

Ireland, India and the British empire¹

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Ireland's being England's oldest, and India's being its largest colony, there was a natural relationship that developed between the nationalist movements of Ireland and India in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. That relationship succeeded an earlier one, in which Ireland, being a part of the metropolis was also a co-sharer in the empire. There was yet a third source of complexity, partitions as the price of freedom. This essay aspires to examine the various aspects of what is both a comparative and connected history.

Keywords: Empire, Ireland, India, Home Rule, partition

Ireland was England's first colony. Yet if Ireland was colonial, it was also imperial. The Irish were victims of imperialism as well as aggressive perpetrators of it.² This article, taking a broadly chronological approach, reviews Ireland's multifaceted relationships with India, Britain's other great colony, from the seventeenth to the twentieth century. Without wishing to downplay the importance of specific events, the contribution of individuals or the significance of changing contexts, the article stresses continuities over time. Three major themes emerge that are often interconnected and, at times, contradictory. First, the important role that the Irish played—especially as bureaucrats and soldiers—in facilitating British rule in India. Second, the extent to which Ireland acted as the 'colonial point of reference' and a 'laboratory for empire' and how ideologies and ideas, especially of ethnocentricity, improvement, home rule and popular protest, and policies—relating to land, education, policing and partition—fashioned in Ireland were then applied, perhaps in a modified form, in India, often by Irishmen or

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² The extent to which Ireland was a colony remains a matter for debate, see Kevin Kenny, ed., *Oxford History of the British Empire: Ireland and the British Empire*, Oxford, 2004, and Stephen Howe, *Ireland and Empire: Colonial Legacies in Irish History and Culture*, Oxford, 2000; 'Questioning the (Bad) Question: Was Ireland a Colony?', *Irish Historical Studies* 37 (2008), pp. 1–15 and 'Minding the Gaps: New Directions in the Study of Ireland and Empire', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 37 (2009), pp. 135–49.

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by imperialists with experience of ruling Ireland. As well as servants of Empire, the Irish were, especially from the 1880s, subversives within it. As one historian of modern Ireland recently noted, 'Ireland was simultaneously a bulwark of the Empire, and a mine within its walls'.³ The connections between Irish and Indian nationalists, how they inspired each other and how they contributed towards the demise of the British Empire is the final broad theme examined here.

Despite the distance and differences of scale (India is at least 50 times larger than Ireland) contemporaries linked the two countries. A Catholic historian of Anglo-Norman provenance, John Lynch, wrote in the early 1660s that 'Ireland is another India for the English, a more profitable India for them than ever the Indies were to the Spaniards'.⁴ Edmund Burke, an Irishman and vocal critic of the East India Company, compared Ireland and India as being 'similarly victimised'.⁵ The Nobel laureate and 'unofficial bard of the empire', Rudyard Kipling, constantly made 'Indo-Irish analogies and comparisons' as a means of 'representing imperial integrity in the late nineteenth century'.⁶ The loyal Irish soldier, Terence Mulvaney, and his Irish regiment, the Mavericks, feature in Kipling's stories from the 1880s, as the Irish Home Rule Movement gathered momentum while the Indian National Congress was formed (in 1885). The hero of Kipling's last and most influential novel, *Kim* (1901), is an orphaned, wild boy, Kim, the son of an Irish sergeant, Kimball O'Hara.⁷ 'There is a white boy by the barracks waiting under a tree who is not a white boy', wrote Kipling. One literary scholar suggested that Kim, himself a metaphor for the hybrid position that 'youthful' Ireland held within the British Empire, occupied 'a role that moves easily between coloniser and colonised, passing as Indian while spying for the Raj'.⁸ Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels and John Stuart Mill also drew parallels.⁹ For example, Mill, who had worked in the East India Company, wrote in *England and Ireland* (1868) that 'those Englishmen who know something of India, are even now those who understand Ireland best'.¹⁰

Given the close and complex shared pasts, the historiography is not well developed. C.A. Bayly in an important essay on 'Ireland, India and the Empire:

³ Alvin Jackson, 'Ireland, the Union, and the Empire, 1800–1960', *Oxford History of the British Empire: Ireland and the British Empire*, ed. Kenny, p. 123.

⁴ John Lynch, *Cambrensis Eversus*, tr. Mathew Kelly, 3 vols, Dublin, 1851–52, Vol. III, p. 75.

⁵ Julia Wright, *Ireland, India and Nationalism in Nineteenth-century Literature*, Cambridge, 2007, p. 7; also see S. Ryder, 'Ireland, India and Popular Nationalism in the Early Nineteenth Century', in *Ireland and India: Colonies, Culture and Empire*, ed. T. Foley and M. O'Connor, Dublin, 2006, p. 15.

⁶ Kaori Nagai, *Empire of Analogies: Kipling, India and Ireland*, Cork, 2006, pp. 3, 30.

⁷ Nagai, *Empire of Analogies*, pp. 9–13.

⁸ Wright, *Ireland, India and Nationalism*, pp. 6, 211.

⁹ Chandana Mathur and Demot Dix, 'The Irish Question in Karl Marx's and Friedrich Engels's Writings on Capitalism and Empire', in *Social Thought on Ireland in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. S. Ó Siocháin, Dublin, 2009, pp. 97–107.

¹⁰ John Stuart Mill, *England and Ireland*, London, 1868, p. 22.

1780–1914’ noted the structural similarities and called for greater comparative and connective study of the interrelationships.¹¹ Since then a number of interesting collections of essays have appeared, with contributions by historians of Ireland and sometimes of Empire but rarely of India, that survey the Irish engagement in India, usually in a wider imperial context.¹² Recent monographs include Kate O’Malley’s excellent book, *Ireland, India and Empire*, which looks at the relationship between Indian and Irish nationalists in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s.¹³ In a similar vein, Michael Silvestri provides a fascinating study of Irish and Indian nationalism and the politics of memory.¹⁴ Their work highlights the extent to which Ireland was both ‘colonial’ and ‘imperial’, something that is picked up in S.B. Cook, *Imperial Affinities*. In this ground breaking monograph, Cook looks at ‘how Ireland served as a colonial prototype, a provider of policy precedents that the British drew upon in governing India’ during the nineteenth century.¹⁵ Cook examines ideas about land tenures and argues that there were ‘similarities in outlook, motive, method, policy and even, to a limited extent, practice between such very different and distant components of empire as India and Ireland’. London was the key in what Cook describes as a ‘triangular relationship’.¹⁶ Barry Crosbie fleshes out some of Cook’s points in his fascinating study entitled *Irish Imperial Networks*. In this he highlights the intellectual, cultural and political interconnections between nineteenth-century British imperial, Irish and Indian history.¹⁷ Crosbie argues that Ireland was a crucial sub-imperial centre for the British Empire in South Asia that provided a significant amount of the manpower, intellectual and financial capital that fuelled Britain’s drive into Asia from the 1750s onwards.

