William Hopkyn Rees were both key cogs in this connective machine, serving as presidents of the Christian Literature Society for China in Shanghai after leaving mission fields in northern China in the early 1900s.
[90] J. Edwin Orr, *The Flaming Tongue: the Impact of Twentieth Century Revivals* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1975), 132, 165.
[91] David Ceri Jones, "Welsh Evangelicals, the Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic World and the Creation of a 'Christian Republick'," in *Wales and the British Overseas Empire: Interactions and Influences, 1650-1830*, ed. Hugh Bowen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), 87-113.

"re-emphasize the importance of personal salvation" – swept through northern and western Wales.[92] The Welsh Revival of 190-105 manifested in large, open-air religious meetings marked by the public confession of sin, and a rapid increase in religious observance; pubs were closed for lack of business and sporting associations were temporarily shut down. It also makes clear how networks of print distribution between missionary societies allowed local events in Wales to exert an influence across the world in China, and vice versa, showcasing the extent and reflexivity of networks of connection and knowledge facilitated by religious organizations and print in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Wales.[93] The 1904-05 revival involved several hundred thousand participants (out of a total population of slightly more than 2,000,000) and saw the widespread – if temporary – shutting down of pubs and sporting establishments throughout the country.[94] Ultimately, though, it lasted less than a year in Wales, and its effects there had for the most part dissipated by the end of the decade. But the revival's legacy abroad and through print was active even decades later.[95]

Reports of the Welsh Revival shaped the way influential Presbyterian mission Jonathan Goforth approached mission work in northern China. Seeing that "revival was not a thing of the past...slowly the realisation began to dawn upon me that I had tapped a mine of infinite possibility".[96] Believing it was his duty to bring about a revival in China, Goforth traveled to Korea to witness revivalism in person. When he returned, he embarked on a preaching tour

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[92] Randall Balmer and Edith L. Blumhofer, "Introduction," in *Modern Christian Revivals*, ed. Randall Balmer and Edith L. Blumhofer (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1993), xii.

[93] For a more general discussion of the globality of the Welsh Revival, see Edward J. Gitre, "The 1904-05 Welsh Revival: Modernization, Technologies, and Techniques of the Self," *Church History* 73, no. 4 (December 2004): 792-827.

[94] Gitre, "Revival," 794.

[95] For instance, Jessie Penn-Lewis, a key figure within the 1904-05 revival, exerted a strong intellectual influence on Watchman Nee, one of the most important figures in modern China. In the 1930s and onward, his Little Flock movement undergirded indigenous Chinese forms of Christianity. Lian Xi, *Redeemed by Fire: The Rise of Popular Christianity in Modern China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 165-177.

[96] Jonathan Goforth, *By My Spirit* (London: Marshall, Morgan, and Scott, 1910), 25.

throughout Liaoning Province, which came to be known as the Manchurian Revival, the first

large-scale and widely reported revival in China.[97] In 1906, the Cangzhou-based missionary and

physician Arthur Davies Peill wrote, "At last it has come, the 'Revival' we sought, and far

beyond our asking. We cast longing eyes on Wales no more, but rejoice with her rejoicing,

because in China too the Lord is visiting His people".[98] Though any possibility of following up

on this energy disappeared when he died at the age of 32 in 1906, Peill's posthumously collected

and published letters make clear that he and the missionaries operating in Hubei were deeply

inspired by the events they were reading about.[99] In effect, the Welsh Revival became a "media

event" that transcended the page and evolved over time.[100] Pastors in Wales were further able to

use reports of revivals abroad that themselves were inspired by the Welsh revival to encourage

their constituents. Therefore, events that ostensibly occurred only in Wales exerted a global

impact through the international reach of print, which could reflexively influence discourses in

Wales.

The visibility of events in the religious press shaped how they were manifested in

everyday life. Representations of the Chinese appeared more often in church and extracurricular

activities during periods when they were more heavily in the news.[101] At a church festival

hosted by the Clive St. Baptist Church in Cardiff in August 1900, a float decorated as the

"Chinese House taken from the British Legation in Pekin," with "art muslin of all colours and

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[97] Daniel H. Bays, "Christian Revival in China, 1900-1937," 163.

[98] In the April 1905 edition of *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, an editorial remarked "that nearly 70,000 have been converted since the beginning of the revival in November last." Anonymous, "Editorial Comment," *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* 36, no. 4 (April 1905): 208.

[99] Anonymous, "Books for the Missionary Library," *The Missionary Review of the World* 17 no. 2, (February 1904): 143; Anonymous, "Miscellany," *The Missionary Herald* 100, no. 3 (March 1904): 118-119; Anonymous, "Notices of Books," *The Church Missionary Review* 55, no. 8 (August 1904): 618.

[100] Thoralf Klein, "Media Events and Missionary Periodicals: The Case of the Boxer War, 1900-1901," *Church History* 82, no. 2 (June 2013): 399-400.

[101] The same was true for secular events. "Glamorganshire Agricultural Society," *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette*, October 1, 1859.

lanterns…girls in oriental costumes occupied foremost positions" won first prize – at the same time that the secular press was full of reports of the British Legation in Beijing being relieved, largely by the Royal Welsh Fusiliers.[102] These types of events, common throughout Wales, each drew hundreds of participants.[103]

They were hardly the only religious events that took on an air of the exotic. Religion became spectacle in Wales. The great imperial exhibitions and world expos in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century London are the subject of considerable literature for their role in creating an imperial British people.[104] But they were absent from Wales, where 'missionary exhibitions' were the bearers of imperial spectacle.[105]

Exhibitions in Wales' largest cities could be massive events. The 1920 Orient Missionary Exhibition in Cardiff was a collective undertaking of "all the churches in the Cardiff and Barry District, both Welsh and English" – Cardiff alone had population of just over 200,000 in 1921.[106] The exhibition lasted for four days and was held in the magisterial Cardiff City Hall, where it was presided over by the city's mayor, and staffed by hundreds of locals volunteers and missionaries, most of whom were on leave from mission fields in Asia. Tens of thousands of attendees passed through the turnstiles at major missionary exhibitions like this. A comparable exhibition at Swansea in 1907 drew nearly 50,000 visitors.[107]

Extraordinary sights of Africa and the Orient drew these crowds and the events

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[102] "Description of Demonstration Waggons, &c.," *Abstainer* 11, no. 8 (August 1900), 84.

[103] "Special Meetings," *Abstainer* 11, no. 12 (December 1900), 144.

[104] For instance, John M. Mackenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880–1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), particularly chapter 4; and Jeffrey A. Auerbach *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).

[105] Missionary exhibitions were not exclusive to Wales, and proliferated throughout England and Scotland in the 1890s and early 1900s, including large exhibitions in London. But commentators in Wales believed they had special significance because of the centrality of religion to national identity in Wales and its perceived place in Britain. "10,000 Exhibition Stewards," *Evening Express*, May 19, 1909.

[106] Arthur Jones, *The Orient Missionary Exhibition: City Hall, Cardiff, 5th to 9th October, 1920, in Aid of the New Hospital, Shillong, India* (Cardiff: Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church, 1920), 9.

[107] "The Attendance," *The Cambrian*, October 18, 1907.

themselves were aimed at reproducing the mission field for the casual viewer in Wales.[108]

Larger exhibitions had up to a dozen different courts and pavilions dedicated to different areas of

missionizing, including African, Chinese, Indian, and Malagasy courts. These courts were filled

with "innumerable funny specimens of native crafts" and "collections of native curios and ugly

idols", all designed to make the attendee feel as if they had stepped out of Wales and into Africa

or the Orient.[109] Exhibitions were also filled with events recreating the "customs and

superstitions" of the peoples of the Orient, from mock 'Brahmin marriages' and costumed the

ceremonies of Tamil 'devil priests' to plays that dramatized great Welsh missionary heroes.[110]

It is impossible to truly replicate South or East Asia in a pavilion in Swansea, but

missionary exhibitions played on stereotyped representations visible in the press to furnish an air

of authenticity. For instance, 'China courts' were usually designed as opium dens, playing on

the common trope of the Chinese as opium addicts that proliferated in the Anglo-American

throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[111] Expectations for what China was

like – and what an accurate exhibition's depiction of it should be – were manifested in these

exhibitions.[112] The authenticity of their representations were further backed up by the

proliferation of missionaries at exhibitions who spoke on their careers in the mission field,

amazing their audiences with the "romances of the mission field," stories of renown, exoticism,

and piety in far off lands few European eyes had touched.[113] Where else besides China could

one experience an authentic opium den, the type, they were assured (and which press depictions

backed up) depicted a common vice characteristic of the Chinese people? "Tell your friends not

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[108] "Missionary Exhibition," *The Cambrian*, September 27, 1907.

[109] "Missionary Exhibition," *The Pembrokeshire Herald and General Advertiser*, April 16, 1909.

[110] Jones, *The Orient Missionary Exhibition*, 39.

[111] Gregor Benton and Edmund Terence Gomez, *The Chinese in Britain, 1800-present: Economy, Transnationalism, Identity* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 107-108.

[112] It should be noted that the press largely created these expectations and understandings of China in the way they reported news of it.

[113] Jones, *The Orient Missionary Exhibition*, 35.

to miss this, and they will learn how the terrible drug hinders missionary work".[114] It was meant

to teach and morally improve its viewers, but its spectacle and exoticism made it appealing.

Even the smallest exhibitions sought to dazzle and fascinate with imagery of the exotic.

Local exhibitions hosted by one or two churches and run by community members of all ages

sought to recreate the Orient in even the smallest towns of rural Wales. "Your curiosity is

aroused when you notice on the platform some boys and girls wearing foreign costume. Here is

Mary Jones as a Hindu girl; and there James Morgan as a Chinaman. Both are trying to look as

though they came from far off lands, and have never been seen by you before".[115] These

exhibitions also increasingly took advantage of the new medium of film.[116]

Missionary exhibitions were made possible by the global circulation of Welsh

missionaries and their advantageous position within a global hierarchy of peoples. They speak to

the proliferation of imagery and artifacts from the Far East and the non-Western world that were

available to even the smallest Welsh congregations if they sought them out. These event were

easy to put on in any place where "a good-sized room is available, and where there are a few

willing helpers".[117] Access to the exotic was not the concern, merely the space or capacity to

host such an event.

Media representations and exposure to the exotic – in both secular and religious contexts

– were powerful enough to profoundly shape perceptions within Wales. An interwar

investigation into racial prejudice among Welsh schoolchildren found that representation and

chance encounters played a dominating role in how they perceived different peoples, both as

nationalities abroad and as minorities within Wales. Racial judgments based off of media

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[114] Ibid.
[115] "Missionary Exhibition," *Prestatyn Weekly*, February 15, 1908.
[116] "Foreign Missionaries: Church Missionary Society," *Llandaff Diocesan Magazine* 4, no. 4 (December 1905), 56.
[117] "Women's Work," *Llandaff Diocesan Magazine* 4, no. 3 (September 1905): 42.

depictions – including, by this time film, but also newspaper – allowed people to "indict a nation…without realizing how monstrous [such indictments] are."[118] The ubiquity of news of British actions overseas in the papers meant that even children were aware of troops being sent to defend British residents in China in 1930, which meant the Chinese were both "cruel" and "against us."[119] These types of negative perceptions of the Chinese played an important role in dictating the discourse that drove major anti-Chinese rioting that beset Cardiff's Butetown district in July 1911.

Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Wales experienced far less ethnic violence than other areas of the British Isles. Studies of labor relations have argued that the plurality of the coalfield infused *gwerin* with an internationalism, which became pronounced in solidarity movements with the Spanish Republic and the push for Irish Independence.[120] But this papers over the way ethnic violence in Wales appealed specifically to *gwerin* and to Welsh morality to justify actions against 'immoral' minority groups. The reason for the lack of persistent ethnic violence in Wales when compared to Catholic-Protestant strife in Ireland and Scotland was more likely the result of the thin concentration of minority groups, even after considerable in-migration throughout the nineteenth century, than any inherent tendency among the Welsh towards solidarity with minorities.[121]

Nor was Wales bereft of ethnic violence. Large anti-Catholic riots in South Wales in 1869 (Pontlottyn) and 1882 (Tredegar) were the result of a large influx of Irish immigrants into

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[118] Syndey Herbert and George H. Green, "Racial Prejudices of Welsh Schoolchildren I," *The Welsh Outlook* 17, no. 5 (March 1930), 76.
[119] Herbert and Green, "Racial Prejudices of Welsh Schoolchildren III," *The Welsh Outlook* 17, no. 5 (May 1930), 130-133.
[120] Hywel Francis and David Smith, *The Fed: The South Wales Miners in the Twentieth Century* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1980). *Gwerin* in any case remained strongly connected to fair labor policies, and particularly respect for strike actions.
[121] Neil Evans, "Immigrants and Minorities in Wales, 1840-1990: A Comparative Perspective," *Llafur* 5, no. 4 (1991): 5.

the area, which led to fears among the local population that they would take away jobs from

Welsh workers. So too were the anti-Jewish riots (again in Tredegar) in 1911 at root caused by

economic fears. The aim was exclusionary, to keep immigrants out and preserve a semblance of

economic stability.

Collective action in Wales, whether ethnic or labor oriented, was the result of economic

insecurity; ethnic violence was essentially an extension of early nineteenth century industrial and

agrarian-related action.[122] But even though they were primarily economic in origin, rioting

appealed to a racialized rhetoric, which condemned the targets of the violence as not just an

economic threat but also a moral one. Rhetoric specifically targeted these individuals for their

role as agents of Anglicization. Rioting was heavily influenced by fears of the destabilization of

a region's traditional cultural character by the influx of large numbers of non-Welsh, English-

speakers (Jews and Catholics) into the region, and terminology used to excoriate victims and

incite perpetrators appealed to moral concerns. This is one reason why the perpetrators of rioting

seldom apologized for their actions after the fact; they believed themselves to be morally correct.

In both instances, forms of resistance and critique that had been used by rioters during the

Rebecca Riots and in the first part of the nineteenth century were also employed, in adapted

forms, including *ceffyl pren* (ritual mockery of moral offenders).[123] In essence, ethnic rioting

became deeply grounded in understandings of moral Welshness, tied into storied labor resistance

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[122] Neil Evans, "Through the Prism of Ethnic Violence: Riots and Racial Attacks in Wales, 1826–2014" in *A Tolerant Nation?: Revisiting Ethnic Diversity in a Devolved Wales*, ed. Charlotte Williams, Neil Evans and Paul O'Leary (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2015), 130.

[123] Evans, "Prism," 131. The Rebecca Riots were have been a steady focus of Welsh historiography, and played heavily into the Welsh imagination by the turn of the nineteenth century. See Jones, David J.V., *Before Rebecca: Popular Protests in Wales, 1793-1835* (London: Allen Lane, 1973); David Williams, *The Rebecca Riots: A Study of Agrarian Discontent* (Cardiff : University of Wales Press, 1955); and *Rebecca's Children: A Study of Rural Society, Crime and Protest* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989) for thorough discussions of the riots, as well as other incidents of collective violence oriented at combating societal change sparked by industrialization and urbanization in South Wales. For a general discussion of forms of and changes to collective violence during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see Charles Tilly, "Major Forms of Collective Action in Western Europe 1500-1975," *Theory and Society* 3, no. 3 (Autumn, 1976): 365-375.

from the early nineteenth century that came to be central to Welsh conceptions of *gwerin*.

1911 was a year of major collective action in Wales. Seamen in Cardiff, frustrated with stagnant wages, undertook a general strike. The Tonypandy riots, a major and violent miner strike in the Rhondda that had started the previous autumn, spurred by wages that were set deliberately low by a cartel of mine owners, was still occurring in mid-1911 when it was joined by the international seamen's strike. Just as the Tonypandy strikes were ended, a national railway strike began; the resulting lack of industry affected all the South Wales ports. Moreover, a number of people died in these confrontations: one at Tonypandy and six at Llanelli in the railway strike.

In all these instances, the strikers played into rhetoric of the Welsh laborer as moral and hard working but exploited that had been popularized in labor strikes and movements in Wales throughout the previous century. This was particularly true in the Cardiff seamen's strike. The strike's devolution into some of the worst anti-Asian violence in British history points to the importance of moral rectitude to Welsh *gwerin*, alongside discourses of the Chinese as purveyors of vice that had been cemented in the press over the previous decade.