Here published research dries up. Yet Ireland’s engagement with India prior to 1750 is the subject of Andrew Mac Killop’s (as yet unpublished) study of the nature of Irish, Scottish and Welsh involvement in the English East India

¹¹ *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th Series, 10 (2000), pp. 377–97.

¹² Foley and O’Connor, eds, ‘Ireland and India’, in *Ireland and India: Connections, Comparisons, Contrasts*, ed. Michael Holmes and Denis Holmes, Dublin, 1997. Also see K. Jeffrey, ed., *An Irish Empire? Aspects of Ireland and the British Empire*, Manchester, 1996; Terence McDonough, ed., *Was Ireland a Colony? Economics, Politics and Culture in Nineteenth-century Ireland*, Dublin, 2005, and Kenny, ed., *Ireland and the British Empire*.

¹³ Kate O’Malley, *Ireland, India and Empire. Indo-Irish Radical Connections, 1919–64*, Manchester, 2009.

¹⁴ Michael Silvestri, *Ireland and India: Nationalism, Empire and Memory*, London, 2009, and ‘“The Sinn Fein of India”: Irish Nationalism and the Policing of Revolutionary Terrorism in Bengal’, *Journal of British Studies* 39 (2000), pp. 454–86.

¹⁵ S.B. Cook, *Imperial Affinities: Nineteenth-century Analogies and Exchanges between India and Ireland*, New Delhi, 1993, p. 7.

¹⁶ Cook, *Imperial Affinities*, p. 17.

¹⁷ B. Crosbie, *Irish Imperial Networks: Migration, Social Communication and Exchange in Nineteenth-century India*, Cambridge, 2012.

Company in the century after 1695.¹⁸ Equally, my own current research on Bombay's founding father, Gerald Aungier, takes Irish interaction with India back into the late seventeenth century and suggests that Ireland served as a colonial prototype for the early colonisation of India. Between 1669 and 1677, Aungier was the Governor of Bombay and President of the Surat Council. While scholars of India and of the British Empire have acknowledged his importance, none have paid attention to his Irish provenance, nor assessed how this might have shaped the formation of the Bombay colony.¹⁹ My study seeks to challenge, as Phil Stern has done, our understanding of colonial processes in the early modern world and the traditional distinctions between the commercial and imperial eras in British India, as well as stark distinctions of the Atlantic world as a site of 'colonial plantation and settlement' and of British Asia 'as a place for profit, not politics'.²⁰ My research on Aungier also seeks to complicate periodisation. Even though we associate British imperialism in India with the 'second' British Empire; post-1857, the period of the Raj, the situation in seventeenth-century Bombay was remarkably similar to that of early modern Ireland.²¹ While there is no mention in the seventeenth-century records of a grand imperial design for India, the language of 'plantation', 'planters', 'colonisation' and 'colony' is repeatedly used. The royal patent of 1669 established absolute sovereignty over the island of Bombay and specified that the inhabitants of Bombay were 'our liege people, and subject to our imperial crown'.²²

To avoid confusion it might be useful to define imperialism, as Edward Said did in *Culture and Imperialism*: 'Imperialism is simply the process or policy of establishing or maintaining an empire'.²³ What constituted 'empire' has been the subject of debate, as has Ireland's position within it.²⁴ Though imperialism may

¹⁸ P.J. Marshall, 'The English in Asia', in *Oxford History of the British Empire*, Vol. I, *The Origins of Empire*, ed. Nicholas Canny, Oxford, 1998, pp. 264–85; T. Bartlett, 'The Irish Soldier in India, 1750–1947', in *Ireland and India*, ed. Holmes and Holmes; Andrew MacKillop, 'Locality, Nation, and Empire: The Scots and the British Empire in Asia, c. 1690–c. 1813', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Scotland & the British Empire*, ed. John M. MacKenzie and T.M. Devine, Oxford, 2011, pp. 54–83, and Andrew MacKillop, *More Fruitful Than the Soil: Army, Empire and the Scottish Highlands, 1715–1815*, Edinburgh, 2000.

¹⁹ Anonymous, 'Gerald Aungier of the East India Company: The Story of a Younger Son', *Notes and Queries*, 96 (1924), pp. 147–51, 165–68, 185–87, 204–08, and Sue Pyatt Peeler, 'Gerald Aungier and Bombay', *History Today* 20 (1970), pp. 550–58.

²⁰ Philip Stern, *The Company State: Corporate Sovereignty and the Early Modern Foundations of the British Empire in India*, Oxford, 2011, and 'British Asia and British Atlantic: Comparisons and Connections', *William and Mary Quarterly* 63 (2006), pp. 693–712; quote at p. 694.

²¹ P.J. Marshall, 'The First British Empire', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, Vol. V. *Historiography*, ed. Robin Winks, Oxford, 1999, pp. 43–53.

²² *Charters Granted to the East-India Company from 1601 ...* (NS, 1774), p. 84.

²³ Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, London, 1994, p. 8.

²⁴ David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, Cambridge, 2000, p. 29; John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson, 'The Imperialism of Free Trade', *Economic History Review*, NS, 6 (1953), pp. 1–15. Also see works listed in footnote 2.

have changed its meaning over time, 'Empire was', wrote David Armitage, 'always a language of power'.²⁵ Certainly, English imperialism in early modern Ireland was exploitative and driven by military, political, cultural, religious and economic concerns, and by the determination to colonise the island with British settlers. Yet, some question this notion of 'colonial Ireland', preferring to focus on Ireland's status as a kingdom first within a multiple monarchy and, with the Act of Union (1800/1) as an integral component of the British Empire.²⁶ Certainly, the Kingship Act of 1541, which declared Henry VIII king of Ireland and accorded persons of Irish provenance the same rights as those of English origin, gave Ireland the constitutional status of a kingdom. While parliamentary union did provide the Irish with unprecedented access to imperial opportunities, administrative or economic integration did not accompany political integration. In practice Britain continued to rule Ireland like a colony, with a separate executive in Dublin overseen by a chief secretary and lord lieutenant, a model of governance later transferred to India. The structure of local government, with resident magistrates bringing law and discipline to local communities, also provided the template for administration in India.²⁷ Other structural similarities included policing, which often operated in both countries by coercion rather than consent. The Royal Irish Constabulary, a government-controlled force, organised along military lines, was held up as an exemplar, and after 1907 all officers of colonial police forces had to attend the RIC depot in Dublin for training.²⁸ From the 1920s Ireland provided lessons in policing terrorism and counterinsurgency. Irishmen like Sir Charles Tegart, police commissioner of Calcutta, 1923–31, or others like Sir John Anderson, who served as chief secretary for Ireland during the 1920s before becoming Governor of Bengal in 1932, drew frequently on their Irish experiences.²⁹

²⁵ Armitage, *The Ideological Origins*, p. 29; Keith Jeffrey, 'Introduction', in *An Irish Empire? Aspects of Ireland and the British Empire*, ed. K. Jeffrey, Manchester, 1996, p. 3.

²⁶ Kevin Kenny, 'Ireland and the British Empire: An introduction', in *Ireland and the British Empire*, ed. Kenny, pp. 1–15 for a helpful overview of the debate. Also see T. Bartlett, 'This Famous Island Set in a Virginian Sea: Ireland in the British Empire, 1690–1801', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, Vol. II. *The Eighteenth Century*, ed. P.J. Marshall, Oxford, 1998, pp. 253–75, and David Fitzpatrick, 'Ireland and Empire', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire*. Vol. III, *The Nineteenth Century*, ed. Andrew Porter, Oxford, 1999, pp. 494–521 and the works listed in footnote 2.

²⁷ Alvin Jackson, 'Ireland, the Union, and the Empire, 1800–1960', in *Ireland and the British Empire*, ed. Kenny, p. 125, and Virginia Crossman, 'Local Government in Nineteenth-century Ireland', in *Was Ireland a Colony?*, ed. McDonough, pp. 102–16.

²⁸ R.C. Hawkins, 'The "Irish Model" and the Empire: A Case for Reassessment', in *Policing the Empire: Government, Authority and Control, 1830–1940*, ed. D.M. Anderson and D. Killingray, Manchester, 1991, pp. 18–32; Jeffrey, ed., *An Irish Empire?*, p. 10.

²⁹ Silvestri, 'The Sinn Fein of India', pp. 478–85, and "'An Irishman is Specially Suited to be a Policeman": Sir Charles Tegart & Revolutionary Terrorism in Bengal', *History Ireland* 8 (Winter, 2000), pp. 40–44.

As these examples highlight, ‘the imprint of Ireland’, as one scholar of Ireland and Empire put it, ‘may be detected in virtually every colonial institution’.³⁰ As well as policing, the Irish system of elementary education served as a model for India. In the 1830s the British government overhauled primary education in Ireland and established a centrally controlled national school system with an approved series of textbooks, which were used throughout the Empire. Whether in Ireland or India, these educational initiatives formed part of a wider programme of Anglicisation. Of course, within these broad structural similarities there were important differences. Recent research by Patrick Walsh on the history textbooks used in classrooms in Ireland and India demonstrates that history taught in India ‘included explicitly racist and ideologically framed characterizations of native Indian history, culture and society. By contrast, in Ireland it was characterized by the absence of Ireland from history texts and, therefore, historical discourse’. Walsh attributes this to the nature of the colonial relationships and concludes:

Imperialists managed India primarily as a site of colonial economic exploitation, while Ireland was not only a site of, for primarily geographical reasons, strategic military importance and economic exploitation, but also one whose human capital was deployed as a strategic resource in colonial overseas exploitation: the Irish were both simultaneously colonised and involved in colonisation. Thus colonial India needed to be explained and to be located within the empire for Indian readers, whereas Ireland was to be dissolved and found relocated within the imperial centre for the Irish.³¹

Eamon de Valera, the founding father of the Republic of Ireland, had strong views on economic and cultural imperialism. In a speech given in New York in February in 1920 he famously argued that Britain had drained India, like Ireland before it, of capital and people (‘not only in wealth but in actual blood’) and called for solidarity ‘to rid ourselves of the vampire that is fattening on our blood’.³² For de Valera the matter was clear-cut, but for historians the extent to which Ireland and India were ‘victims of an imperial economic vampire’ remains a matter for debate. The economic backwardness of the two countries, particularly during the nineteenth century when they experienced deindustrialisation, is well documented, as is the siphoning off of riches, especially from India. That Britain formulated policies, beginning in the 1660s, that regulated trade and created subservient and, increasingly, dependent economies, cannot be denied, nor can

³⁰ Fitzpatrick, ‘Ireland and Empire’, in *The Nineteenth Century*, ed. Porter, p. 520.

³¹ Patrick Walsh, “Paltry Abridgements”: School Texts and Teaching History in Nineteenth-century India and Ireland’, in *Irish Classrooms and British Empire: Imperial Contexts in the Origins of Modern Education*, ed. David Dickson, Justyna Pyz and Christopher Shepard, Dublin, 2012, pp. 53–61.

³² Quoted in Silvestri, *Ireland and India*, p. 37.