Joanne M. Cayford's account of the riots and their origins in Welsh press depictions of Chinese workers in South Africa in 1906-7 remains the best discussion of the 1911 anti-Chinese riots.[124] She argues that in the period 1906 through 1911 depictions of the Chinese in South Africa and stories in the Cardiff dailies about the strange customs, and potential opium use of the Chinese in the city, fashioned a picture of the Chinese as vice-ridden strikebreakers. At the same time, this narrative was not universal. Primarily championed by the conservative leaning

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[124] Joanne M. Cayford, "In Search of John Chinaman: Press Representations of the Chinese in Cardiff, 1906-1911," *Llafur* 5, no. 4 (1991): 37-50. For a deeper discussion of Chinese labor in South Africa during the strikes of 1906-07 and the way it influenced press depictions of the Chinese in Britain, see Rachel Bright, *Chinese Labour in South Africa, 1902-10: Race, Violence, and Global Spectacle* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

Western Mail, a much more positive image of the Cardiff Chinese prevailed in the liberal *South Wales Daily News* during the strikes. My argument, instead, has been to show that discourses of the Chinese in Wales are attributable to older depictions of the Chinese in Welsh media, going back into the nineteenth century in the form of stories taken from other papers and missionary publications, and in a concentrated form since 1900 surrounding Chinese actions against Europeans. These negative depictions came to a violent culmination in the Cardiff anti-Chinese riots of 1911.

Since the early nineteenth century, Cardiff had been the home to large immigrant and minority groups.[125] As a growing cosmopolitan port city, Cardiff attracted immigrants from throughout Britain and the globe. Chinese sailors came in on ships from around the world; but so too did immigrants, who settled overwhelmingly in Butetown, the multicultural/multinational but crime-ridden and poor neighborhood adjacent to the ports. Chinese immigrants concentrated primarily in two professions: laundry and boarding.[126] Moreover, Chinese sailors who operated out of Cardiff often stayed at Chinese-owned boarding houses in Butetown during their time onshore. The Chinese immigrant population was overwhelmingly male, and intermarried at low but visible rates with the local Welsh population, so that by the time of the riots the population had reached between 200 and 300, albeit against a total population of around 182,000.

They became the target of the seamen's strike because of their perceived visibility as strikebreakers. Chinese sailors were excluded from joining the seaman's union, and so were available to unload cargo during the strike. This induced real fear among the striking seamen that cheaper Chinese laborers would permanently replace them. The attacks were born out of labor/economic frustration, but the visibility of Chinese strikebreakers combined with an older

[125] Benton and Gomez, *The Chinese in Britain, 1800-present*, 89.
[126] Ibid., 90-95.

discourse of the Chinese, inspired by depictions of their violence and 'savagery' connected to the Boxer Rebellion made them easy targets.

Tensions between the striking seamen, led by Captain Edward Tupper, and the Chinese population of the city had slowly been getting worse since the start of the strike. Tupper had the port blockaded to prevent strikebreaking, but on multiple instances Chinese sailors were found to have sneaked through. Tupper claimed to have intercepted Chinese strikebreakers being shipped from Liverpool, who he disparaged in mocking terms.[127] On July 11, several hundred striking Welsh sailors surrounded two Chinese sailors who had made it past the guard and boarded the Scottish ship *Foreric*. When the two Chinese came out with knives in hand, only Tupper's intervention kept the situation from turning bloody.[128] Tupper's frustration with Chinese strikebreaking was extended to the general Chinese population in his speeches, playing into the older tradition of depictions of the Chinese to portray them as the immoral foil to the *gwerin* of the striking Cardiff seamen. In this way, the discourse became extended from a small group of sailors to include the whole Chinese population of Cardiff.

Tupper spoke vividly of the Chinese as corrupting the youth and enslaving the women of Cardiff. Playing into media depictions of the Chinese as violent, foreign, and mystical, he targeted the moral standing of all Chinese residents in Cardiff. Tupper claimed that Chinese store owners sold opium-laced candy to children, appealing to associations between the Chinese and opium. His most fierce attack was that Chinese laundry owners were using white Welsh women as forced labor. This rhetoric rightly terrified the Chinese population in the city, and police presence in Butetown only served as a deterrent for so long. Through early and mid-July, the strike had become increasingly violent, and anti-Chinese sentiments had begun to spread through

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[127] Cayford, "John Chinaman," 38.
[128] Ibid., 44.

the rest of Cardiff. Events peaked on the night of July 20, when Chinese laundries and boarding houses were systematically targeted throughout the city, and continued into the next day when police dispersed a crowd of roughly two thousand.[129] Though Tupper and the striking seamen led this effort, a large number of the participants in this rioting had no connection to the strike.

While the riots are today universally condemned, many of the purveyors – and particularly Captain Tupper – believed they were doing the right thing. Tupper speaks glowingly – and inaccurately – about his role in the riots, and what they accomplished, in his 1938 autobiography *Seamen's Torch: The Life Story of Captain Edward Tupper*. Even though the majority found the riots to be deplorable, many Cardiffians in the wake of the riots were more supportive of forcibly repatriating the Chinese back to their home country.[130] In the years after the Cardiff riot this narrative became stronger and efforts were made to exclude the Chinese from shipping.[131] The moralizing narrative used to lift up the Welsh strikers and condemn the Chinese was accepted and factored into justifications for action against the Chinese in the coming years and the main perpetrators of the Cardiff riots largely escaped punishment.

It also played into the way the Welsh understood their place within the British Empire, supporting the belief that Welsh morality was "a necessary counterpoise, if we must not say antidote, for some of the excessively commercial and materialistic tendencies of our gifted and imperialistic Teutonic neighbour".[132] An English way of empire guided British imperial expansion, a method that promised great riches but moral bankruptcy, for which "destroying natives and small nations is the characteristic vice".[133] In a February 1890 speech to the South Wales Liberal Federation, Lloyd George made clear his belief that Wales was "a model to the

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[129] Ibid., 46.
[130] Ibid., 47.
[131] "Pursuing the Yellow Peril," *Barry Dock News*, May 15, 1914.
[132] Hugh Price Hughes, "Wales and Its Mission," *Young Wales* 9, no 97 (January 1903): 10.
[133] Aaron, "Slaughter and Salvation: Welsh Missionary Activity and British Imperialism," 65.

nationalities of the earth of a people who have driven oppression from their hillsides, and initiate

the glorious reign of freedom, justice and truth".[134] He backed up his claim with an analogy to

the most Welsh of all imperial activity, missionizing – "the dark continent of wrong is being

explored and there is a missionary spirit abroad for its reclamation to the realm of right".[135]

It was the responsibility of the Welsh to be the moral corrective and guiding light to this

English empire. This view played an important role in Welsh political representation in the *fin-*
de-siècle. Towyn Jones, the Liberal MP for Llanelli – also an ordained minister from the

Presbyterian College in Carmarthen and ally of Lloyd George and T.E. Ellis – spoke harshly

against British perpetuation of the opium trade as demonstrative of the failings of a British

Empire solely motivated by profit. But he came to this position from a distinctly Welsh one. His

May 7, 1913 speech to the House of Commons on the question of opium from British India

flowing into China demonstrates the level to which Welsh morality played into the way Wales

understood its place in the empire. Asking for 'indulgence' from the House of Commons for his

deficiencies speaking English, "a language not my own, and which I have but seldom used save

in private," Jones claimed it was his duty as a 'Welsh nationalist' to speak up out against British

complicity in the opium trade in China.[136] This issue was "in perfect accord with the most

cherished traditions, the deepest convictions and the best ideals of Welsh nationalism," spurred

by the "burning words of Dr. Griffith John, Principal Hopkyn Rees, the Rev. Timothy Richard,

of China…to see the end of this Indo-Chinese Opium Traffic-the greatest curse of China, and the

greatest disgrace of Britain."[137] Like the image of the Scots as a martial race, Welsh morality

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[134] "South Wales Liberal Federation," *The Cambrian News and Merionethshire Standard*, February 7, 1890.
[135] Ibid.; Aaron, "Slaughter and Salvation," 51-68.
[136] Opium Traffic, Towyn Jones, 7 May 1913, 20th Century House of Commons Hansard Sessional, Pages 2150-2152, ProQuest U.K. Parliamentary Papers.
https://parlipapers.proquest.com/parlipapers/docview/t71.d76.cds5cv0052p0-0013?accountid=10747.
[137] Ibid.

helped make them a missionary people.

The Welsh moral imperative to speak against opium also points to the ways *gwerin* necessarily placed Wales in conversation with the wider world. Media reporting, which brought the world to Wales, simultaneously shaped the way Welshmen conceived of their national identity and their role as actors in the world. Whether conscious or not, Welsh self-fashionings were driven by news of the world that helped the Welsh to conceive of themselves as builders of empire and a persecuted small nation subject to it, with the responsibility to be a moral guiding light. In essence, the way Wales perceived the world shaped a sense of national morality that itself guided the way Wales approached its role within the empire.

St. David's Day and Welsh Society in the Far East

In the words of Kenneth O. Morgan, the most prominent Welsh historian of the twentieth century "a sense of nationality is as old as the Welsh themselves."[138] Welsh historiography overwhelmingly talks of the 'nation,' even when referring to Wales during the pre-modern period, pointing to an "awareness of an identity of language, culture, and race" traceable back to the sixth-century poet Gildas.[139] "Clearly, the country of Wales, by its very existence, constitutes a geographical phenomenon of very considerable long standing," wrote the eminent Welsh historian Geraint H. Jenkins, a view that has held firm even with the recognition that some of the most important Welsh cultural customs are 'invented traditions'.[140] Even today, the way historians and political scientists approach Welsh geography is shaped by electoral patterns that reflect linguistic – and therefore, assumed national – differences between different parts of Wales.[141] In effect, the field of Welsh history remains largely in conversation with itself, centered on inward-looking attempts to deduce the nation and the characteristics that are seen to

[138] Kenneth O. Morgan, "Welsh Nationalism: The Historical Background," *Journal of Contemporary History* 6, no. 1 (January 1971): 153.

[139] Ibid. Also see Glanmor Williams, *Religion, Language, and Nationality in Wales: Historical Essays* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1979). For a comprehensive discussion of pre-modern nationalism in the British case, see Philip S. Gorski, "Pre-modern Nationalism: An Oxymoron? the Evidence from England," in *The SAGE Handbook of Nations and Nationalism*, ed. Gerard Delanty and Krishan Kumar (London: SAGE Publications, 2006), 143-156.

[140] Prys Morgan, "From Death to a View: The Hunt for the Welsh Past in the Romantic Period," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 61-100; Geraint H. Jenkins, "Introduction," in *The Welsh Language and Its Social Domains, 1801-1911*, (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000): 1-2. This approach also masks considerable geographic, linguistic, and cultural variability within Wales itself. Even leading up to the mid-nineteenth century, when technological advances bridged these gaps, Wales was in essence two separate entities: a northern and a southern half, divided by mountains that made regular communication impossible and engendered genuine differences between populations in different parts of the country. Glamorganshire in the south was far better connected to Bristol and Somerset than it was to Anglesey in the north; and much of south Wales and the border counties closer resembled Herefordshire culturally and linguistically than they did Cardiganshire. Colley, *Britons*, 15. Monmouthshire was even formally omitted from Wales until the early 1970s.

[141] Roger Scully and Richard Wyn Jones, "Still three Wales? Social Location and Electoral Behaviour in Contemporary Wales," *Electoral Studies* 31 (2012): 656–667; Daniel John Evans, "Welshness in 'British Wales': Negotiating National Identity at the Margins," *Nations and Nationalism* 25, no. 1 (January 2019): 167-190.

define it.

This way of writing Welsh history goes all the way back to J.E. Lloyd, the founding

father of Welsh historical study, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.[142] Its

persistence is tied to the mid-twentieth century emergence of Plaid Cymru – the nationalist and

independence-minded political party in Wales – and the crystallization of the Welsh language as

central to conceptions of identity.[143] It has some of the most important approaches to

understanding nineteenth century Wales.[144] Even research into *Y Wladfa*, the single Welsh

attempt to form a colony in Patagonia – which has received small but consistent focus since the

1970s – has largely focused on the settlement as a manifestation of Welsh nationalism, rather

than as a colonial endeavor, made possible by British imperial sway.[145]

If Welsh history has focused on the nation to the detriment of its connections to the

British Empire, then imperial histories have largely written out Wales as well. There are only

two direct references to Wales in the eight-volume *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, and

in the *Oxford History of the British Empire* Wales is mentioned 15 times, compared to 303

mentions of Ireland and 130 of Scotland.[146] Even as imperial histories have sought to take a

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[142] Huw Pryce, *J.E. Lloyd and the Creation of Welsh History: Renewing a Nation's Past*, (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011), 169-174; Rhys Jones and Carwyn Fowler, *Placing the Nation: Aberystwyth and the Reproduction of Welsh Nationalism* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2008), 43-54.

[143] Saunders Lewis' 1962 radio speech "Tynged yr Iaith" (The Fate of the Language), where he prioritized the maintenance of spoken Welsh in Wales, helped embed a view that the language – largely unchanged since Roman times – bore a cultural tradition that has transcended time. Rhys Jones and Carwyn Fowler, *Placing the Nation: Aberystwyth and the Reproduction of Welsh Nationalism* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2008), 80. For a general discussion of language and its connection to national identity in nineteenth century Europe, see Brian Vick, "Language and Nation: National Identity and the Civic-Ethnic Typology," in *What Is a Nation?: Europe 1789-1914*, ed. Timothy Baycroft and Mark Hewitson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006): 155-170.

[144] Michael Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development* (New York: Routledge, 1975); Gwyneth Tyson Roberts, *The Language of the Blue Books: The Perfect Instrument of Empire* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1998).

[145] For instance, Gwyn Williams, *The Desert and the Dream: A Study of Welsh Colonization in Chubut 1865-1915* (University of Wales Press, 1975).

[146] Neil Evans, "Writing Wales Into the Empire: Rhetoric, Fragments – and Beyond?," in *Wales and the British Overseas Empire: Interactions and Influences, 1650-1830*, ed. Hugh Bowen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012): 21, 26.

more inclusive view of British perspectives within the empire, the disciplinary divide between

Welsh history and British history remains cemented in a way that does not exist for the other

three nations of the United Kingdom.

In the mid-1970s, J.G.A Pocock proposed a Four-Nations model of British history that

accounted for the distinct ways each of the nations of Britain engaged with the empire, which

helped kick off a 'New British History' emphasizing multiplicity. [147] But Four Nations history

developed against the backdrop of growing movements for devolution and independence

throughout the United Kingdom, and as the field became focused on diagnosing these

developments, again Welsh history attained an insularity that focused on national identity and its

relationship to the British state within Britain.[148] Aside from the concerns this presents British

history more generally, as models for understanding Britain are formed without consideration of

Wales,[149] it means that there remain vast chasms in the study of the Welsh as members of the

Empire.

This lack of overlap is somewhat surprising – even given Welsh history's focus on the

national – because the British Empire radiates beneath or in the background of most Welsh

histories. The labor histories of the Welsh coal fields that dominated Welsh historiography in the

1970s and early 1980s were primarily focused on the social dynamics engendered by mass-

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[147] Naomi Lloyd-Jones and Margaret M. Scull, "A New Plea for an Old Subject? Four Nations History for the Modern Period," in *Four Nations Approaches to Modern 'British' History: A (Dis)United Kingdom?* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 3-5.

[148] Paul O'Leary, "'A Vertiginous Sense of Impending Loss': Four Nations History and the Problem of Narrative," in *Four Nations Approaches to Modern 'British' History: A (Dis)United Kingdom?* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 59-82.

[149] This is an all too often concern, even within Celtic Studies. Murray Pittock's *Celtic Identity and the British Image* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), though one of the best descriptions of Celtism in the nineteenth century, takes its conclusions almost entirely from Scotland. This problem can mean that research into Wales often problematizes more general theories for understanding Britain.

industry in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Wales.[150] But if one steps back and asks where the coal and iron they produced went, the answer was overwhelmingly to power the ships and build the guns that drove the British Empire's rapid expansion in the late nineteenth century. Welsh coal enabled British naval supremacy five thousand miles away in China during the Second Opium War and Boxer Rebellions.[151] It was not only the British who were enabled to fight in China because of high-quality Welsh anthracite coal. Russian ships relied on Welsh coal as they sailed for Port Arthur in Manchuria to engage the Japanese in 1904 during the Russo-Japanese War.[152] This fact concerned the British Admiralty enough to halt coal shipments out of Cardiff they believed were destined for the Russian navy, not least because they were concerned there would not be enough coal to supply their own ships.[153]

The few Welsh historians who in the last decade have turned their view outwards to consider the way the economy was a product of and functioned within the global expansion of the British Empire have found their task easier because of the large body of scholarship on the Welsh economy and industrialization.[154] This shift has picked up speed in the wake of Bill and Aled Jones' extremely influential 2004 article "The Welsh World and the British Empire, c.1851–1939: An Exploration," but remains focused on the settler-colonial context, where comparatively large Welsh immigrant communities – mainly composed of miners and farmers –

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[150] Neil Evans, "Writing the Social History of Modern Wales: Approaches, Achievements and Problems," *Social History* 17, no. 3 (October, 1992), 491.

[151] Correspondence Respecting Affairs in China, 1859-60, Australian and Welsh Coal for the Navy, 1900, House of Commons Sessional Paper, 87, no. 2754: 86.

[152] "The Demand for Welsh Coal," *Evening Express*, February 6, 1904.

[153] "Coal for Russia," *Evening Express*, December 5, 1904; "Admiralty Scheme and the Welsh Coalfields," *The Cambrian*, January 29, 1904. News of the seemingly unending coal reserves in the country were also the subject of debate in Wales. "Capital for China's Coal," *Evening Express*, May 12, 1898.

[154] For example, see Trevor Burnard, "From Periphery to Periphery: The Pennants' Jamaican Plantations and Industrialisation in North Wales, 1771–1812," 114-142; and H. V. Bowen, "Asiatic Interactions: India, the East India Company and the Welsh Economy, c.1750–1830," 168-192, both in *Wales and the British Overseas Empire: Interactions and Influences, 1650-1830*, ed. Hugh Bowen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012).

developed.[155] The most concentrated areas of Welsh migration in the second half of the

nineteenth century were located near areas of heavy mining or agricultural activity in the British

settler-colonial societies or the United States.[156]

The focus on a narrow form of interaction with the empire and the wider world has

ignored the many Welsh individuals who abounded in high positions. These men played

important roles as engineers, surveyors, judges, and technical advisors, and often brought their

families along with them overseas.[157] Thomas Idwal Vaughn of Holywell joined the Shanghai

Municipal Police in 1900, working his way up to Detective-Sergeant by 1907, before being

named Chief Inspector in 1919.[158] George T. Lloyd, who became the editor of the *Shanghai

Times* – East Asia's largest English-language paper – in 1916, and had previously been the editor

of the *South China Morning Post*, ironically enough hailed from a ward in Cardiff called

Cathays.[159] As opposed to the large number of Welsh immigrants who travelled to mining boom

towns in America and Australia, Welsh 'miners' in China were important technical advisors, like

George Jenkins who left the Caerphilly Colliery in the Rhondda to take become chief manager of

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[155] See Anne Knowles, *Calvinists Incorporated: Welsh Immigrants on Ohio's Industrial Frontier* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

[156] William. D. Jones, *Wales in America: Scranton and the Welsh 1860–1920* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1993).

[157] Edith M. Reid, "A Letter from China," *Dr. William's School Magazine* 8, no. 16 (December 1904): 530-533; "Cwmamman," *The Amman Valley Chronicle and East Carmarthen News*, September 16, 1915; "A Brilliant Welsh Officer," *Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald and North and South Wales Independent*, December 28, 1900; Photograph of Sir William Henry Hyndman Jones, Chief Justice Straits Settlement (1906-1914), 1906, 2006-004633-SUP, Supreme Court Collection, National Archives of Singapore, Singapore. Papers in Wales even noted the surprising proliferation of successful Welsh individuals in the Far East. "Cymry Yn Mynd 'Ar I Fynu'," *Llangollen Advertiser Denbighshire Merionethshire and North Wales Journal*, September 3, 1909.

[158] Paul French, "Into the Shanghai Trenches: A Psychogeography of Sin in Old Shanghai" *Los Angeles Review of Books*, April 1915, 2015; "From Shanghai," *The Cambrian News and Merionethshire Standard*, August 22, 1919. In many ways, Vaughan's career counters the picture of the Shanghai Police as an institution that inspired racial prejudice and potentially fascist tendencies in its members described by Robert Bickers in *Empire Made Me: An Englishman Adrift in Shanghai*.

[159] Though it is only a coincidence that the ward's name, which translates from Welsh to mean 'Little Heath', closely resembles one of the historical European names for China. "Local News," *The Carmarthen Journal and South Wales Weekly Advertiser*," July 7, 1916.

the Chinese Engineering Company's Tientsin colliery.[160] Noah Williams of Cwmllynfell, a coal

town in south-central Wales, was even a professor of mining at the University of Shanghai for

Science and Technology.[161]

He was not the only Welsh professor in the city or in the new, Westernized universities –

both religious institutions sponsored by missionary societies and secular ones – that were

popping up throughout the country in the early twentieth century.[162] Timothy Richard ran

Shanxi University between 1902 and 1912, during which time he turned it into the model on

which the "government-supported system of higher educational institutions in provincial capitals

throughout the [Qing] Empire" was based.[163] For this reason, he is considered a founding father

of the modern Chinese university system. He also worked with the powerful general and

reformer Li Hongzheng to found a university at Taiyuan (Taiyuan University of Technology) –

the site of the massacre in which W.T. Beynon and his family were killed – using Chinese

reparations to Britain from the Boxer Rebellion.[164]

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[160] "Important Appointments for Local Welshmen in China," *The Pontypridd Chronicle and Workman's News*, October 5, 1888. Some miners achieved remarkable wealth and influence by leaving Wales to manage mining operations throughout the British Empire. William Griffith was hired to report on diamond mining operations in Kimberley, and later lead exploration parties for the De Beer Mining Company and the British South Africa Chartered Company. His capabilities attracted the attention of Cecil Rhodes, who placed him in charge of an expedition that prospected much of modern Zimbabwe. "Griffith, William (1853 - 1918), mining engineer and author," *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, https://biography.wales/article/s-GRIF-WIL-1853; Warren Bert Kimberly, *History of West Australia: A Narrative of Her Past Together with Biographies of Her Leading Men* (Melbourne: F. W. Niven & Co.), 150-151.

[161] "The Post Bag," *The South Wales Daily Post*, July 7, 1910.

[162] "Notes on Men & Things Cambrian," *The Cambrian*, February 26, 1909; Archives of the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, Yale Divinity Library, College Files, RG 11, Box 317, Folder 4841, Yencheng Academic Department of Political Science, 1926-1928. Experience in China also opened up teaching opportunities back in Britain. Alongside the missionary William Hopkyn Rees' other accomplishments within the Welsh community and missionary establishment in Shanghai, he was also appointed chair of Chinese studies at the School of Oriental and Asian Studies, University of London from 1921 to his death three years later. Rees had been a professor at Union College, Peking between 1908 and 1913, too. "Rees, William Hopkyn (1859 - 1924), Missionary, Linguist, Author," *Dictionary of Welsh Bibliography*, https://biography.wales/article/s-REES-HOP-1859.

[163] Eunice V. Johnson, "Educational Reform in China, 1880-1910: Timothy Richard and His Vision for Higher Education" (PhD diss., University of Florida, 2001), 262.

[164] Li Hongzheng was one of the most influential and powerful men in late-nineteenth century China. Tonio Andrade, *The Gunpowder Age: China, Military Innovation, and the Rise of the West in World History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 277-291.

Timothy Richard's importance as a reformer in China was so great that it deserves quick mention, particularly because it has largely been forgotten in the West.[165] Richard rose to prominence in the late 1870s and 1880s by publicizing the North China Famine, which killed five and a half million people between 1876 and 1879, and spearheading efforts to end it.[166] At the same time, he regularly contributed to the extremely influential Chinese language reform journal *Wàn Guó Gōng Bào* (A Review of the Times). As a result, some of China's most prominent statesmen and reformers systematically sought him out.[167] He became a close confidant of Kang Youwei – the most important late-nineteenth century Chinese reformer – who claimed that he owed his intellectual career to the writings of Richard and the American missionary Young John Allen.[168]

The Empress Dowager Cixi ultimately shut down Youwei's attempt to transform Qing China in a massive modernization and Westernization project termed the Hundred Days' Reform in 1898 – owing to it lasting 103 days.[169] Forced to flee, Richard helped Youwei and his apprentice Liang Qichao escape to Japan and himself left for Shanghai. Qichao over the next

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[165] As opposed to his relative anonymity in the West today, Richard's British and American contemporaries believed that "no foreigner, missionary or layman has been so universally known in China." William Edward Soothill, *Timothy Richard of China: Seer, Statesman, Missionary & the Most Disinterested Adviser the Chinese Ever Had* (London: Seeley, Service & Company Limited, 1924), 17.

[166] Alongside leading efforts to end the famine by instituting modernizing reforms, Richard brought international attention to the famine, which led to millions of dollars of famine relief flowing to China from the West. Andrew T. Kaiser, "Encountering China: The Evolution of Timothy Richard's Missionary Thought (1870-1891)" (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 2014). For a more general discussion of British relationships with and approaches to famine relief, see Tehila Sasson and James Vernon, "Practising the British Way of Famine: Technologies of Relief, 1770–1985," *European Review of History—Revue europeˊenne d'histoire* 22, no. 6 (November 2015): 860–72.

[167] Immanuel C. Y. Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 426.

[168] Timothy Man-kong Wong, "Timothy Richard and the Chinese Reform Movement," *Fides et Historia* 31, no. 2 (Summer/Fall 1999), 47. Allen was an Emory alum, and the Allen Memorial United Methodist Church at the Oxford Campus is named after him.

[169] By the mid-1890s, Richard was thinking of Chinese entrance into a federation of nations as the best means of modernizing the state and protecting it from Western aggression, in terms remarkably similar to those used in the founding of the League of Nations. He met with numerous leading Chinese and Japanese political figures in attempts to realize this plan, and convinced Youwei to adopt it during the Hundred Days' Reform, before the movement was subsequently crushed. Relating Richard's efforts for federation in China to the "possibility and constraint" paradigm developed by Frederick Cooper and recently employed by Adom Getachew to great fanfare offers a remarkably interesting lens for future research into modern Chinese history.

decade and a half became the most important intellectual figure in China, and had a leading influence on the May Fourth Movement, one of the most important turning points in modern Chinese history.[170] Richard mentored Qichao and helped shape how he understood China agency and its place in the world, ideas which Mao Zedong explicitly drew on as he crafted the Chinese Communist Party in the 1920s.[171] So important was Richard to Qichao that when the latter travelled to Paris for the Versailles Conference in 1919, he detoured to London to meet with a now retired Richard.[172] Xi Jinping has drawn on Qichao's writings in his efforts to reconfigure China's place in the world, marking a through line that connects Richard's influence to the present.[173] *The Welsh Academy Encyclopedia of Wales* fittingly notes that Richard "enjoyed greater power than any Welshman in history, apart from David Lloyd George".[174]

Equal parts soldier and missionary, companyman and professor, sailor and editor, 'Welsh empire-builders' like Richard offer a different but equally important picture of Welsh involvement in the British Empire and wider world that is absent from Welsh historiography. The little research that has considered Welsh individuals in major cities outside of Wales is limited to those within Britain – mostly London[175] – or part of larger studies of Welsh settler-colonialism. But the Welsh individuals in the Europeanized metropolises of the Far East were

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[170] Qichao's importance to modern Chinese thought has received increased attention in the West in recent years, and formed an important part of Sebastian Conrad's influential article "Enlightenment in Global History: A Historiographical Critique," *The American Historical Review* 117, no. 4 (October 2012): 999–1027. Unfortunately, most scholars of China interested in Liang Qichao have not picked up his relationship with Timothy Richard, including, somewhat ironically, Xiaobing Tang in his *Global Space and the Nationalist Discourse of Modernity: The Historical Thinking of Liang Qichao*, which specifically investigates the role of international and Western influences on Qichao's nationalist thinking.

[171] Mao wrote that as a youth he "worshipped Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao." Jonathan Spence, *Mao Zedong* (New York: Viking, 1999), 9.

[172] Hayton, "The Welsh Baptist Who Transformed China."

[173] Stan Grant, "To Understand Xi Jinping's China, We Must Look Back to Liang Qichao – The 'Godfather of Chinese Nationalism'," *ABC*, July 3, 2021, https://www.abc.net.au/news/2021-07-04/xi-jinping-china-look-back-liang-qichao-godfather-chinese-nation/100263254.

[174] John Davies, Nigel Jenkins, and Menna Baines, *The Welsh Academy Encyclopedia of Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2008), 758.

[175] For the most comprehensive discussion of the Welsh in London, see Emrys Jones, ed., *The Welsh in London: 1500-2000* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2001).

primarily middle and upper class, or were soldiers and sailors in direct service to the British

Empire. "In point of prominence within the British community, Welshmen have reason to be

satisfied with their achievements…in the Municipal, official, and commercial life of

Shanghai."[176]

These individuals built lively Welsh communities in Shanghai, Hong Kong, and

Singapore in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Social life in these cities was

mediated through clubs and societies. This organized expression and celebration of ethnic and

cultural identities through clubs and associations, or 'associationalism', played an important role

in community relations.[177] Apart from the plethora of religious and occupational associations,

there were also national associations, where individuals hailing from a certain nation within

Britain could connect with fellow countrymen and celebrate their collective cultural background.

The most prominent and active of these societies in each city was the Scottish St. Andrew's

Society, but there were also active St. George Societies for the English and St. Patrick's Societies

for the Irish. The Welsh equivalent was the St. David's Society (St.DS), which became the

backbone of Welsh cultural life in the metropolises of the Far East in the early 1900s. These

associations held such a prominent place in the cultural lives of these cities that the governor of

the Straits Settlement (Singapore) noted, "A Governor is expected to be familiar with the lives of

the Patron Saints".[178]

Since the 1700s, British expansion had allowed Welshmen to make their way to Asia,

benefitting from the expansion of the British Empire, and from the systems of communication,

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[176] "Shanghai Welsh," *TN-CHSC&CG*, March 8, 1933: 365.

[177] Tanja Bueltmann and Lesley C. Robinson, "Making Home in a Sojourner World: Organised Ethnicity and British Associationalism in Singapore, c1880s–1930s," *Britain and the World* 9, no. 2 (September 2016): 169-171.

[178] "Another True Story of St. George," *The Straits Times*, April 25, 1935: 13.

travel, and supply that it engendered, just as they actively participated in it.[179] But only in the late nineteenth century did British imperial expansion in Asia and Western unequal treaties open up China and the Far East enough that culturally active communities could form. These communities, at the edge of empire and bordered by a seemingly threatening and unstable China, felt reliant on Britain for security. Their place was deeply contingent on the British Empire, and the way national patriotism manifested in these communities was heavily dependent on their Britishness. The prevalence, form, and visibility of Welsh cultural activity in the Far East was shaped by wider British concerns, evincing a connection between Welsh nationalism and British patriotism.

St. David's Day (St.DD) – the feast day for St. David, the patron saint of Wales (March 1) – was prominently commemorated in Hong Kong beginning at the end of the nineteenth century. The 2nd Battalion of the Royal Welsh Fusiliers – the same unit whose exploits in China had graced pages in Wales – regularly celebrated St.DD beginning in 1899, two years after the unit was moved to China from northern Wales.[180] But the unit's name is misleading. Though it was ostensibly a "Welsh" unit with regimental headquarters in Wrexham, a minority of the Fusiliers at the time of the Boxer Rebellion were actually Welsh.[181] Not until the establishment of the Welsh Guards at the onset of the First World War were "Welsh" units actually composed of a majority of Welshmen. This should not take away from the discussion of media depictions of the Fusiliers in chapter one. Welshmen were present in the Royal Welsh Fusiliers, as they were in the South Welsh Borderers and other "Welsh" units, at a higher rate than in other British military units, and these units were based in Wales. Their victories, particularly during the

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[179] "A 'Reticent' People? The Welsh in Asia, c.1700–1815" in *Wales and the British Overseas Empire: Interactions and Influences, 1650-1830*, ed. Hugh Bowen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), 143-167.

[180] "St. David's Day: Celebration by the Royal Welch Fusiliers," *The China Mail*, March 1, 1899.

[181] This may account for the lackluster study of modern Welsh military history, save their involvement during the First World War and the Napoleonic Wars.

Napoleonic Wars, were Welsh victories in defense of Britain. They were undoubtedly viewed in Wales as Welsh.[182]

But their St. David's Day celebrations in Hong Kong bore few distinctively Welsh characteristics, and were little more than "regimental holidays".[183] Hong Kong's inaugural St. David's Day celebration in 1899 was marked by a "commemoration dinner at the Officer's Mess," where a toast was given to "Toby Purcell's Spurs and St. David," Purcell – an Irishman – having been the unit's first Senior Major upon its foundation in 1689.[184] Not until 1915, with the emergence of a St. David's Society founded by actual Welsh individuals, did St. David's Day festivities in Hong Kong take on a distinctively Welsh outlook.