Britain's manipulation of manufacture, especially the textile industries. While it would be unwise to oversimplify extremely complex economic relationships, to overlook regional variations and exceptions, or to downplay the contributions that Britain made towards the development of infrastructure in both counties, the fact remains that for centuries Britain exploited economically both Ireland and India.³³

Cultural imperialism was another feature of British rule. Ireland was very different from the 'norms' of Lowland England and this prompted scorn among Englishmen. A single example from the seventeenth century illustrates this. Fynes Moryson travelled extensively throughout Europe, North Africa, the Middle East and Turkey but saved his greatest scorn for the 'meere Irish', whom he regarded as filthy, rude, barbaric, wild beasts. Their women were drunken sluts.³⁴ In short, there was a widespread belief that the Irish Catholic population was lazy, savage, monkey-like and in desperate need of 'civilisation'. Moreover these ethnocentric attitudes towards the Irish did not change over time and came to characterise English attitudes towards native peoples across the Empire. Of course, this dehumanisation helped to justify English imperialism, something that Irish nationalists later drew attention to.³⁵ In 1920, de Valera reminded his audience that

the people of India, we are told by the British apologists, are backward and ignorant, lazy and unable to rule themselves. They have made exactly the same pretence about Ireland at other times. The Indians are 'mere Asiatics', we are told. We were the 'mere' Irish.³⁶

Ireland, with its very large Catholic population, undoubtedly represented a security risk for Protestant England. This meant that Ireland had to be fully conquered and colonised. During the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the crown embarked on a series of initiatives that sought to 'civilise' and 'Anglicise' Ireland. Central to this was the widespread use of English common law, the promotion of

³³ Jackson, 'Ireland, the Union, and the Empire, 1800–1960', *Ireland and the British Empire*, ed. Kenny, pp. 133–35; Jonathan Haughton, 'Historical Background', in *The Economy of Ireland*, ed. John O'Hagan and Carol Newman, 12th edn, Dublin, 2014, pp. 2–30; Denis O'Hearn, 'Ireland in the Atlantic Economy', in *Was Ireland a Colony?*, ed. Mc Donough, pp. 3–26; Bipan Chandra, *Nationalism and Colonialism in Modern India*, New Delhi, 1981, especially 'Colonialism and Modernization', pp. 1–37, and Aditya Mukherjee, 'The Return of the Colonial in Indian Economic History: The Last Phase of Colonialism in India', Sectional Presidential address, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress (PIHC)*, 68th, Delhi, session 2007, pp. 496–523.

³⁴ Andrew Hadfield and John McVeagh, eds, *Strangers to That Land: British Perceptions of Ireland from the Reformation to the Famine*, Buckinghamshire, 1994, p. 47.

³⁵ Perry Curtis, *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature*, Washington DC, 1997. Also see Bartlett, 'Ireland, Empire, and Union, 1690–1801', in *Ireland and the British Empire*, ed. Kenny, p. 86.

³⁶ Quoted in Silvestri, *Ireland and India*, p. 37. Also see P.J. Marshall, 'The English in Asia to 1700', in *Origins of Empire*, ed. Canny, pp. 264–85.

the English language, English culture, architecture, settled agricultural practices and religion (Protestantism).³⁷ Much of this is familiar to historians of colonial India.³⁸ In the 1830s Thomas Babington Macaulay urged Britain to implement an official policy of ‘Anglicisation’ in India aimed at transforming corrupt natives into loyal subjects. In his famous ‘Minute on Education’ (1835) he expounded ideas about creating a body of loyal Indians who would become ‘English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect’.³⁹

During the early modern period land was the basis for political power and wealth, so the expropriation of Irish land also characterised British imperialism. A series of major plantations occurred, first in Munster during the late sixteenth century and then in Ulster during the early seventeenth century, and resulted in the migration to Ireland of about 350,000 (mostly) Protestant colonists from England, Wales and Scotland. Then during the mid-seventeenth century the state confiscated 2.5 million Irish acres, much of which it redistributed to British colonists. However, in order to expropriate, reallocate and improve land, it first had to be surveyed and mapped. Of particular importance were Sir William Petty’s ‘Down Survey’ (1654–59), the ‘Civil Survey’ (1654–56) and the Books of Survey and Distribution, which are the equivalent of the Domesday Book (the great English land survey dating from 1086) and record the names of land holders in 1641 and again in c. 1670/75, together with the number of plantation acres (profitable and non-profitable) and the county, barony and parish where the land was held.⁴⁰ Petty, the father of political economy, was also a great exponent of ‘improvement’. He promised that through surveying and drainage, building new roads and harbours, and harvesting Ireland’s human and natural resources the country could be ‘civilised’. The ideology of ‘improvement’ also became a feature of the East India Company, seen especially during the debate leading to the Permanent Settlement of Bengal (1789). From the 1790s the Company embarked on the systematic collection of information. They surveyed and described the natural environment, resources and peoples of conquered lands, just as Petty and others had done in Ireland 150 years before.⁴¹ Crosbie has shown

³⁷ Jane Ohlmeyer, ‘A Laboratory for Empire? Early Modern Ireland and English Imperialism’, in *Ireland and the British Empire*, ed. Kenny, pp. 26–60, and ‘Conquest, Civilization, Colonization: Ireland, 1540–1660’, in *The Princeton Guide to Modern Irish History*, ed. Richard Bourke and Ian MacBride, Princeton, 2015, pp. 220–47.

³⁸ E. Stokes, *English Utilitarians and India*, Oxford, 1959, pp. 3–9, 16–17, 45; D.A. Washbrook, ‘India, 1818–1860: The Two Faces of Colonialism’, in *The Nineteenth Century*, ed. Porter, pp. 395–422; Dermot Dix, ‘A Rough Guide to the British Empire: Charles, Lord Cornwallis, and His Years in America, India and Ireland’, in *Ireland and India*, ed. Foley and O’Connor, pp. 200–13.

³⁹ Quoted in Crosbie, *Irish Imperial Networks*, p. 135.