Despite their cultural limitations, though, these events did provide Welsh individuals in Hong Kong the opportunity to prominently celebrate their national holiday. Formal St. David's Day celebrations required considerable organization and were difficult to put on without an organizing body. A sufficiently large location had to be found and decorated, refreshments had to be purchased, a formal program for the night created, and speakers, a choir, and other forms of entertainment organized. Without the presence of a St. David's Society to coordinate these contingencies, it was exceedingly difficult to hold organized community events like St. David's Day celebrations. Even though Shanghai had East Asia's largest and most prominent Welsh community, there were no official St. David' Day celebrations before 1914. Nevertheless, Welsh households and groups of friends very likely held their own celebrations that were not prominent enough to grace the pages of the English-language Chinese dailies. There was interest

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[182] "The Royal Welsh Fusiliers: Marching Through Anglesey," *Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald and North and South Wales Independent*, August 19, 1892; "The March Through North Wales of the Royal Welch Fusiliers," *The North Wales Chronicle and Advertiser for the Principality*, September 24, 1892.
[183] "St. David's Day," *China Mail*, March 1, 1899. The saving grace of the event being that at least the parading soldiers, in their regimental colors, wore the leek.
[184] "St. David's Ball," *Hong Kong Daily Press*, March 1, 1899.

before 1914 in canvassing Shanghai and the surrounding areas for those who were from Wales or could "siared Cymraeg [speak Welsh]" in order to found a society that could sponsor cultural activities.[185]

St. David's Day was a time to meditate on the importance and necessary connection between Wales and the British Empire for both the Welsh in the Far East metropolises. Even non-Welsh individuals took "Wales' Day" to reflect on the merits of Welsh nationalism, a force "not out of any antagonism to the Empire of which Welshmen are the senior partners" but to protect the Welsh language and culture from the "complexity of modern bureaucratic administration".[186]

The First World War proved the watershed moment for Welsh associationalism in the Far East. In Shanghai and Hong Kong, 1914-15 saw the solidification of the cities' Welsh communities around formal St. David's Societies, with official members, functionaries, and regularly held meetings. In the former city, October 1914 proved a "fitting moment for the Welsh Society to make its presence known and prove worthy of its object by participating in this patriotic movement".[187] And the next year in Hong Kong, most of the "hundred sons and daughters of Gwalia in Hongkong" celebrated the first of March at the luxurious Hongkong Hotel: "Last year the day passed practically unnoticed, and though circumstances were against them this year, certain loyal Welshmen felt in honour bound to cause fellow countrymen to foregather and pay pleasant homage to St. David".[188] For both cities, it is crucial that "patriotic" reasons led to the formal establishment of St. David's Societies in the wake of the British entrance into the First World War. Like in Wales, "at a time of crisis, St. David's Day offered an

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[185] "Saint David's Day," *TN-CHSC&CG*, March 8, 1913: 699.
[186] "Wales' Day," *TN-CHSC&CG*, March 3, 1937: 359.
[187] "A Welsh Fund," *TN-CHSC&CG*, October 3, 1914: 14.
[188] "St. David's Day," *Hong Kong Daily Press*, March 2, 1915.

opportunity to…galvanize patriotic support for the First World War".[189]

As Tanja Bueltmann and Lesley C. Robinson point out in their study on British associationalism in the city between 1880 and 1930, media reports allude to an apparently "'flourishing' Singapore St David's Society that fell into 'desuetude' after the outbreak of conflict in 1914."[190] But they rightly caution that no further records exist to confirm or deny this. No mention is made of any Singapore St.DS activity during the war, and only in the inter-war period does the Society re-emerge as a small but prominent part of Singapore's associational life. Singapore's St.DS appears, if anything, to be the exception that proves the rule. If the reasons for the decline of the society are impossible to directly identify,[191] contextual clues at least make it clear that it had nothing to do with an opposition to exhibitions of national identity in the city during a period of imperial crisis. Indeed, in 1915 there was "very properly to be no St. George's Ball" either, rather a "'patriotic concert' at the Town Hall…to celebrate the day and at the same time contribute to one of the most deserving objects conceivable, the relief of distress among the wives or children of the gallant naval men who have given their lives for King and Country in this war".[192] But the inception of war also made national pride in support of the empire more important than ever: "perhaps the war, which has done so much to reawaken national feeling, will help to restore St. George to something like his ancient place and honours".[193]

At St.DD celebrations in Singapore in 1912 – which were notably conducted without a

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[189] Russell Grigg, "'You Should Love Your Country and Should Ever Strive to Be Worthy of Your Fatherland': Identity, British Values and St. David's Day in Elementary Schools in Wales, c. 1885-1920," *Welsh History Review* 29, no. 1 (2018): 100.

[190] Tanja Bueltmann and Lesley C. Robinson, "Making Home in a Sojourner World: Organised Ethnicity and British Associationalism in Singapore, c1880s–1930s," *Britain and the World* 9, no. 2 (September 2016): 167-196.

[191] Although the answer likely lies in the Welsh community in Singapore – one of roughly 30 to 60 individuals in this period – losing enough members, because of the disruption of the war that holding official celebrations became untenable.

[192] "St. George for Merrie England," *Straits Echo* April 23, 1915: 4.

[193] Ibid.

formal St. David's Society, but in the hopes of forming one in the future – one speaker argued

"the man who was truest to his own country was most capable of realising the highest and the

best ideals of that greater patriotism, that spirit which made the sons of Britain a power

throughout the world…let them be worthy of their country and their Empire".[194] The inception

of the war tied nationalism into imperial patriotism, spurring the development of Welsh –

alongside English, Scottish, and Irish – associationalism in the Far East.

Welshmen clearly felt the importance of British patriotism at a time of imperial crisis,

and streamed back to Britain from throughout the Far East at the start of the First World War to

enlist in the British Army. Oftentimes, the journey home was more adventurous than service

itself. One enlistee originally from northern Wales travelled from Borneo, where he had been

working as a manager on a rubber plantation, to Bangor to join the Carnavonshire Artillery

Volunteers. Joining another Carnavonshire Welshman in Shanghai, the two made their way

through Japan and across Siberia by sledge to St. Petersburg where they witnessed Russian

troops amassing. Proceeding through Finland, Sweden, and then Bergen in Norway, they finally

arrived in Britain by the end of 1915.[195] It was a point of pride for Welsh communities in Wales,

as well as in the Far East, that individuals from so far afield felt strong enough patriotism to

come back home and serve in the British armed forces. [196] Indeed, it was natural that these men

often proved excellent leaders and were readily promoted.[197]

The other leading reason why national associationalism was encouraged at the start of the

First World War was that these associations had organized structures that could handle donations

and funnel funds back to Britain in support of the troops. The Shanghai St.DS sought to do its

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[194] "Gwyl Dewi Sant," *The Straits Times*, March 2, 1912: 9
[195] "The Week's City News," *The North Wales Chronicle and Advertiser for the Principality*, November 19, 1915.
[196] "Cwmamman," *The Amman Valley Chronicle and East Carmarthen News*, September 16, 1915.
[197] "Rapid Promotion," *Abergavenny Chronicle*, April 16, 1915.

part for nation and empire, and regularly sent donations back to Britain. In 1916, the society

even sent £100 specifically to Lloyd George to help wounded Welsh soldiers and sailors.[198]

George presumably forwarded the money to the hospital at the Charing Cross Road Welsh

Chapel in London, because they eventually received it.[199]

Donation was important enough to be widely reported throughout the Far East.[200]

He also sent a thank you telegram addressed to the Shanghai St.DS, which the community

cherished, despite its streamlined and formulaic wording. When the Society's contributions to

the war effort were overlooked, the Welsh community felt deeply insulted. It was just as

patriotically British as the Scottish or English, and deserved to be thought of in the same

terms.[201]

The Hong Kong and particularly Shanghai St. David's Societies were connected to wider

British concerns, but were first and foremost concerned with fostering a level of cultural

nationalism within their communities. At the first annual meeting of the Shanghai St.DS in

1915, Rees appealed for those present to support the Patriotic League of Britons Overseas, which

would allow them to do their utmost for Britain in her time of need.[202] But they also decided on

privileging the Welsh language going forward, and voted on holding Welsh-language religious

services "to which all Welsh folks were invited".[203] Though the war prevented the St.DS from

holding an official function that year, there were a number of informal celebrations within the

community.[204]

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[198] "St. David's Society," *The Shanghai Times*, June 13, 1916: 9.
[199] "News of the Week," *Llangollen Advertiser Denbighshire Merionethshire and North Wales Journal*, February 15, 1918.
[200] *The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser*, July 1, 1916: 6.
[201] "Notes & Comments," *TN-CHSC&CG*, October 10, 1914: 77.
[202] "Patriotic League Inaugurated," *The Shanghai Times*, February 10, 1915: 4.
[203] "St. David's Society: Annual Meeting," *The Shanghai Times*, February 24, 1915: 4
[204] "Local and General News," *TN-CHSC&CG*, March 6, 1915: 716.

During the war years, Welsh associationalism in the Far East boomed, centered on a distinct, often exclusionary Welsh upbringing. Decorations at the 1917 annual meeting of Shanghai's St.DS speak to this arrangement. The walls were decked with the Union Jack and the Welsh flag. But the rest of the decor was self-consciously Welsh. Occupying "a conspicuous position" were paintings of Lloyd George and his childhood home of Highgate.[205] Lloyd George's portrait is not surprising, considering he had by 1917 become Prime Minister – though the Welsh nationalism of Lloyd George's earlier years was exhorted by members of the society earlier in 1917 in a lecture discussing his origins. But the presence of a painting of Highgate is significant because of the historical importance of landscape to Welsh identity. Highgate, in rural Llanystumdwy in the Wales' northwest, is a stand-in for the iconic Welsh hillside that is as ubiquitous within nationalist discourse as the Welsh language.[206] That the society had a painting of George's childhood home commissioned speaks to the distinctly national character of the society's activities. The portrait remained at the center of St. David's Day celebrations, alongside the Welsh flag, in the years to come until the ceremony was moved from the Union Church Hall to the opulent Majestic Hotel.[207]

That year's St. David's Day celebrations were largely conducted in "pure, undefiled Welsh".[208] The *Shanghai Times* reporter in attendance noted that "it certainly seems as if long residence in the East does not affect the wealth of words that some of our Celtic exiles acquired

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[205] Though Highgate is not explicitly named, the "humble cottage in which he [George] spent his early days" is quite clearly a reference to it.

[206] In the same way that at the 1891 Church Congress, held at Rhyl in Denbighshire, the Dean of St. Asaph could connect the religion, national identity, and the land: "the history of the Welsh Church was like the surface of our Welsh country diversified by hills and valleys." "The Church Congress at Rhyl," *Wrexham and Denbighshire Advertiser and Cheshire Shropshire and North Wales Register*, October 10, 1891.

[207] "St. David's Society," *TN-CHSC&CG*, March 6, 1920: 644.

[208] "Celts Celebrate: In Welsh Language," *The Shanghai Times*, March 3, 1917: 7. For more on the Majestic Hotel, see Hugues Martin, "The Rise and Fall of the Majestic Hotel," Shanghailander: The Blog About Old Shanghai, April 30, 2017, https://shanghailander.net/2017/04/the-rise-and-fall-of-the-majestic-hotel/.

in the days of their youth in 'wild Wales'".[209] Though this was hardly the case, as chapter three

will attest to, it does capture the character of Welsh St. David's Day celebrations in the Far East

during the interwar period and early 1920s. Celebratory of and oriented around the Welsh

language and distinct cultural traditions that were difficult for individuals from the other nations

of Britain to understand, these festivals were places where "national pride was enthroned".[210]

As the Shanghai St.DS became a regular part of the city's social scene, its events grew

bigger. Although smaller in size than the well known St. George and St. Andrews societies, it

had equal status as the representative body in Shanghai of one of the nations of Britain. The

result was that throughout the 1920s prominent figures in Shanghai's social scene attended St.

David's Day celebrations as a sign of respect for Wales and the Welsh people.[211] These events

were designed to put Wales on a pedestal, highlighting the merits and achievements of its people.

This could be done without prioritizing the Welsh language, yet the Welsh communities in the

Far East, and particularly in Shanghai, placed the Welsh language on a pedestal. They continued

to place importance on exclusionary references to Welshness – i.e. depictions understandable

only to Welshmen, but not to individuals from the other nations of Britain – in a way that the

other national societies did not. In 1927, one English commentator even complained that the

Welsh "still cling to a sort of exclusiveness," liking "their celebrations to be very Welsh and very

nearly confined to Welshmen".[212]

Yet, this deeply national focus was also clearly in support of a wider Britishness. Every

St. David's Day celebration of the interwar period was usually kicked off with the laying of

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[209] Ibid.
[210] Ibid.
[211] For example, "St. David's Day Celebrations: Welsh Community Honour Patron Saint," *TN-CHSC&CG*, March 8, 1939: 399. Eventually, by the late 1930s this would dilute their Welsh character, because the majority of participants were no longer Welsh.
[212] "St. David's Day Celebrations," March 3, 1928.

wreaths at a war memorial – after 1928 the large cenotaph on the Bund, Shanghai's main boulevard – to honor the Welshmen who died in service of Britain.[213] This put into prominent view the importance of Welsh soldiers who fought and died for Britain in the First World War, serving to commemorate Wales' importance in maintaining the empire at the same time that it celebrated their distinct position within it. In this respect, Welsh cultural nationalism and the British Empire went hand in hand. The Welsh community sent £121 to help with the building of the North Wales Heroes' Memorial Fund Wales, equally serving to demonstrate in Wales the global spread of patriotic Welsh individuals.[214]

It is not surprising that Lloyd George was something of a patron saint, and "uncrowned king" for the Welsh communities in the Far East into the 1910s and 1920s.[215] Aside from being a central figure at St. David's Day celebrations and the subject of donations and letters to Wales, he was also a shining exemplar of what it meant to be a nationalist Welshman in the world and the British Empire.[216] This was not least because the 'Welsh wizard' remained a powerful figure in British politics even in the mid-1920s.[217] It also owed heavily to Lloyd George's elegant melding of Welsh nationalism and British patriotism. Indeed, the Lloyd George trope was so overplayed that the Welsh community in Shanghai was praised for its 'modesty' – not without a modicum of jest – at the 1933 St. David's Day celebration by representatives of the city's St. George Society for not bringing him up.

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[213] "Welshmen Celebrate St. David's Day," *The China Press*, March 2, 1930: 1; "St. David's Day To Be Observed Here Today," *The China Press*, March 1, 1935: 2; and St. David's Day Celebration To Be Opened with Wreath-Laying," *The China Press*, February 27, 1937: 3.

[214] "News of the Week," Llangollen Advertiser Denbighshire Merionethshire and North Wales, July 17, 1919

[215] "Scotsmen Welcome The Governor," *Malaya Tribune*, December 1, 1934: 15.

[216] Article 13, *TN-CHSC&CG*, June 16, 1917: 651.

[217] "Lloyd George's Future Career Offers Puzzle," *The China Press*, January 20, 1926: 15; "Lloyd George Staging Come-Back Into Politics," *The China Press*, November 7, 1925: 14. Lloyd George's career after he left office in 1922 has been the subject of much less research than his war years and rise as a Welsh nationalist. Nevertheless, he remained an important figure in domestic British politics, and influenced foreign policy. Stella Rudman, "Lloyd George and the Appeasement of Germany" *Journal of Liberal History* 77 (Winter 2012–13): 39.

George was not infallible, though, and the Shanghai Welsh community's reaction to his opposition to British informal empire in China in 1926 and 1927 speaks to the importance of the British imperial machine to Welsh individuals in the Far East. In 1925, the Chinese Nationalist Party – Kuomintang – allied with the Chinese Communist Party began a major campaign from its base in the city of Guangzhou in southern China against the government in Beijing. This "Northern Expedition" entailed a massive military offensive that swept through the country, and as the National Revolutionary Army (NRA) moved north, it began to attack British trade depots along the Yangtze River.[218] This sparked a debate in Britain over what a suitable response should be. Should Britain reassert with its great naval strength the right to trade on favorable terms in China? Or, in an age of self-determination, was it finally time to let slide Chinese obligations to the British, the vestiges of the unequal treaties of the nineteenth century?

George fully believed in the importance of the latter. He was deeply critical of British extra-territoriality in China, which violated its borders and independence, even if it was technically legal owing to previous Chinese concessions. "The record of Western civilisation in China is indeed a black record, and foreigners there today are suffering from the results of their own greed," proclaimed George in a 1926 speech in Bradford.[219] Much has recently been written about self-determination as a concept that necessarily restricted non-European countries; Woodrow Wilson and the South African premier fashioned the idea to preclude the opportunity for equal governance in the non-Western world. But Lloyd George's advocacy for self-determination extended beyond Europe to include China, even if at the time of the Paris Peace

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[218] Phoebe Chow, "British Opinion and Policy Towards China, 1922-1927" (PhD diss., London School of Economics and Political Science, 2011).

[219] "Mr. Lloyd George At Bradford: 'Foreign Greed' In China No Case for Sending Flotillas," *The Observer*, December 5, 1926: 23.

Conference he "knew little of East Asian affairs and cared even less".[220] George viewed Chinese

nationalism as an authentic force – not tainted by communism and Soviet influence as some

conservative commentators at the time argued.[221] This is not surprising, when one considers

George's rhetoric during the Boer War. "The zeal and pride that sought to lift a nation above the

wretched past to heights where its people should be enlightened and prosperous and enabled

them to look every other nation in the face unashamed was a nationalism which was a blessing to

those who practiced it".[222]

For Britons in China, though, the situation was far from a removed policy debate. The

NRA seized the Chinese portion of Shanghai, and the International Settlement's Western

residents felt at the sword's edge. Only the continued and increased presence of British warships

in Shanghai's harbor promised to keep them safe. Welsh individuals understandably felt

betrayed by George, and made sure their fellow British expats knew they did not hold the same

views. How could George condemn them in such terms, especially when they were in such a

precarious position? The majority of the annual Shanghai St.DS's annual meeting in 1927 dealt

with George's statements.[223] Since it was such a "great disappointment to all of us that so

distinguished a Welshman should have been misled to such an extent," the obvious solution was

to inform him of the actual situation in China.[224] Indeed, it was their duty to rectify his

unfortunate views, as "no one [would] be better able to repudiate Mr. Lloyd George's statement"

than Welsh individuals with intimate experience of life in China.[225] The Society sent a telegram

to George followed by a letter with greater detail about 'British interests' in China, both of which

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[220] Phoebe Chow, *Britain's Imperial Retreat from China, 1900-1931* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 119; Alan Sharp, "'If I Did to Go to Paris Again…' David Lloyd George and the Revision of the Treaty of Versailles," *Journal of Liberal History* 77 (Winter 2012-13): 34.

[221] Ibid., 214; "Mr. Lloyd George's Speech," *The Manchester Guardian*, January 21, 1927: 11.

[222] "Lld. George Bilingual: Legacy of His Father," *Morning Tribune*, April 1, 1936: 9.

[223] "News Brevities," *The China Press*, January 16, 1927: 17.

[224] "St. David's Society," *TN-CHSC&CG*, January 22, 1927: 112.

[225] Ibid.

were read to all present. Lloyd George was the bearer of a Welsh nationalism in service of the

empire that completely undergirded Welsh associationalism in the Far East. He was the ultimate

symbol of Welsh success. He could not be criticized or discarded, only corrected after having

been misled. Indeed, George remained an important evocation in celebrations among Welsh

communities in the Far East in the coming years.

But the Shanghai Welsh wholeheartedly believed he was wrong. In the view of the

Welsh community in China, British forces were more necessary than ever to protect against the

growing turmoil of nationalism and communism in China. Although some of Lloyd George's

criticisms of British involvement in China are remarkably evocative of Rees and John's criticism

of Western provocation in the lead up to the Boxer Rebellion, the Welsh community in China in

the 1920s had no sympathy his criticism of Britain in China. Much like the response of these

societies to the First World War, the extended period of imperial pullback in China functioned as

an imperial crisis that pushed the Welsh community – and British communities throughout the

empire more broadly – together into a more pronounced expression of their distinct national

identity as a key facet of a collective and united Britishness. This criticism was reminiscent of

that directed at George during the Boer War, when he was a fierce critic of British expansionism.

> "Because a man lives on the frontier of the Empire are the British working men
> not going to stand up for him? The pride of Britain has been that its citizens have
> been protected in all quarters of the globe and when our sons go into the furthest
> corners of the earth they know that British working men are as much concerned
> for their safety as if they dwelt under their own roof at home. Mr. George would
> change all that…"[226]

This is where one can identify a major difference between Welsh individuals overseas in

China and the Welsh at home. By the 1920s, a strong internationalism was developing out of the

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[226] "Mr. Lloyd George at Bangor," *The Montgomery County Times and Shropshire and Mid-Wales Advertiser*, April 14, 1900.

South Wales coal field around socialism, but which extended itself beyond the Western world.[227]

The British working classes were also largely opposed to British intervention in China.[228] In

effect, the mood in Wales was general opposition to the continuation of informal empire in

China. But the Welsh in Shanghai were intensely supportive of the empire and spoke out

vigorously for its continued extension of power in the Far East.

Britishness has been attacked in Welsh history since its inception as a force that

contributed to the Anglicization of the country.[229] For Kenneth O. Morgan, the presence of an

Anglicized urban bourgeoisie in the southeast of Wales and lack of a truly Welsh one paved the

way for linguistic and cultural decline. Gwyn Williams argued that the middle class in

nineteenth century Wales were "traitors" to the Welsh language, something that Ieuan Gwynedd

Jones agreed with.[230] Jones considered this group "conditioned by then to the idea that Welsh

was an inferior language".[231] Brinley Thomas argued the maintenance of the Welsh language in

industrial and urban South Wales was tied to the internal migration of poor, lower class rural

Welsh, bringing with them their language, and helping to maintain the Welsh language within

Wales against the Anglicizing impact of a South Wales bourgeoisie.[232] Indeed, David L.

Adamson has argued that, "If there was a secure future for the indigenous bourgeoisie it was

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[227] Hywel Francis, *Miners Against Fascism: Wales and the Spanish Civil War* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1984).
[228] Chow, *Imperial Retreat*.
[229] Kirsti Bohata, "En-gendering a New Wales: Nationalism, Feminism and Empire in the *Fin de Siècle*," in *Postcolonialism Revisited: Writing Wales in English*, ed. Kirsti Bohata (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2004), 61-62.
[230] Julie Light, "'…Mere Seekers of Fame'?: Personalities, Power and Politics in the Small Town: Pontypool and Bridgend, c. 1860-95," *Urban History*, 32, no. 1 (May 2005): 88; Kenneth O. Morgan, *Wales in British Politics, 1868-1922* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1962), 16.
[231] Jones, *Mid-Victorian Wales*, 69.
[232] Brinley Thomas, "A Cauldron of Rebirth: Population and the Welsh Language in the Nineteenth Century," in The Welsh Language and Its Social Domains, 1801-1911: A Social History of the Welsh Language, ed. Geraint H. Jenkins (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000): 82.

increasingly under the umbrella of the British state".[233] These men assumed the survival of the

Welsh language was a success and against a wider European norm, because Wales lacked the

type of urbanized bourgeoisie that drove linguistic nationalism elsewhere – an essential feature

in theories of nationalism developed by influential continental thinkers like Miroslav Hroch.[234]

Simon Brooks' 2015 book *Why Wales Never Was: The Failure of Welsh Nationalism*

argued powerfully against this claim. Rather than asking why did the Welsh language did not

die, he questioned why there was no large movement to maintain it in the late nineteenth century.

Breaking from the analytic models of his predecessors, he directly challenging the canonical

view in Welsh history since *Wales in British Politics* was published in 1962 that Welsh political

involvement in the Liberal Party was essential to the creation and strengthening of a modern

Welsh national consciousness. Even this revision, is grounding by the view that an Anglicized

middle class and elite was responsible for the collapse of the Welsh language, and the loss of

cultural and national pride attendant.

Thus, Welsh historiography has painted middle and upper class 'Britishers' as

responsible for the collapse of a cultural tradition centered on the Welsh language, or at least to

blame for failing to maintain it. In simple terms, for this class Britishness did not blend with

Welshness; it consumed it. But in the Far East this was far from the case. Welsh communities

were made up of individuals in positions of prominence and wealth, or in direct service to the

British Empire. Welsh individuals here certainly found more purchase in their Welsh identity,

and in the importance of the Welsh language to this identity, than historians have argued their

equivalents in Wales did. They were remarkably supportive of the Welsh language, actively

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[233] David L. Adamson, *Class, Ideology, and the Nation: A Theory of Welsh Nationalism* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991), 123.

[234] For instance, see Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations*, trans. Ben Fowkes (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

blended Welsh cultural nationalism with a wider Britishness, and were deeply supportive of the empire – even when their counterparts in Wales were not – because their positions in the Far East relied on Britain's continued projection of force. The development of Welsh associationalism in the Far East and the character of the Welsh societies there demonstrate the importance of Britishness and Britain as a positive – and not merely negative – force to the gelling together of Welsh identity.

Recreating Wales: Welsh Cultural and Linguistic Traditions in the Far East

The paradox of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Wales was that the country

experienced a triumphant explosion of cultural nationalism awash with the Welsh language at the

same time that its much-maligned collapse began. The rapid increase in the population of Wales

in the second half of the nineteenth century initially appeared a boon for the Welsh language,

because the total number of Welsh speakers increased during the *fin-de-siècle*. Many

contemporaries took the continued flourishing of the Welsh language for granted, even as the

percentage of Welsh speakers drastically declined.[235]

Yet, by 1951, only 28.9 percent of the Welsh population could speak the language. Even

in 1901, the percentage of Welsh-speakers slipped below half of the population to 49.9

percent.[236] Welsh was no longer the majority language of Wales. Most historians have

attributed this rapid collapse to the "combined effects of Anglicisation, education, globalisation,

commercialism, emigration and migration," but the narrative surrounding the Welsh language

throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries also contributed to this decline. For

many in this period, speakers of the Welsh language evinced a lack of progress and refinement.

This sentiment was made most explicit in the 'colonial logic' that marred the infamous

1847 Parliamentary Reports of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of Education in

Wales, a scathing critique of the moral and intellectual failings of the Welsh. The Inquiry was

particularly critical of the Welsh language, religious non-conformism, and the non-conformist

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[235] Geraint H. Jenkins, Gwenfair Parry and Mari A. Williams, "'More People Speak It Than Ever Before'," in *The Welsh Language and the 1891 Census*, ed. Gwenfair Parry and Mari A. Williams (Cardiff: University of Wales press, 1999), 455-482.
[236] Russell Davies, *People, Places and* Passions, 26.

schools that dominated education throughout Wales.[237] The report itself largely fell back on

philological theories used for "the maintenance of colonial power…to assert and justify the right

of English to be regarded as the only valid language of Britain".[238]

> The Welsh element is never found at the top of the social scale…his language
> keeps him under the hatches, being one in which he can neither acquire nor
> communicate the necessary information. It is a language of old-fashioned
> agriculture, of theology, and of simple rustic life, while all the world about him is
> English…He is left to live in an under-world of his own, and the march of society
> goes…completely over his head.[239]

The Welsh language was an archaism not matched with, or even useful in the modern world.

Exposure to the broad array of opportunities and associations engendered by the British

Empire convinced many of the need to abandon Welsh. The great Denbigh-born adventurer and

imperialist Henry Morgan Stanley – to whom the well-known phrase "Mr. Livingston, I

presume?" is attributed – decried his birth language. "I think Wales is the worst part of the

United Kingdom to come and talk about Cosmopolitanism," he claimed in a speech to a large

crowd in Cardiff in 1897.[240] Comparing the Welsh people to the colonial peoples at the sharp

end of Britain's civilizing mission, he remarked that "wherever the Aborigines were found

clinging to their traditional language, they have always sunk into obscurity and

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[237] The Treachery (or sometimes "Betrayal") of the Blue Books, as the report has come to be known – named for their blue binding – is a central moment in modern Welsh history. Saunders Lewis considered the report the spark that ignited Welsh nationalism, both political and cultural, in the late-nineteenth century. For an informative discussion of the ways Welsh literature and thought was shaped by the defamatory language of the Blue Books, and subsequently sought to legitimize itself in the eyes of an Anglophone public, see Rita Singer, "Liberating Britain from Foreign Bondage: A Welsh Revision of the Wars of the Roses in L.M. Spooner's *Gladys of Harlech; or, The Sacrifice (1858)*" in *Rule Britannia?: Britain and Britishness 1707-1901*, ed. Peter Lindfield and Christie Margrave (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), 143-158.

[238] Gwyneth Tyson Roberts, *The Language of the Blue Books: The Perfect Instrument of Empire* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1998), 58.

[239] Commissioners of Inquiry Into the State of Education in Wales, *Reports of the Commissioners of Inquiry Into the State of Education in Wales, Part II: Brecknock, Cardigan, Radnor, and Monmouth* (London: William Clowes & Sons, 1848), 4, as referenced by Saunders Lewis in his February 13, 1962 BBC speech entitled *Tynged yr Iaith* (Fate of the Language).

[240] "Mr. H.M. Stanley, M.P., on Trade," *The Cambrian*, May 22, 1896.

unimportance".[241] The only solution was to let go of Welsh.

Many contemporaries vigorously opposed Lord Stanley's views, finding them defamatory and anathema to Welsh patriotism.[242] Historians, too, have found him to be far from correct. The Welsh were not "the living dead, condemned by the numerical imbalance that counted against them".[243] Welsh nationalists who shirked the English language were remarkably worldly and interacted extensively with other European peoples. Many ardent supporters of the Welsh language studied in Germany, and retained close connections to the country when they returned home.[244] Pan-Celtic connections also put Welsh speakers in close contact with the other Celtic peoples of Europe.[245] And of course, they retained close connections with overseas Welsh diaspora communities. Their "non-Anglophone cosmopolitan nationalism" was precisely what made them "among those in Wales with the widest cultural horizons".[246] As one Shanghai Welshman put it, only though "an ardent national feeling could…[one] learn to respect similar feelings in others and so become real 'citizens of the world'".[247]

Ironically, Stanley's argument demonstrates the extent to which the Welsh were central

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[241] Ibid.

[242] "The Welsh Language: A Vigorous Reply to Lord Stanley by a South Walian," *Evening Express*, May 16, 1894.

[243] Simon Brooks, *Why Wales Never Was: The Failure of Welsh Nationalism* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2017), 66.

[244] For instance, see M. Wynn Thomas, Eutopia: Studies in Cultural Euro-Welshness, 1850-1980 (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2021).

[245] For instance, pan-Celtic associations linked important Welsh cultural figures to the Celtic nations – and particularly Brittany, Ireland, Scotland. These relationships and feelings of solidarity or mutual Celtic brotherhood still pervade. Maryon MacDonald in her comprehensive study of the Breton independence movement *We Are Not French: Language, culture and identity in Brittany* (New York: Routledge, 1989) discusses taking a course on the history of Celtic languages at the University of Rennes. During a discussion on the nature of the Celtic languages' subjugations to English and French, she was asked where she was from. Letting it slip that she was from England and had been born in Oxford, she was faced with hostility. But when one of her friends knowingly asked her where her father was from, a question to which she answered Wales – and that he was a native Welsh speaker – the situation eased. She was Welsh, not English; she was a "'Celt', and, as such, united with the ranks of the oppressed [the Celtic nations]" (120-121). Over the past decade, the movement to revive Breton has looked to Wales for inspiration. nation.cymru, "Why Comparisons with Wales and Welsh Are at the Heart of the Battle to Save the Breton Language," March 21, 2021, https://nation.cymru/news/why-comparisons-with-wales-and-welsh-are-at-the-heart-of-the-battle-to-save-the-breton-language/.

[246] Ibid., 47-48.

[247] "St. David's Day Celebration: Local Welshmen at the War Memorial and Festival Dinner at the Majestic Hotel," *TN-CHSC&CG*, March 3, 1928: 351.

parts of British imperial expansion. Throughout the British Empire and the wider world he had seen mountains of Welsh coal, iron, and tinplate. But even having seen a great portion of the empire, he was never "able to detect which part of it was built by Welshmen".[248] Although there were some physical differences between the different nationalities of Britain – like between the notoriously tall Scots and short Welsh[249] – for most Welsh individuals there were no major barriers or stigmas that prevented them from being fully-fledged participants in the empire.

So close were the Welsh to the English that while the Scottish and Irish had independent measures for immigration and emigration in census records, the Welsh were subsumed in the category "Welsh and English".[250] This way of recording continues to confound researchers of Welsh immigration and diaspora, many of whom depend on playing the 'name game' to track Welsh overseas communities by spotting distinctively Welsh names to determine an individual's likely background.[251] But if one were willing to switch their name, like the celebrated Welsh adventurer Owen Rhoscomyl often did, there was little to tie them back to Wales.[252] They could proceed almost anywhere in the world under the aegis of being British.

Welsh identity in the British Empire and the wider world was remarkably open to self-fashioning. Bill and Aled Jones point out that abroad in Australia and India indigenous

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[248] "Stanley," *TC*.

[249] Mike Benbough-Jackson, "Height, National Identity and the Four Nations," *Four Nations History*, September 9, 2016.

[250] Lesley Walker, "The 'for Wales See England' Syndrome: Locating Welsh Immigrants in Colonial Records 1870-1879," *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 81, no. 2 (December 1995): 185-193.