⁴⁰ The recently completed ‘Down Survey of Ireland Project’ has created a consolidated digital atlas of the Down Survey by overlaying all extant Down Survey maps and related cartographic material onto an Ordnance Survey 1:25,000 base, <http://downsurvey.tcd.ie>

⁴¹ Richard Drayton, *Nature’s Government. Science, Imperial Britain and the ‘Improvement’ of the World*, New Delhi, 2005, pp. 10, 52, 55–58, and David Arnold, ‘Agriculture and “Improvement” in Early Colonial India: A Pre-history of Development’, *Journal of Agrarian Change* 5 (2005), pp. 505–25.

how the Irish played key a role in ‘transferring and adapting systems of knowledge and practice from Ireland’s “laboratory” of colonial science to India’. He examines the close relationship between the Ordnance Survey of Ireland (1820s/1830s) and the mid-nineteenth century Great Trigonometrical Survey of India (GTS) and the Geological Survey of India (GSI), which was led by Thomas Oldham, Professor of engineering at Trinity College, Dublin, and other Trinity graduates.⁴²

Trinity College, Dublin, was founded in 1592 to promote ‘civility’ and to train Protestant clergymen. The college quickly became a centre of learning and by the mid-eighteenth century had acquired a formidable library. In 1799, Abu Talib Isfahani, a relative of the Nawab of Bengal, travelled to Dublin to meet Lord Cornwallis (whom Abu Talib had known in India) and visited Trinity’s library. According to his own account, ‘there he saw the elegant manuscripts of *Khamsa-i Nizami* and *Shahnama* and some other Persian books in the language-collection of the library’.⁴³ Abu Talib also met the antiquarian Charles Vallancey (1721–1812), who was one of the first ‘to marry Celticism and Orientalism’, and drew attention to the similarity between the ‘Hindustani’ (*zaban-i Hindi*) and Irish languages.⁴⁴ Vallancey left some of his Indian and Persian manuscripts to Trinity, just as others did. For example, William Digges La Touche of the East India Company donated two ‘Persic MSS’ in the 1787; the following year Captain Richard Long gifted ‘two large folio Persic MSS’; and in 1792 Thomas Baillie presented a Sanskrit manuscript ‘on paper made of the husk of the tamarind nut’, which he had received as a gift from the *zaminder* of the ‘Nabob of Bombay [Cambay?]’.⁴⁵ Other items, presumably plundered, were also donated to the library.⁴⁶ In 1806, the directors of the East India Company presented a very fine and magnificently illustrated copy of the eleventh-century epic poem ‘Shah Namah’ from the ‘Lib[rary] of Tippoo Sahib’.⁴⁷ Trinity graduates, who had served in India, bequeathed their correspondence, diaries and personal papers. They included administrators such as Sir Arthur Cole, the Resident at Mysore, and scholars like George Grierson, author of the monumental, 19-volume *Linguistic Survey of India*, which remains a definitive study, mapping

⁴² Crosbie, *Irish Imperial Networks*, pp. 100–01, 106, 110–11, and Ciara Boylan, ‘Victorian Ideologies of Improvement: Sir Charles Trevelyan in India and Ireland’, in *Ireland and India*, ed. Foley and O’Connor, pp. 167–78.

⁴³ Gulfishan Khan, *Indian Muslim Perceptions of the West during the Eighteenth Century*, Karachi, 1998, pp. 95, 98, 219. I am grateful to Dr Khan for bringing this to my attention.

⁴⁴ Tony Ballantyne, ‘The Sinews of Empire: Ireland, India and the Construction of British Colonial Knowledge’, in *Was Ireland a Colony?* ed. McDonough, pp. 145–64, quote at p. 151.

⁴⁵ Trinity College, Dublin [hereafter TCD], MUN/LIB/1/53, pp. 257–58. I am grateful to Peter Fox for drawing these to my attention.

⁴⁶ Also see poem by Vasfi, taken after the siege of Delhi 1857, by George Roe Boyce MA (TCD, Ms 1611) and a Persian translation of an Arabic work by Kazvini, ‘taken after the seige of Khota [1858]’ (TCD, Ms 2170).

⁴⁷ TCD, MUN/LIB/1/53, p. 259.

the linguistic diversity of the country and providing descriptions (and, in some cases, recordings) for 179 languages and over 500 dialects.⁴⁸

At Trinity Grierson had read mathematics before taking the Indian Civil Service examinations in 1871. Two years later he left for India having learned Sanskrit and Hindustani under the tutelage of Robert Atkinson, Professor of Oriental Languages (a chair that dated back to 1762), and Mir Alaud Ali, a native of Oudh and Professor of Persian, Arabic and Hindustani.⁴⁹ By the mid-nineteenth century Trinity offered a wide range of oriental languages: Tamil, Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, Hindustani, Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic, together with courses in Indian history and geography.⁵⁰ The Trinity Medical School developed an innovative curriculum, training doctors in public health and tropical diseases, and 40 per cent of all medical recruits to the Presidencies of Madras, Bombay and Bengal were from Ireland (the majority from Trinity). Trinity (Dublin) was the first university in the United Kingdom to integrate applied sciences, such as engineering, into the curriculum and in 1841 created a School of Civil Engineering, which initially offered a two-year diploma and where professors like Thomas Oldham trained generations of engineers. These courses were aimed specifically at young men from the Irish middle classes who were ambitious for a career in India.⁵¹ Trinity was especially successful in preparing candidates for the Indian Civil Service examinations and in the decade following their introduction Trinity produced 16 per cent (86 out of 561) of all candidates admitted to the service. The figure for Oxford was 22 per cent (121) and Cambridge, 15 per cent (85). By 1865 recruits from across the Irish universities accounted for 33 per cent of all graduates, including a growing number of middle-class Catholics, at a time when Ireland made up 20 per cent of the population of the United Kingdom (in the 50 years prior to this, when recruits attended the East India College, Haileybury, only 5 per cent of the graduates were Irish born).⁵²

⁴⁸ For the Cole archive (1794–1844) see TCD, Mss 3767–70 and Sanjeev Jain and Alok Sarin, ‘Madness and Rulers: Events in Coorg and London in 1810, as observed by Hon. Arthur Cole, the resident at Mysore’, *Indian Journal of Psychiatry* 57 (2015), pp. 214–16. For the Grierson gramophone recordings, see TCD, Ms 11,493. Also see Peter Fox, *Trinity College Library Dublin: A History*, Cambridge, 2014, and the catalogue to an exhibition (2010) in the Long Room, entitled *Nabobs, Soldiers and Imperial Service: The Irish in India*, <http://www.tcd.ie/Library/about/exhibitions/india/>

⁴⁹ R.L., Turner, ‘Grierson, Sir George Abraham (1851–1941)’, rev. John D. Haigh, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford 2004; online edn, January 2012 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33572>, accessed 11 June 2015].

⁵⁰ ‘Notes for Examinations in Various Oriental Languages, Indian Civil Service Commission Papers and some Trinity College Dublin Papers’ (TCD, Ms 2723).