[251] This is a tool Robert Llewelyn Tyler plays on heavily in his work on Welsh overseas communities. On a larger scale, where the 'name game' is not feasible, like considering overall numbers of Welsh emigration, and the role it played in economic and cultural changes in Wales, the problem of Welsh emigration numbers being far from straightforward has caused considerable scholarly disagreement. It is a backbone of the disagreement between Dudley Baines and Brinley Thomas, as argued in the former's *Migration in a Mature Economy. Internal and Overseas Migration in England and Wales, 1861-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) and the latter's *The Industrial Revolution and the Atlantic Economy: Selected Essays* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

[252] John S. Ellis, "Making Owen Rhoscomyl (1863-1919): Biography, Welsh Identity and the British World," *Welsh History Review* 26, no. 3 (2013): 482-511.

populations viewed the Welsh as "regional variants of the English".[253] This was also true for

Europeans, though. On a trip across the English Channel, one Welshman, who had struck up

conversation with a German passenger, stumbled onto the topic of nationalism.

> I asked him to guess my nationality. He started by launching the hypothesis that I
> was not English, with which I agreed; next, in rapid succession he suggested my
> origin to be Dutch, German, Norse, Spanish, Italian, Russian, Greek…finally
> hinting that I must be Chinese…but when I told him I was Welsh, he declared that
> the Welsh were the same as the English.[254]

Turning to a neighboring Englishman, the Welshman asked him to pronounce the name of a

number of Welsh towns. Seeing the Englishman unable to do so, the German had to admit that

there must be a difference between the two nationalities. Ignorance of Wales and the Welsh was

common, something the Welsh themselves were aware of. The Chief Justice of the Straits

Settlement joked at the city's 1927 St. David's Day celebration that his knowledge of Wales and

the Welsh came from an Encyclopedia Britannica article he had read earlier that day.[255]

The most visible sign of Welshness probably had to do with one's outfit. The Welsh

celebrate their heritage by wearing leeks – a symbol of national identity connected to Welsh

archers at the Battle of Crécy – in their caps or pinned to their clothes on St. David's Day.[256] For

Welshmen in China, it may have made more sense to wear the China Lily, which closely

resembled the leek but was more fitting for the locale.[257] Nevertheless, it was expected that all

self-respecting Welsh individuals would wear something to symbolize their nationality. Aside

from leeks on March 1, Welsh individuals had to rely on context clues or previous acquaintance

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[253] Aled Jones and Bill Jones, "The Welsh World and the British Empire, c.1851-1939: An Exploration," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 31, no. 2 (2003): 74.

[254] Cymro Ar Grwydr, "A l'Etranger," *Magazine of the University College of North Wales* 3, no. 2 (March 1894): 13.

[255] "St. David's Day," *Straits Budget*, March 3, 1927: 26.

[256] "The Traditions of the Leek: From St. David to the Welsh Guards," *The Shanghai Times*, March 29, 1916: 12. Welsh individuals in the Far East also wore daffodils, another national emblem of Wales. "Daffodils Appear to Be Replacing Wales' Leek Emblem," *The China Press*, July 19, 1928.

[257] "St. David's Day," *The China Mail*, March 1, 1902; "Saint David's Day," *TN-CHSC&CG* March 8, 1913: 699.

to identify their countrymen overseas, even if they retroactively claimed someone had a "genuine Welsh expression".[258]

Many Welsh were happy to simply blend into wider white societies under the tag of Briton to escape narratives of Celtic primitivism and linguistic backwardness as they sought to build new lives for themselves within the British Empire or in the wider world. One Welshman who had enlisted and gone to India noted, "I am a Welshman, of Manafon, in Montgomeryshire. I didn't know a word of English when I ran away from the plough and 'listed. Never wrote home—never!" In the process, he completely severed connections with his family and home country.[259] Simply being outside of Britain did not mean discourses of Welsh inferiority disappeared. Center page on the cover of the October 17, 1930 *Hong Kong Daily Press*, in loud black letters, was an article on healthcare reform in Wales titled "Welshmen and Their Failings" that decried the "weaknesses" and "smug self-satisfaction" of its people.[260]

But most Welsh individuals were frustrated by the lack of ways for the Welsh to distinguish themselves from the English, Scottish, and Irish.[261] They sought to recreate Wales in their new homes. Although leaving Wales for the Far East entailed a gain in economic or professional opportunity, it also meant a cultural loss. These individuals in the Far East considered themselves 'exiled' even as they held prominent and lucrative positions. Negotiating Welshness in Singapore, Shanghai, and Hong Kong, both in light of greater cultural exposure and as a process with and between members of the community, was central to the way members within this community came to terms with cultural loss.[262]

As chapter 1 demonstrated, the press in Wales facilitated the crafting of a Welsh self-

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[258] Griffith, "Welshmen," 241, 251.
[259] *Weekly Mail*, August 3, 1901.
[260] "Welshmen and Their Failings", *Hong Kong Daily Press*, October 17, 1930.
[261] For example, "Wales Day By Day," *The Western Mail*, October 6, 1900.
[262] "Welsh Notes: By Ap Rhys," *The China Mail*, August 30, 1924.

image that placed Wales into the British Empire and the world. But Welsh communities around the world also engaged in this process, negotiating their national identity in the face of exposure to a new world.[263] Just as news readily circulated back from China to Wales, information also flowed from the metropole to Welsh diaspora communities in China. Personal letters and communications allowed individuals on the other side of the world to maintain close relationships with friends and family in Wales, creating an "international Welsh cultural and religious community".[264]

Newspapers were also posted from Wales overseas ensuring Welsh communities had up-to-date knowledge of their homeland, and even their local communities. The Amman Valley Chronicle and East Carmarthen News, a local paper from Carmarthenshire, was regularly sent to Shanghai, which is not surprising given the high makeup of Welshmen from western Wales in the city.[265] Welsh individuals were deeply interested in and committed to happenings back home. These connections kept Wales and diaspora communities connected, ensuring that individuals overseas had a strong understanding of events going on in Wales and allowing Welsh communities overseas to engage with and justify Welsh nationality, even as it was refashioned in Wales.[266]

Wales was a centering force in a global system of print connections linking Welsh expatriates and settlers abroad, as well as a powerful hub for publishing. But connections between communities were not only mediated through it. News about Griffith John spread from

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[263] Walter Ariel Brooks, *Welsh Print Culture in y Wladfa: The Role of Ethnic Newspapers in Welsh Patagonia, 1868-1933* (Thesis: Cardiff University, 2012).

[264] "'Going into Print': Published Immigrant Letters, Webs of Personal Relations, and the Emergence of the Welsh Public Sphere," in *Letters Across Borders: The Epistolary Practices of International Migrants*, ed. Bruce S. Elliott, David A. Gerber, and Suzanne M. Sinke (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 193.

[265] "Talk in the Train," *The Amman Valley Chronicle and East Carmarthen News*, April 9, 1914; "Youthful Offenders," *The North Wales Express*, January 21, 1910.

[266] For example, "National Library Of Welsh People Is In Straits: St. David's Society Of Shanghai Appeals To Compatriots," *The China Press*, April 10, 1930; "Miners and Bolshevism," *TN-CHSC&CG*, October 23, 1920: 216

China to Pennsylvania through religious press systems that did not rely on institutions in

Wales.[267] Diaspora communities were linked to each other, connected by their collective

identification as Welsh. Both larger communities – like those in Ballarat, Australia; Scranton,

Pennsylvania; and the Chubut Valley in southern Argentina – and smaller ones were able to

sustain presses that helped negotiate Welshness in new contexts. *Y Lamp*, a bilingual religious

magazine, was published between 1897 and 1903 out of Oshkosh, Wisconsin, which had a stable

but relatively small Welsh population. It connected disparate Welsh populations and individuals

throughout Wisconsin and the United States, negotiating for its readers a process of ongoing

Anglicization and Americanization, but also seeking to maintain vision to a common Welsh

heritage.[268] This process of debating and configuring approaches to national identity in a new

land occurred within and between Welsh individuals and communities in the Far East, as it did

around the globe.[269] Welsh societies overseas were in conversation with and sought to support

each other, without reference to the metropole.[270] Welshness was emerging as an identity that

was remarkably adaptable, adjustable, and transmutable.

In 1904, the Union Church Literary and Social Guild of Shanghai hosted a lecture on

"Wales and Its People".[271] In front of an overflowing room, one 'Miss Richard' lectured on the

history of Wales from pre-Roman Britain to present, "while a chorus of sons and daughters of

Wales sang some of their national songs".[272] Others recited Welsh-language poetry – including a

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[267] "Ymweliad Ac Ymgom A Dr Griffith John," *Y Tyst*, January 30, 1907.

[268] Robert Humphries, "'Thy Word Is a Lamp to My Feet': The 'Lamp' and Wisconsin's Welsh Christian Endeavorers," *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* 100, no. 2 (Winter 2016-2017), 16-27.

[269] "St. David's Day," *Straits Budget*, March 3, 1927: 26. Welsh individuals regularly contributed to the major English-language dailies of the Far East. Conversations over identity that would have occurred in specifically Welsh papers in larger settler-colonial communities instead appeared as opinion pieces in them.

[270] "St. David's Society," *Hong Kong Daily Press*, January 27, 1931.

[271] "The Union Church Literary and Social Guild," *The North-China Herald and Supreme*, October 28, 1904: 996.

[272] Ibid. Chorus singing is an intensely national activity in Wales tied largely to its importance during eisteddfod and in religious services, and it represented the close bond between national and religious identity. For a discussion of the connection between the national and the choral in Wales, see Helen Barlow, "'Praise the Lord! We are a Musical

poem written by the founder of London's famed Cymmrodorion Welsh cultural society. Miss

Richard's lecture covered all the sore spots of Welsh history: a propensity for religiosity, from

the Catholicism of the Middle Ages to present non-conformism; Celtic ethnicity, and its

connection to the Anglo-Saxon English; and the literary traditions of the Welsh language. The

themes all verged on Wales' "long fight for national existence".[273] The event's musical program

included "Taliesin's Prophecy" – which praises the survival and linguistic revival of Wales – and

"Men of Harlech".[274] Accompanying the choir was the "charming feature" of Maggie Richard,

who was dressed in the 'national costume'. The whole event was capped with the "singing of the

national anthem," not "God Save the King," but the Welsh "The Land of Our Fathers".

What is striking about the lecture series was not its content, but the individuals involved:

Eleanor and Maggie Richards, two of Timothy Richards' four daughters.[275] The majority of

British missionaries who left for mission fields before the late nineteenth century were

encouraged not to marry prior to their departure, due in large part to the high mortality rate.[276]

Death in the mission field was no idle concern. Within two weeks of arriving in China, Richard

found himself completely alone at the BMS mission station in Yantai, Shandong province, his

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Nation': The Welsh Working Classes and Religious Singing," *Nineteenth-Century Music Review*, 17, no. 3: 445-472.

[273] Ibid.

[274] Although the 1964 film *Zulu* has given the song a reputation of being pro-British, in 1904 the song had primarily national connotations. The version sung at this event was likely one of the two English versions of the song, as it is listed in English and not as "Rhyfelgyrch Gwŷr Harlech," but was likely the 1873 version, with the refrain "Cambria ne'er can yield!".

[275] While Maggie Richard is explicitly mentioned as appearing in Welsh garb, the "Miss Richard" who gave the lecture is not explicitly identified from among Timothy's three other daughters. Nevertheless, his eldest daughter Eleanor was the only other one in Shanghai at the time. Timothy Richard was also present and recited Welsh language poetry.

[276] Rosemary Seton, "Welsh Women Missionaries of the London Missionary Society in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," *Journal of Welsh Religious History* 7 (1999): 109-118. Richard covers these issues specifically: "At the last moment before sailing, I was asked if I would pledge myself to remain ten years unmarried. This question took me by surprise, as I had not thought much of that subject, but had merely considered it would be risky to take a wife into the interior, then as little known as the wilds of Africa. I replied that whether I would marry in ten days or ten years would depend on what was best for the work. It fell out that I did not marry, for nine years." Richard, *Forty-five Years in China*, 29.

predecessors having died or left prior to his arrival.[277] In 1879, Timothy Richard married Mary

Martin, a Scottish missionary with the China Inland Mission. The two had four children in quick

succession: Eleanor, Mary Celia, Florence, and Margaret.

Prospects for marrying a Welsh woman were almost non-existent for Welshmen who had

not married prior to leaving Britain, few single Welsh women reaching the Far East in the late

19th century. Yet, as "Wales and Its People" bears witness to, marriage outside of the national

group did not preclude the spread of national identification from father to child. Despite being

born to a Scottish mother, and never having visited Wales – living their entire lives in China,

with brief stints at boarding schools in England – Maggie and Eleanor considered themselves

Welsh enough to lecture about it; and were well-informed about the state of the national

discourse in Wales. Eleanor's lecture replicated the discourse for understanding Welsh history

and ethnicity developed at the end of the 19th century by members of leading Welsh cultural

organizations and that marked history lectures and competitions at eisteddfods in Wales. Welsh

individuals in the Far East approached national identity as "a community of desire…expressed in

a range of distinctively Welsh arts of memory," a fluid construct influenced by discourses and

changes in Wales as well as local contingencies in China.[278]

Individuals sought to create Wales not just in their family relations, but also in their

places of residence – efforts that overlapped, as Welsh spaces imbued Welshness. The

Aberystwyth-born missionary R. Ceredig Jenkins' regular letters to his hometown paper *The

Aberystwyth Observer* in 1894 and 1895 – aimed at providing people at home "an opportunity of

knowing something about…this far off land" – demonstrate William Hopkyn Rees' mission

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[277] Eunice V. Johnson, *Timothy Richard's Vision: Education and Reform in China, 1880-1910* (Oxford: The Lutterworth Press, 2014), 11-12.

[278] Philip Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism, and Memory in Early Modern England and Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 76-96.

station in northern China had a distinctively Welsh character religious character.[279]   Rees

prioritized Welsh hymns at his station, and Jenkins, who was a regular visitor, made translated

Welsh sayings into Chinese an important part of his work.[280] This meant that when Jenkins

visited, he could send "the warmest greetings of a Welshman's heart to you [residents of

Aberystwyth] as a family, as a Church, and as a connexion, and also as a nation."[281]

Griffith John also made Welsh religious tradition a valuable part of his mission station in

Wuhan.[282] John admired the enthusiasm of Chinese converts, but thought that Chinese singing

was not pleasing to the ear. He objected to using Chinese melodies and instruments in his church

services. Instead, he deliberately incorporated Welsh hymns into his services and preaching. In

1862, he collected, translated into Chinese, and printed a collection of 50 Welsh hymns for use in

the mission field; by 1876 this collection had grown to 200.[283] When the English missionary

Frederick Howard Taylor visited John in Hankow, he noted that "it was a beautiful thing to see

the old missionary, after almost fifty years in China, singing with all the fire of youth the hymns

of his fatherland and childhood – words and music that are now moving hearts the wide world

over".[284]

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[279] "A Letter from China," *Aberystwyth Observer*, February 1, 1894; "A Letter from China," *The Aberystwyth Observer*, July 5, 1894.

[280] "Letter from China," *The Aberystwyth Observer*, April 19, 1894.

[281] "Chinese Horrors: A Letter from a Welsh Missionary," Weekly Mail, August 3, 1901.

[282] No specific Welsh missionary society had major operations in China, like the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists did in Bengal, in Serampore and the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. Yet, China is a fascinating location to study precisely because the Welsh missionaries here operated outside of the confines of a Welsh missionary society or of a mission field dominated by Welsh names. Welsh missionaries had the opportunity to develop their mission stations as they saw fit, yet they overwhelmingly grounded their work in distinct Welsh religious traditions. John Hughes Morris, *The History of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists' Foreign Mission: To the End of the Year 1904* (Carnarvon: C.M. Book Room, 1910).

[283] Noel Gibbard, "Griffith John: Faithful Pioneer Missionary Builders of the Chinese Church," in *Pioneer Protestant Missionaries and Chinese Church Leaders*, ed. G. Wright Doyle (Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 2015), 86-87. The American Ira Sankey developed many of these hymns during the Great Awakening of 1857-1858 before becoming engrained in Welsh tradition. This further demonstrates the extent to which Welshness was an identity influenced by and in flux with global events.

[284] Howard Taylor, Katharine P. Shapleigh, and H. G. Barrie, *The Journey's End: The Story of the Last Days and Burial of the Rev. J. Hudson Taylor* (Toronto: China Inland Mission, 1905), 24.