⁵¹ Christopher Shepard, ‘Cramming, Instrumentality and the Education of Irish Imperial Elites’, in *Irish Classrooms and British Empire*, ed. Dickson, Pyz and Shepard, pp. 172–83.

⁵² S.B. Cook, ‘The Irish Raj: Social Origins and Careers of Irishmen in the Indian Civil Service, 1855–1911’, *Journal of Social History*, 20 (1987), pp. 507–29; Kenny, ed., *Ireland and the British Empire*, pp. 102–03.

Ireland also provided a disproportionate number of soldiers, and for much of the nineteenth century Irishmen comprised roughly half of the European part of the British army in India.⁵³ The East India Company began recruiting Irish soldiers in earnest from the Seven Years War (1756–63), though Irishmen served in the Bombay garrison from the 1670s.⁵⁴ These rank-and-file troops (Kipling's 'Rishti') were usually impoverished Catholics, known for their bravery, endurance and good humour along with their racism and drunken brawling. Their officers were usually Protestants of Anglo-Irish provenance who often viewed their Irishness as something of a liability, even an embarrassment.⁵⁵ They included figures like Eyre Coote (d. 1783), Arthur Wellesley, later duke of Wellington (d. 1852), Lord Roberts of Kandahar (d. 1914), the Lawrence brothers (George, d. 1884, Henry, d. 1857 and John, d. 1870) and John Nicholson of the Mutiny notoriety (d. 1857). During the Mutiny or India's First War of Independence in 1857, six Irish regiments were involved in the brutal suppression of the insurgents. Of Londonderry stock, Henry Lawrence died from fatal wounds received at the siege of Lucknow and on his deathbed echoed the words of Derry's defenders in 1688: 'No surrender!'.⁵⁶ The savagery of Nicholson, another Ulsterman, and his use of extreme violence in 1857 did not prevent him from being venerated as a British imperial hero, when in fact he behaved like 'an imperial psychopath'.⁵⁷

With the advent of Irish nationalism from the 1880s the British government became concerned about the loyalty of Irishmen serving in India. Kipling tried to assuage such anxieties with stories like 'My Lord the Elephant' (1892), which drew parallels between the Irish and an elephant, called 'Malachi', the name of Irish saint and brave Irish king. In short, the Irish were, like the elephant, 'ferocious yet manageable, who, once tamed, will be the most reliable and efficient vanguard of imperialism'.⁵⁸ With the onset of republican nationalism after 1916, however, the elephant became an untameable tiger. The outbreak of the 'mutiny' by 300 soldiers in the Connacht Rangers, stationed in the Punjab, proved a short-lived affair (28 June–2 July 1920) but resulted in the court martial of 61 men and the execution of Private James Daly. The authorities maintained that Daly 'had to die, not for Ireland, but for India'. Immediately he and his fellow

⁵³ T. Bartlett, 'The Irish Soldier in India, 1750–1947', in *Ireland and India*, ed. Holmes and Holmes, pp. 12–28, and Fitzpatrick, 'Ireland and Empire', in *The Nineteenth Century*, ed. Porter, pp. 498, 511.

⁵⁴ British Library, India Office Records/E/3/36, ff. 45–6, where Irish names—Butler, Barnewall, Kennedy, Talbot and O'Neill—appear in the censuses of Bombay.

⁵⁵ Kenny, ed., *Ireland and the British Empire*, pp. 104–08.

⁵⁶ T.G. Fraser, 'Ireland and India', *An Irish Empire?* ed. Jeffrey, p. 81.

⁵⁷ Silvestri, *Ireland and India*, p. 107, quoting William Dalrymple.

⁵⁸ Nagai, *Empire of Analogies*, p. 26.

mutineers became celebrated Irish patriots, while Indian nationalists interpreted the mutiny as an act of anti-imperial solidarity.⁵⁹

However, the vast majority of Irishmen stationed in India were servants of the Empire, rather than subversives within it. The late nineteenth century was the high point in terms of Irishmen serving in the Indian Civil Service and by the 1890s Irishmen ran seven (out of eight) of the Indian provinces (including Burma).⁶⁰ This coincided with the viceroyalty of Lord Dufferin (1884–88), who was descended from seventeenth-century Scottish planters in Ireland and viewed India through the prism of his Irish experiences.⁶¹ Dufferin was a Liberal but Prime Minister Gladstone's call for home rule and Irish land acts had alienated him and caused him to regard with suspicion the foundation in 1885 of the Indian National Congress, which he referred to as the 'Indian Home Rule Movement'.⁶² He wrote in March 1886,

I cannot help having a strong suspicion that the course of events at home in regard to Ireland has produced a very considerable effect upon the minds of the intelligent and educated section of our own native community. Associations and sub-associations are being formed all over the country.⁶³

He wondered how long it would be before 'the perfected machinery of modern democratic agitation', fine-tuned in Ireland, would take hold in India.⁶⁴ Dufferin did not have long to wait. By 1888, Charles Stewart Parnell, the charismatic leader of Irish Home Rulers, had contacted his Indian counterparts with a view to establishing a movement 'on Irish lines'.⁶⁵ Even though it was 1914 before Annie Besant established the All India Home Rule League, Indian nationalists watched closely Parnell's tactics of parliamentary obstruction.⁶⁶

In the 1870s and 1880s Irish MPs at Westminster dominated Parliamentary debates on India. One of the most active among them was Frank Hugh O'Donnell,

⁵⁹ Michael Silvestri, 'Commemoration: Nationalism, Empire and Memory: The Connaught Rangers Mutiny, June 1920', *History Ireland*, 18 (2010), pp. 26–29; Kenny, ed., *Ireland and the British Empire*, p. 111 (quote); Keith Jeffrey, 'The Irish Military Tradition and the British Empire', *An Irish Empire?* ed. Jeffrey, pp. 116–17.

⁶⁰ Cook, 'The Irish Raj', pp. 507–29; Crosbie, *Irish Imperial Networks*, pp. 96, 208.

⁶¹ Andrew Gailey, *The Lost Imperialist: Lord Dufferin, Memory and Mythmaking in an Age of Celebrity*, London, 2015, enjoyed unprecedented access to Dufferin's archive much of which is still in private hands at Clondeboy in County Antrim. Also see Bipan Chandra, 'Lord Dufferin and the Character of the Indian Nationalist Leadership', in *Nationalism and Colonialism*, pp. 275–96.

⁶² Quoted in Fraser, 'Ireland and India', in *An Irish Empire?* ed. Jeffrey, p. 87.

⁶³ Quoted in Nagai, *Empire of Analogies*, p. 113.

⁶⁴ Quoted in Deidre McMahon, 'Ireland, the Empire and the Commonwealth', in *Ireland and the British Empire*, ed. Kenny, p. 187.

⁶⁵ Quoted in Fraser, 'Ireland and India', in *An Irish Empire?* ed. Jeffrey, p. 87.

⁶⁶ H.V. Brasted, 'Indian Nationalist Development and the Influence of Irish Home Rule, 1870–86', *Modern Asia Studies* 12 (1980), pp. 37–63.

who was an early proponent of transforming the empire 'into a commonwealth of equal partners' and formed the Constitutional Society of India.⁶⁷ In his maiden speech in the House of Commons in 1874 Frank O'Donnell criticised the government's response to the Bengal famine (1872–73), connecting famines experienced by India and Ireland.⁶⁸ He was exceptionally well informed, thanks to the presence of his brother, Charles, in India as a member of the Indian Civil Service. Charles O'Donnell wrote a number of pamphlets criticising British policy in India. In one, *The Ruin of an Indian Province* (1880), 'he described the plight of the Indian peasantry in the state of Bihar and attacked the feudal system of land tenure. In this and subsequent writings on India over the next thirty years, he was very aware of parallels with Ireland'.⁶⁹ Prior to 1900 discussions about the rights of the tenant influenced legislation in both countries and, in the words of S.B. Cook, 'though different in many respects Irish and Indian land legislation reflected similar orientation, ideology and policy'.⁷⁰ Indian land legislation provided the precedent for the Land Act of 1870 in Ireland, while the Irish Land Act (1881) in turn provided the basis for the Bengal Tenancy Act (1885), which Irishmen, mostly notably the Catholic Sir Anthony MacDonnell, greatly influenced.⁷¹ Cook has shown how men like MacDonnell were central in ensuring the greater protection shown to *raiyyats* (substantial peasants) by the Bengal Tenancy Act, something that caused resentment, especially amongst the *zamindars*, who dismissed the legislation as the product of 'Home Rulers and Fenians'.⁷²

One such 'Fenian' was Michael Davitt, activist and founder of the Irish National Land League, who, back in London, closely monitored Indian developments.⁷³ M.K. Gandhi later attributed the origin of his own mass movement of peaceful resistance in India to the Land League, which served as a model of agrarian disturbance, and to Davitt, who had pioneered peaceful methods of agitation and passive resistance, including the use of boycott, rent strikes and the press.⁷⁴

⁶⁷ Fraser, 'Ireland and India', in *An Irish Empire*, ed. Jeffrey, p. 85.

⁶⁸ Jill Bender, 'The Imperial Politics of Famine: The 1873–74 Bengal Famine and Irish Parliamentary Nationalism', *Eire-Ireland*, special issue 42 (1, 2) (2007), pp. 145–46, and Peter Gray, 'Famine and Land in Ireland and India 1845–1880: James Caird and the Political Economy of Hunger', *The Historical Journal*, 49 (2006), pp. 193–215.

⁶⁹ McMahon, 'Ireland, the Empire and the Commonwealth', in *Ireland and the British Empire*, ed. Kenny, pp. 188–89.

⁷⁰ Cook, *Imperial Affinities*, p. 130. Also see Jackson, 'Ireland, the Union, and the Empire, 1800–1960', in *Ireland and the British Empire*, ed. Kenny, pp. 132–33.

⁷¹ Fitzpatrick, 'Ireland and Empire', in *The Nineteenth Century*, ed. Porter, pp. 497, 517.

⁷² Cook, *Imperial Affinities*; Ballantyne, 'The Sinews of Empire,' in *Was Ireland a colony?* ed. McDonough, p. 157.

⁷³ D. George Boyce, 'Davitt, Michael (1846–1906)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, 2004; online edn, May 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32747>, accessed 13 June 2015].

⁷⁴ Crosbie, *Irish Imperial Networks*, pp. 224, 233; Brasted, 'Indian Nationalist Development', pp. 37–63.

In London, during the 1880s and 1890s, Davitt found common cause with Dadabhai Naoroji who was from Bombay and was a spokesman for the Indian National Congress in London. Davitt suggested to Parnell that Naoroji should stand for an Irish seat but when Naoroji became the first Asian MP to be elected to Parliament in 1892 it was from a London constituency, not an Irish one.⁷⁵ In 1901, Naoroji published *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*, his very influential book on the drain of wealth from India to England under colonial rule, which resonated with the Irish. Davitt drew heavily on this and argued (amongst other things) that common experiences of famine not only ‘linked the plight of the Indian to that of the Irishman, but it also provided evidence of a common need to fight to end Britain’s imperial domination’.⁷⁶ The Irish feminist and ardent nationalist, Maud Gonne, cited Naoroji’s work and speeches, suggesting that ‘all that Mr Naoroji says of India applies equally to Ireland’ and that ‘the wealth of India’ was ‘scientifically [drained] to England, as the wealth of Ireland has been drained’.⁷⁷ She branded Queen Victoria as ‘the famine queen’ who was unfit to rule. In an article called ‘India’ Gonne argued that imperial policy was ‘famine policy’ and that ‘the government creates a chronic state of famine by steadily exhausting the resources of her colonies to make them pay for the cost of the Empire’. She suggested to the peoples of Ireland and India that ‘it is better to die fighting than starving’.⁷⁸ Gonne spent much of her time in Paris, where she was a kindred spirit to Madam Bhikaiji Cama, who had previously served as private secretary to Naoroji, when he was president of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress. Originally from Bombay, where she had personal experience of the famine of 1896–97 (that claimed 8 million lives), Cama set up and edited nationalist journals in Paris and Berlin from where she promoted the cause of Indian independence.⁷⁹

Raising awareness of the Irish struggle for home rule in India became the cause of three other radical women: Margaret Noble (d. 1911), who entered orders as Sister Nivedita; the socialist and theosophist, Annie Besant (d. 1933), who founded the All India Home Rule League; and Margaret Cousins (d. 1954), a friend of W.B. Yeats and later Rabindranath Tagore. Their achievements as activists, philosophers and suffragettes were remarkable and they each made significant contributions towards furthering the cause of Indian independence. Margaret Cousins’s husband, James, a distinguished poet, represented an important link between the Indian and Irish cultural revivals. James was a close friend of Yeats, who had made an immense contribution to Irish cultural nationalism and was fascinated by Indian mysticism. He was also an avid supporter of the Bengali

⁷⁵ Bayly, ‘Ireland, India and the Empire: 1780–1914’, p. 393.