John raised his children in this environment in their early age, before sending them to England for schooling – much as Richard did.[285] But the fact that they were born in China and educated in England did not preclude them from seeing themselves as distinctively Welsh. This is attributable to the way that John and his wife raised them, attuned to Welsh traditions in a mission station with a distinctly Welsh character. Visiting missionaries "enjoyed the beautiful Welsh hymns our dear host and his daughter sang to us, especially that glorious song of praise 'Diolch iddo'" (translated as 'Praise Be to Him', one of the most ubiquitous Welsh hymns and central to the Welsh Revival of 1904-05).[286]

In the case of both Griffith John and Timothy Richard, the individual being raised as Welsh was female. This should not be overlooked, particularly because Welsh women in the Far East appeared to play much more active, visible, and vocal roles than Welsh historiography has shown they did in Wales at the same time. Gender questions entered into histories of nineteenth and twentieth century Wales later than in many other areas of Europe.[287] Over the past two decades, though, the field has grown rapidly, even if it has not had a major impact on the way Welsh history is generally constructed.[288] Welsh women's history has largely been written as a social history of lower and middle class women, an attempt – as one study was aptly titled – to pull their stories 'out of the shadows'.[289] It has concentrated largely on the importance of women in domestic and community relations in the mining areas of southern Wales; women's' labor in the textile and munitions industries during the First World War; the suffrage movement

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[285] Thompson, *Griffith John*, 155.
[286] Taylor, Shapleigh, and Barrie, *The Journey's End*, 15. David Edward Pike, "The Man Behind the Revival's 'Diolch Iddo'," *welldigger*, November 9, 2018, http://daibach-welldigger.blogspot.com/2018/11/the-man-behind-revivals-diolch-iddo.html. For an example of the phrase's use in a revival meeting, see "Cardigan," *The Welshman*, September 1, 1905.
[287] Neil Evans, "Writing," 484.
[288] Angela V. John, "Two Decades of Development: Introduction to the New Edition," in *Our Mother's Land: Chapters in Welsh Women's History, 1830-1939* ed. Angela V. John (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011), 8.
[289] Deirdre Beddoe, *Out of the Shadows: A History of Women in Twentieth-century Wales* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 2000).

and its connection to Welsh nationalism; and attempts to fashion a female or gender-equal image of Wales.[290]

But there is far less research on women in positions of power, aside from that into Lady Charlotte Guest and her role in the National Eisteddfod and the publishing of the *Mabinogion*, the Welsh equivalent to the national epics emerging throughout Europe in the nineteenth century. But the image of Welsh women aristocrats has seldom moved past a stereotypical picture of "gilded idleness".[291] What has been written on these women points to their role supporting their husbands power – even Lady Guest was considered "'ably seconded' or 'supplementary'" to her husband, the leading Welsh industrialist John Josiah Guest.[292] And though this position enabled her importance and success in the Welsh cultural sphere, her role was primarily to "supplement and reinforce the influence" of her husband and families.[293] But in the Far East, women appear to have played much more active and regular roles as leaders in the religious and cultural field than Welsh women's history has written.

Rather than mere supplements to their husbands, the missionary life allowed women to play central – if massively understudied[294] – roles in maintaining mission stations. One observer commented that Hopkyn Rees and his wife Margaret Charlotte Harrison "co-operated almost as

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[290] For instance, see Sue Bruley, *The Women and Men of 1926: A Social and Gender History of the General Strike and Miners' Lockout in South Wales* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 2010); Ryland Wallace, *The Women's Suffrage Movement in Wales 1866–1928* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 2009); Lisa Snook, '"Out Of The Cage'? Women and the First World War in Pontypridd," *Llafur*, 8, no. 2 (2001), 75–87; Ursula Masson, *'For Women, for Wales and for Liberalism': Women and Liberal Politics, 1884–1914* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 2010); and Ursula Masson, "'Hand in Hand with the Women, Forward We Will Go': Welsh Nationalism and Feminism in the 1890s," *Women's History Review* 12, no. 3 (2003): 357-386.

[291] Davies, *Passions*, 126; Revel Guest and Angela V. John, *Lady Charlotte Guest. An Extraordinary Life* (Cheltenham: The History Press, 2007).

[292] Angela V. John, "Beyond Paternalism: The Ironmaster's Wife in the Industrial Community Chapter," in *Our Mother's Land*, 68.

[293] Ibid.

[294] Rosemary Seton, *Western Daughters in Eastern Lands: British Missionary Women in Asia* (Oxford: Praeger, 2013).

one" in the running of their mission station in northern China.[295] The China Inland Mission in particular encouraged women to take leadership positions, and even venture deep into inland China to preach. John was involved with the CIM movement, and regularly left his wife in charge of the rapidly growing Hankow mission station when he traveled to other provinces.[296] Missionary wives also helped their husbands with translations, their knowledge of Chinese often just as good, if not better than that of their husbands.[297] Indeed, John wrote that the mission station at Hankow could not have existed if not for the "exertions and influences" of his wife, who was his "right-hand man".[298] Thus, missionary work clearly provided "women with greater professional opportunities…greater status, visibility and a degree of influence, both in the field and at home, than they might otherwise have enjoyed".[299]

The role of Welsh women in Shanghai society was also facilitated by their connection to mission activities. They continued to play important roles in missionary organizations in the city, and in the process were able to achieve a level of prominence that translated into the cultural sphere. After the Rees' moved from northern China to Shanghai, Margaret quickly became the representative for the city's Missions Centre.[300] This gave her the experience and outreach to play a leading role in Shanghai's St. David's Society when Rees was president in 1917, and she remained a central community leader after his term ended. She also played the leading role in establishing connections between the Shanghai St.DS and those in Singapore and

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[295] Edward Denison Ross, "Obituary: Rev. W. Hopkyn Rees, D. D.," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, University of London* 3, no. 3 (1924): 620.

[296] Thompson, *Griffith John*, 302.

[297] This was true for Richard, John, and Rees. Timothy Richard, *Forty-five Years in China* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1916), 26-27.

[298] Thompson, *Griffith John*, 301, 316. John further wrote "there is no kind of mission work in this station that might not be better accomplished by the missionary's wife than by any other."

[299] Aled Jones, "The Other Internationalism? Missionary Activity and Welsh Nonconformist Perceptions of the World in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," in *A Tolerant Nation? Revisiting Ethnic Diversity in a Devolved Wales*, ed. Charlotte Williams, Neil Evans, and Paul O'Leary (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2015), 80.

[300] "Shanghai News: British Women's Work Weekly Report," *TN-CHSC&CG*, November 24, 1917: 466

Hong Kong.[301] Indeed, presidents' wives played just as important a role in the city's Welsh

society as their husbands, and contributed to helping the population of the city feel "at home,"

creating out of Shanghai a picture of Wales.[302]

When the First World War began, the Britons of Shanghai sought to help the war cause in

any way they could, and soon began to sew and send back to Britain huge numbers of socks.[303]

Rees directed the Shanghai Welsh community's efforts to send war materials to Welsh soldiers,

both in Europe and in China. She also organized efforts to send comfort items – an assorted,

large number of tobacco products – to the South Wales Borderers and Welsh sailors fighting

against the Germans at Weihaiwei and Tsingtao in northern China.[304] In doing so, the Shanghai

Welsh were particularly excited that they could support "'Our' sailors and soldiers, as the Welsh

people believe they are as patriotic as any…other."[305] This role entailed working with and

managing the efforts of all Welsh individuals within the community – both men and women –

and was only possible because of her high standing within Shanghai's Welsh community. As

Margaret Rees stands testament to, in the Far East Welsh women not only played a central role in

the mission field, but built upon their importance to play central leadership roles in the city's

Welsh cultural activities.

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[301] "Local and General News," *TN-CHSC&CG*, October 24, 1914: 290.

[302] For instance, when Trevor Thomas serves as the Society's President in 1933, his wife was also central figure. "Here and There: Young China", *TN-CHSC&CG*, June 7, 1933: 399.

[303] Robert Bickers, *Getting Stuck In for Shanghai: Putting the Kibosh on the Kaiser from the Bund* (New York: Penguin, 2014), 97.

[304] This was done through the British Women's Work Association, an organization founded at the onset of the First World War to send clothes and bandages back to Britain for use by the armed forces. Robert Bickers, "British Women's Work Association, Shanghai," *Robert Bickers: History, Empire, China, and Things Found on the Way*, https://robertbickers.net/books/getting-stuck-in-for-shanghai/british-womens-work-association-shanghai/#:~:text=A nnie%2C%20Lady%20de%20Sausmarez%2C%20whose,for%20British%20troops%20in%20Europe.

[305] Letter to the Editor 11, *TN-CHSC&CG*, Oct 10, 1914.

This certainly may have been due to the small and fluctuating size of Welsh communities in the Far East, even in Shanghai, which had the largest and most stable one.[306] These limits are even visible in the makeup of the Welsh chorus at the "Wales and Its People" presentation. The *The North-China Herald and Supreme* report of the event notes the lack of a quality tenor because one Mr. J. Davies – a sailor – was not ashore, reflecting the extent to which the Welsh community in Shanghai was impacted by variations in shore leave.[307] A large percentage of the city's Welsh population was made up of sailors, companymen, or individuals whose work was tied to trade or inland China, which led to the membership of the city's St. David's Society readily doubling or halving depending on the contingencies of its members' work. The same was true for the Welsh communities in Hong Kong and Singapore. Women largely found themselves in these cities because of their husbands or male relations, and their numbers were considerably fewer than their male counterparts. But because they were also much more stable, women were able to play a comparatively important role.

Whereas English and Scottish women had the duty "of recreating Britain in the home, both as a source of psychological relaxation, and also as a statement of identity and purpose", there were no opportunities for "real community or political power or influence" outside of institutions designed specifically for women, like the British Women's Association in Shanghai.[308] But the exigencies of the Welsh community in Shanghai appear to have engendered them with greater power than individuals from other national groups. Because the Welsh community was much smaller than those of the other British national groups, and missionaries were more prominent within it, Welsh women were able to play important roles in religious and

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[306] "Decline in Local Welsh Colony: St. David's Society Records Fewer Members," *TN-CHSC&CG*, December 16, 1936: 448.
[307] "The Union Church Literary and Social Guild."
[308] *Britain in China: Community, Culture and Colonialism, 1900*-1949 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 88-89.

cultural matters that their small numbers would seem to preclude. Welsh women in Shanghai
and the Welsh communities in the Far East did not merely recreate Wales in the home; they were
central to recreating it in the mission field and at the community level, too.

Scholars of the International Settlement in Shanghai – the part of the city governed by
Western powers – have pointed out how "westerners in the nineteenth and early twentieth
centuries rarely evinced more than a passing interest in the surrounding multitudes of Chinese
and only rarely learned their language".[309] This research plays into the image of the Settlement
painted in the media: a city of glitz and grime, of wealthy European elites and a stratified system
of customs; and of a seedy underbelly of crime, controlled by violent and imported police-
officers.[310] But by focusing on the institutions of empire in the city, historians have largely
looked past the city's importance as a major center for missionaries.

Shanghai was the gateway to China for most Westerners. Missionaries arrived there
before leaving for inland China; John and Richard both did so in 1856 and 1870 respectively.
The city was home to offices for all the major missionary societies that operated in China, as
well as a major press distribution center. The London Missionary Society printing establishment
in the city produced simply jaw-dropping amounts of material destined for inland China.[311]
Although the conversion rates among the Chinese throughout the nineteenth century make it
clear these efforts were largely unsuccessful – LMS missionaries only converted 13,000 Chinese
to Christianity by 1876 – this should not take away from the establishment that was built in

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[309] Joshua A. Fogel, "The Recent Boom in Shanghai Studies," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 71, no. 2 (April 2010): 314.

[310] For instance, see Robert Bickers, "Shanghailanders: The Formation and Identity of the British Settler Community in Shanghai, 1843-1937," *Past and Present* 159 (May 1998): 161-211; and the aforementioned *Empire Made Me: An Englishman Adrift in Shanghai*.

[311] The LMS potentially printed up to one billion pages of religious material by 1876. Ching Su, "The Printing Presses of the London Missionary Society Among the Chinese" (PhD diss., University of London, 1996), 386.

Shanghai.[312] Mission stations provided a ready stream of information from China to the West,

flowing through the Swiss, Dutch, German, Swedish, Canadian, American, and French

missionary societies, alongside the British organizations already mentioned, that operated there.

All of these groups used Shanghai as their main base of operations.[313]

In practice, this meant that Shanghai was not just central for relating information on

China back to Wales, but equally important for putting Shanghai and its Welsh community in

direct conversation with changes in China. This was particularly true for the Welsh because of

the importance of missionaries as leaders within the city's Welsh community, and linked them to

inland China far more than most other national communities in Shanghai. Thus, the Shanghai

Welsh community was better oriented towards appreciating the Chinese language than most in

the city.

While "an Englishman, accustomed to find his mother tongue suffice his needs in the

world's great centers, seldom comprehends how limited after all is its actual utility," Welsh

individuals in the Far East benefited from being more attuned than their English counterparts to

multiculturalism.[314] As opposed to the image of Welsh as backward and unworldly that Lord

Stanley professed, some in Shanghai considered it advantageous to know Welsh. One

commentator remarked on the value of having had to learn English as a second language – after

his mother tongue of Welsh – in making it easier to learn Chinese. Even when not learning

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[312] Su, "Printing Press," 386.

[313] Both Timothy Richard and William Hopkyn Rees became key cogs in this connective machine, serving as presidents of the Christian Literature Society for China in Shanghai after leaving mission fields in northern China in the early 1900s.

[314] "Distributing the Bible: What the British and Foreign Bible Society Has Accomplished," *TN-CHSC&CG*, January 15, 1904: 82. The British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) was initially founded by Charles Thomas, a Welsh Calvinistic Methodist, and William Wilberforce – the leading British abolitionist – in order to provide Welsh speakers with cheap, Welsh language bibles. The Society rapidly grew and became one of the largest printers of religious material in the world by the second half of the nineteenth century. For a discussion of the importance of the BFBS in shaping the Protestant mission field in China, see George Kam Wah, "To Add or Not to Add? The British and Foreign Bible Society's Defence of the 'Without Note or Comment' Principle in Late Qing China," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 25, no. 2 (April 2015): 329-354.

Chinese, greater linguistic variability helped Welsh individuals navigate the International

Settlement, which had large German, Japanese, Russian, and French communities.

The flip side was a deleterious impact on Welsh language maintenance. Missionary work

in China entailed everyday communication in Chinese and regular reporting back to missionary

societies in English, precluding the ability to use Welsh. In effect, then, for years on end figures

like John, Richard, and Rees only operated through English or Chinese, their second and third

languages. When Griffith John returned to Wales for the first time in 1873, he was deeply

concerned that his Welsh had deteriorated too far to preach in his native language. "I am

extremely nervous, my memory seems to be forsaking me quite…it cost me a desperate effort to

get the old language back".[315] In this instance, his fears proved unfounded and he was able to

speak fluent Welsh.[316] But when he returned to Wales again in 1881, he resorted to English in a

speech at the ordination of the young Welshmen headed to China in Welsh.[317] The loss of his

Welsh-speaking ability was particularly frustrating for John, who had been eloquent Welsh

speaker in his youth.[318] It was only through great effort that he "worked hard and successfully to

renew his fluency in his own Welsh tongue".[319]

Hopkyn Rees' knowledge of Welsh did not deteriorate throughout his time in China, only

because he practiced it regularly, holding Welsh-language services at the Union Church in

Shanghai for the city's Welsh population, "a delight to his compatriots for he spoke the language

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[315] Luckily enough for him, Chinese seemed to have flown fluidly when he returned to Hankow. Ralph Wardlaw Thompson, *Griffith John: The Story of Fifty Years in China* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1906), 274, 301.

[316] "The Late Dr. Griffith John: Memorial Service at Kuling," *TN-CHSC&CG*, August 10, 1912: 375.

[317] Ibid., 297.

[318] Ibid., 22.

[319] Ibid., 273. Missionaries also faced constraints on their time when they returned to Europe during furloughs, because they were in such high demand to speak. On multiple occasions, John complained that he was unable to spend a satisfactory amount of time in Wales because of engagements in England and the United States.

with uncommon purity and fluency".[320] This speaks to the close connection between national

identity, language, and non-conformism.

Indeed, Welsh individuals fought to maintain their knowledge of the language and sought

to use it whenever possible. 'Cymro', the pen name of a regular contributor to *The North-China*

Herald and Supreme Court & Consular Gazette, made a point of using Welsh in his letters to the

editor, even when talking on topics with no connection to Britain.[321] Welsh individuals even

debated proper Welsh-English translations in the English-language Chinese papers.[322]

Others regularly practiced Welsh with their partners or family members, a process

responsible for Griffith John's daughter's knowledge of the language. When one did not have an

individual to practice the language with, they resorted to seeking them out, and there were

regular stories in the major Chinese dailies by Welsh individuals seeking others to speak the

language with. Connections with co-nationals were crucial as individuals sought to maintain

their language and identity and remain attuned to Wales.[323]

Nowhere is this more evident than in the Shanghai Welsh community's efforts to get

involved in the National Eisteddfod. Eisteddfods emerged in the 1100s – the first one held in

1176 at Cardigan Castle – as literary competitions and choral festivals. But the loss of Welsh

independence during the reign of Edward I meant they disappeared until they were revived in the

late eighteenth century by the Gwyneddigion and Cymmrodorion Societies, two London-based

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[320] "Dictionary of the Bible," *The Brecon Radnor Express Carmarthen and Swansea Valley Gazette and Brynmawr District Advertiser*, August 26, 1915; Frank B. Turner, "In Remembrance: Rev. W. Hopkyn Rees, D.D.," *The Chinese Recorder Journal Of The Christian Movement In China*, (November 1924): 739.

[321] "An Answer to Doubters," *TN-CHSC&CG*, March 29, 1939: 557. Although "Cymro" is never explicitly named, it is implied that he was A.H. Hopkyn Rees – a relation of William Hopkyn Rees – and a president of the Shanghai St. David's Society in the late 1930s. He was prominent enough in the International Settlement's cultural life to be caricatured in *The North-China Herald and Supreme Court and Consular Gazette* in 1938. Editorial Cartoon 6, *TN-CHSC&CG*, October 12, 1938: 63.

[322] "Welsh Quotation," *TN-CHSC&CG*, March 27, 1940: 502.

[323] They also engendered opportunity. For instance, Rees was invited by Richard to Shanghai to join him at the Christian Literature Society, and succeeded him as its General Secretary when he retired in 1916. Frank B. Turner, "In Remembrance: Rev. W. Hopkyn Rees, D.D.," *The Chinese Recorder Journal Of The Christian Movement In China*, (November 1924): 738.

Welsh cultural associations.[324] By the mid-nineteenth century, eisteddfods had become a central

part of Welsh cultural life, even though they had not existed a century before. Although these

events appealed to a medieval picture of Wales as they sought to recreate the original

eisteddfods, in essence they were entirely new and modern celebrations. Thus, the eisteddfod is

one of the clearest examples of invented tradition.[325]

Every year, one major 'National Eisteddfod' was (and still is) held in a new city or town

in Wales; most towns also held their own smaller, local eisteddfod. Throughout the nineteenth

century, there were over 500 large eisteddfod celebrations and thousands of smaller ones,

meaning most Welsh people either competed in, knew people who competed in, or had attended

an eisteddfod.[326] Their resonance was not merely their importance as symbolic celebrations of

Welshness, but also their value as points of mutual reference. Welsh individuals overseas were

able to connect with each other through shared experiences at or acquaintance through

eisteddfod, connections which transferred overseas when they travelled.[327] Newspapers catered

to Welsh populations in the Far East by reporting on the National Eisteddfod – just as they did so

by facilitating discussions over Welsh language and identity – and in the process made the event

remarkably visible.[328]

The global spread of the Welsh also meant that by the late nineteenth century the

National Eisteddfod eclipsed being a solely national event and became a global celebration of

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[324] Prys Morgan, "From Death to a View: The Hunt for the Welsh Past in the Romantic Period," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 61-99; Adam Coward, "Exiled Trojans or the Sons of Gomer Wales's Origins in the long Eighteenth Century," in *The Roots of Nationalism: National Identity Formation in Early Modern Europe, 1600-1815*, ed. Lotte Jensen (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016): 167-181.

[325] Eric Hobsbawm, "Invented Tradition: An Introduction," *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambrdige University Press, 2012). In Wales, this was an 'unofficial' process because it was sponsored through cultural societies rather than being an 'official' state-driven process.

[326] Morgan, "From Death to a View," 61.

[327] William Griffith, "Welshmen and Welsh in Unexpected Places," *Young Wales* 9, no. 107 (November 1903): 217-225.

[328] For instance, "1-Year-Old Tenor's Triumph," *The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser*, September 22, 1928: 18.

Welsh culture. Within large Welsh settler communities, local eisteddfod and poetry/choral

competitions were the most important cultural events, the only celebration that could draw

together the whole community.[329] But the majority of emigrants and expats, even those in the

United States and Australia, did not live in large, cohesive Welsh communities. These

individuals looked back to Wales yearly for the National Eisteddfod, waiting with great interest

for news of the competitions, since it was not possible to hold their own. Welsh individuals also

returned to Wales from all around the world to participate in and witness the eisteddfod's

competitions.[330] In 1925, an estimated 6,000 Welsh Americans returned to Wales to attend the

National Eisteddfod. One group reserved the RMS *Cedric* – the largest ship in the world at the

time it was first launched in 1902 – to help transfer this huge number of attendees to Wales.[331]

The winners of the choir competition at the next year's celebration were from Cleveland and had

been brought over to Wales "at the cost of $10,000" by the Welsh-American philanthropist

Edwin S. Griffiths.[332]

Welsh individuals in China looked back with great interest to the National Eisteddfod in

Wales, and sought to understand some of the great cultural diversity on show in their new

metropolitan homes through reference to the eisteddfod.[333] Some talked of recreating an

eisteddfod with British choirs in Singapore, although any attempt to hold eisteddfods in British

communities in the Far East – like in Welsh settler-colonial communities – were ultimately

untenable because of a lack of numbers.[334]

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[329] Robert Llewelyn Tyler, "Migrant Culture Maintenance: The Welsh in Granville, Washington County, New York, 1880–1930." *New York History* 99, no. 1 (Winter 2018): 105-111.
[330] This is representative of how technological advances put diaspora communities in direct and immediate conversation and connection with the homeland in the nineteenth century.
[331] *The Times of India*, January 3, 1925: 9.
[332] "The Great Eisteddfod," *TN-CHSC&CG*, September 4, 1926: 470.
[333] "Rival School in Music," *The China Mail*, November 15, 1924.
[334] "A Singapore Diary," *The Straits Times*, June 17, 1934: 6.

"What a great deal would we exiled Welshmen give to be present," wrote one Hong Kong Welshman.[335] The Shanghai barrister J. R. Jones – a central figure in the Welsh community as well as broader Shanghai society, as a part of the Royal Asiatic Society in Shanghai – lectured on the history and significance of the eisteddfod to a large crowd at the city's Union Church in 1934.[336] The eisteddfod was a source of great pride for many Welsh individuals, representative of the great cultural richness of their homeland. Eisteddfods had the power to reach across class boundaries and bring different social groups from throughout Wales together.

Eisteddfod had the ability to civilize and uplift the Welsh people. While the largest events in Scotland or England were sporting events, in Wales it was poetry and the arts that drew tens of thousands together. "Here in China, the Welshman, whether on the Yangtze on the High Seas or in Shanghai itself plays a prominent part in upholding the national reputation [for hard work]…due perhaps to the custom which maintains the springs of cultural inspiration by the National Eisteddfod".[337]

The wider community in Shanghai also wanted to support the National Eisteddfod. The Shanghai St. David's Society sponsored chairs at the 1914 and 1925 National Eisteddfods at Bangor and Pwllheli, awarding cash prizes to winners as well as Chinese silk robes.[338] They sent two members of the community back to Wales on each occasion to confer these gifts on the winners, and to personify the interests of the wider Shanghai Welsh community. This gave the Shanghai Welsh community a "peculiar right to celebrate St. David's Day with due ceremony…of all places outside of Wales," not least owing to "the kinship of China and Wales

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[335] "Welsh Notes: By Ap Rhys," *The China Mail*, September 6, 1924.
[336] *TN-CHSC&CG*, November 21, 1934: 298.
[337] "Special Articles: Inconsequences," *TN-CHSC&CG*, March 4, 1936: 416.
[338] "A Welsh World Union," *TN-CHSC&CG*, August 15, 1925: 183.

in the cult of the dragon".[339] The decision was made as a community at the St.DS's yearly

meeting, and planned by its board. It reflected the desires of the Shanghai Welsh community to

retain its connections to Wales. At the same time, commentators in Wales were surprised but

heartened by the presence of Welshmen from so far afield at the event.[340]

In effect this created a "world union of Welshmen" who involved themselves in the

yearly eisteddfod and made it into a global event, with resonance and linking power for all

Welsh individuals.[341] These connections were so clear that at the 1925 festival, Welsh

individuals visiting from overseas – including the two Shanghai St.DS members – discussed

forming a worldwide association that linked all the Welsh societies outside of Wales.[342] No

official structure was organized, but connections made at the eisteddfod between Asian Welsh

communities were maintained in the coming years.[343] In the process, these communities' desires

to connect to cultural life back home in 'gallant little Wales' helped turn the most characteristic

national event in Wales into an international one.

The 'invention of tradition' asserts that the national traditions on which modern European

society is built were largely created in the late nineteenth century, in the three to four decades

before the start of the First World War.[344] It is written as a process internal to the metropole.

But invented tradition was also deeply intertwined with the global spread of members of the

nation. The 'invention of tradition' achieved ubiquity not just because it appealed to an idealized

past, but also because diaspora communities accepted it. If the Welsh in Shanghai did not

believe the eisteddfod to be evocative, and considered it unimportant to Welshness, it could

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[339] "Shanghai Welsh," *TN-CHSC&CG*, March 8, 1933: 365.
[340] "Cwmamman," *Herald of Wales and Monmouthshire Recorder*, March 7, 1914.
[341] "World Union of Welshmen, Plan At Eisteddfod," *The China Press*, August 9, 1925: 1.
[342] Ibid.
[343] "St. David's Society," *Hong Kong Daily Press*, January 27, 1931.
[344] Eric Hobsbawm, "Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 263.

hardly be considered Welsh tradition. Instead, they were actively involved in the creation and refashioning of tradition, shaping an ostensibly national tradition into a global one that by definition linked communities worldwide.

Conclusion

"An empire that went into oppressing free states was an empire that turned bankrupt".[345] So argued Lloyd George in a speech at Birkenhead, south of Liverpool, in 1901. This was at the height of the Boer War, as British forces undertook a scorched earth policy against Boer homes and families in the Transvaal. Such a fiasco threatened to expose the British Empire as an immoral entity. For him, the solution was clear and had been for some time. Even from the days of Cymru Fydd – the first manifestation of a nationalist political organization in Wales – in the mid-1890s, George had argued for Welsh nationalism, and increasingly for Home Rule, by emphasizing the role of national pride in the growth and stability of the Empire.

Speaking to the Welsh Student Society at University College Wales, Aberystwyth in 1896, Lloyd George took the military, the "most Imperialist profession" and the famed Scottish general Colin Campbell as his example.[346] Campbell would never appeal to "Imperial instincts" in his men if he wished for them to storm a deadly position. With the call "Highlanders, remember your hills…they would be willing to run into the jaws of death with triumphant shouts in honor of their beloved homes and hills…no military man would deny the centrality of local patriotism in incentivizing noble deeds."[347] Just as with Scottish pride, Welsh nationalism was

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[345] "Mr. D. Lloyd-George Yn Birkenhead,"*Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, November 27, 1901. Translated from: "Yr oedd ymherodraeth a ä'i i mewn i lethu gwladwriaethau rhydd yn ymherodraeth a dröai allan yn fethdalwr mewu cenedlaeth."
[346] Campbell lead the Highland Brigade, a unit made up of Scots drawn from the country's Highlands. They achieved fame during the Crimean War at the Battle of Balaclava, where they held off a Russian Cavalry charge. The incident inspired the now famous term 'the thin red line' and made the unit the most awarded up to that point in British military history. The Highlanders were extolled in the British media, where they were stood up as the crowning example of the quality of the British soldier, especially against a backdrop of general mismanagement by British administration.
[347] "Welsh Nationality," *Evening Express*, December 2, 1896.

the natural partner of Britishness. It was, after all, a Welshman who originally coined the term 'British Empire'.[348]

Wales has largely been written out of the empire, and its histories are remarkably focused on seemingly interior developments within Britain. But by the late nineteenth century it had become engrained in an increasingly globalized world that had the power to decisively shape seemingly national discourses. George had no problem tying Welsh nationalism to the British Empire, arguing for the former through its support of the latter. Historians have ignored the imperial half of this formulation. As I have sought to demonstrate, though, nationalism and national discourses in Wales and among the Welsh populations overseas were decisively impacted by interaction with the wider world that British imperial expansion and globalization made possible.

"Welsh hands" shaped large swathes of the world through the empire.[349] For instance, the modern Middle East is fundamentally shaped by Lloyd George's guiding hand and T.E. Lawrence's exploits. They were great Britons, the subject of legend and film. But they were also Welsh, shaped by their upbringing in a certain part of Britain where the dominant discourse focused on a certain approach to empire. Their shaping of the world was facilitated through Briton, but they approached the world in a Welsh way.

When I began this project, I was surprised by the numerous connections that kept on popping up between China and Wales. Who would think that such major figures in Chinese history would hail from a nation that was in its time stereotyped as backwards and isolated; or that some of the worst ethnic violence in Welsh and British history specifically targeted the

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[348] Bruce Ward Henry, "John Dee, Humphrey Llwyd, and the Name 'British Empire'," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 35, no. 2 (February 1972): 189-190.
[349] Rhodri Clark, "The Welsh Hands That Shaped the Middle-East Conflict," *Wales Online*, May 10, 2008, https://www.walesonline.co.uk/news/local-news/welsh-hands-shaped-middle-east-conflict-2175588.

Chinese? For a long time, I considered these links 'strange parallels' (in a gross misuse of Victor Lieberman's term).

Far from owing itself to a series of lucky coincidences, this relationship is testament to the commonality of imperial and global linkages in the late nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries. Technological developments and the growth of European power and control allowed individuals from even the smallest, most remote parts of Britain to build lives 5000 miles across the world, and still remain in connection with the place of their birth. These linkages are often hard to uncover, and obscured by more numerous and visible Scottish, English, or Irish actors. But they were present, and it is precisely this presence and the connections it engendered that came to have a decipherable impact on Wales.

This thesis has sought to bring the global into the study of Wales in an explicit way, as it has not been done before, showing how Wales created through its relation to the British Empire and the wider world, just as much as it was through internal developments. But its wider aim has been to understand the place of the nation and national identity in an increasingly globalized world. This is the story of a small nation embedded within an empire, and against the backdrop of a world that is being opened by Europeans and their technologies. Over the past two decades, globalized national histories have been written for the larger nations of Europe.[350] But for many small nations, especially those which never achieved formal independence but consider themselves distinctive from the nations they are today a part of today, the global and imperial remains largely set aside. Brittany in France is perhaps the best example because of its numerous similarities to Wales, but this is a story applicable to much of Europe.

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[350] For a comprehensive discussion of recent globalized national histories, see Toynbee Prize Foundation, "What is Global History? A Roundtable with Sebastian Conrad at the Institute for Advanced Study," February 20, 2020, https://toynbeeprize.org/posts/video-what-is-global-history-a-roundtable-with-sebastian-conrad-at-the-institute-for-advanced-study/.

Nationalist discourses and self-characterizations, which played on seemingly internal developments, were often inextricably mixed up with wider global events. Distinct national origins inflected the way the British Empire and the larger world was understood;[351] and the global deeply impacted the creation of the nation. Late nineteenth and early twentieth century Wales witnessed a real slippage between nation and empire. In this thesis, nation building begins to look very imperial. The empire, too, becomes a national phenomenon, with imperial expansion as a key facet of national greatness.

Gwyn Williams argued in the 1979 BBC Wales Annual Radio Lecture "Wales is a process. Wales is an artifact which the Welsh produce. The Welsh make and re-make Wales day by day, year by year, generation after generation".[352] If this is to be the case, then we must also accept that Wales was created as Welsh individuals, both inside Wales and overseas, worked through what it meant to be Welsh against the backdrop of empire and the wider world. The old adage does seem to ring true: "the best Welshman is a Welshman abroad".[353]

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[351] Though this is largely a history of European expansion in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, its conclusions on the importance of understanding regional variability in British and general European approaches to China has applicable conclusions for the way historians of China and the world have written their field. Up through the 1980s, historians like John King Fairbank wrote histories where European and Chinese cultures were immutable and destined to clash. Even Charles Hevia, who examined Britishness as a discourse of scientific progress that clashed with the Qing court's emphasis on ritual in his monumental *Cherishing Men from Afar: Qing Guest Ritual and the Macartney Embassy of 1793* failed to break down the differences between different parts of Britain, and the way this might inflect interpretations of the mission – particularly relevant because Macartney himself was Irish.

[352] Gwyn A. Williams, *When Was Wales?* (London: Penguin, 1985), 7.

[353] Dorian Llywelyn, *Sacred Place, Chosen People: Land and National Identity in Welsh Spirituality* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1999), ix.

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