⁷⁶ Bender, ‘The Imperial Politics of Famine’, pp. 150–51.

⁷⁷ Quoted in Nagai, *Empire of Analogies*, p. 126.

⁷⁸ Quoted in Nagai, *Empire of Analogies*, p. 125. Also see Margaret Kelleher, *The Feminization of Famine: Expressions of the Inexpressible?* Cork, 1997.

⁷⁹ O’Malley, *Ireland, India and Empire*, p. 61.

polymath, Tagore, who found aspects of Irish nationalism inspiring, especially the use of language, folklore and mythology. Interestingly, Tagore's *Gora* (1910) was about an Irish orphan, reared as an Indian (as in Kipling's *Kim*).⁸⁰ Orientalism met Celticism during Tagore's 15-month visit to London in 1912–13 when he collaborated with Yeats. Yeats later described their first meeting on 27 June 1912 as 'one of the great events of my artistic life ... I know of no man in my time who has done anything in the English language to equal those lyrics'. Though there was later tension between the two over Yeats's input into *Gitanjali* (London, 1912) for which Tagore was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1913, this did not prevent the staging of *The Post Office* at the Abbey theatre in Dublin in May 1913, the first play by Tagore to be staged outside of India.⁸¹ The play was a benefit performance for Endas College, a Dublin secondary school founded by Patrick Pearse.⁸²

Three years later Pearse led the Easter Rising of 1916 and issued a proclamation declaring an Irish republic. British forces quickly squashed the insurrection and executed most of the leaders but the rising changed everything and brought physical-force republicanism to the forefront of Irish politics. It also had repercussions in India and especially in Bengal where it promoted 'the idea of martyrdom as a means of obtaining national freedom'.⁸³ Bengali nationalists emulated Sinn Fein ('ourselves alone') and Irish physical-force tactics. The Chittagong armoury raid on Good Friday 1930 (18 April) drew inspiration from the 1916 Irish Rising. The Bengali pantheon of heroes included Pearse; Michael Collins, admired as the master of guerrilla warfare; Terence Mc Swiney, the hunger striker, whose example was copied by Jatindranath Das who died in Lahore Jail (1929); and Dan Breen whose book, *My Fight for Irish Freedom* (1924), was translated into Hindi, Punjabi and Tamil and became 'one of our Bibles'.⁸⁴ In 1933, Subhas Chandra Bose noted that 'in my part of India—Bengal—there is hardly an educated family where books about the Irish heroes are not read and, if I may say so, devoured'.⁸⁵ Of course, acts of other European revolutionaries also inspired Bengali nationalists but from the 1920s and 1930s the example of Ireland took precedence. In 1943, while in Japan towards the end of his life, Bose in a radio broadcast reminded his listeners of the extent to which the Irish had taught the Indians their ABC of freedom fighting:

Of all the freedom movements we Indians have studied closely and from which we have received inspiration, there is perhaps none that can equal the Irish

⁸⁰ Gauri Viswanathan, 'Ireland, India and the Poetics of Internationalism', *Journal of World History* 15 (2004), pp. 7–30.

⁸¹ Roy Foster, *W.B. Yeats: A Life*. I. *The Apprentice Mage 1865–1914*, Oxford, 1998, p. 469 (quote), also 470–73, and Margaret Kelleher, 'Literary Connections: Cultural Revival, Political Independence and the Present', in *Ireland and India*, ed. Holmes and Holmes, pp. 101–07.

⁸² Crosbie, *Irish Imperial Networks*, pp. 217, 247.

⁸³ Silvestri, 'The Sinn Fein of India', pp. 454–86, p. 472 (quote).

⁸⁴ Silvestri, *Ireland and India*, pp. 47–74, p. 62 (quote).

⁸⁵ Silvestri, 'The Sinn Fein of India', p. 466.

struggle for independence. The Irish nation has had the same oppressors and exploiters as ourselves. It has had the same experience of ruthlessness, brutality and hypocrisy as we have had.⁸⁶

Eamon de Valera was another hero for Indian nationalists. From the 1920s, de Valera made India's cause, Ireland's cause. In a speech, addressed to the 'Friends of Freedom for India' in New York in 1920, already mentioned, de Valera pointed to the 'common cause' of India and Ireland, swearing friendship between the two nations.⁸⁷ Ireland showed support for India in other ways. During the Bengal famine of 1943, de Valera persuaded the Irish government to send £500,000 in aid, a significant amount for wartime Ireland.⁸⁸ The Bengal famine came at an especially poignant moment, as Ireland prepared to commemorate the centenary of the Great Irish Famine of 1845–51 when about 1.5 million people died and another million emigrated, out of a pre-famine population of 8 million.

de Valera visited Delhi in 1948 during his 'anti-partition world tour'. On 15 June 1948, the Mountbattens entertained both him and Nehru to lunch in what was one of Lord Mountbatten's last official functions in his capacity as Governor General of India. It was rather fitting that de Valera 'was the Viceroy's last guest, given the part played by Ireland in the breakup of the British Empire'.⁸⁹ In addition to inspiring Indian nationalists, Ireland had provided a model for partition. The Government of Ireland Act (December 1920) partitioned Ireland and established two subordinate parliaments, one in the north (where the Protestants enjoyed a majority) and the other in the south (where the Catholics held sway). Almost exactly a year later the Anglo-Irish Treaty (December 1921) granted dominion status for the 26 counties of the Irish Free State and provided a suitably ambiguous formula 'which would be applied elsewhere in the empire'.⁹⁰ Twenty-five years later Mohamed Ali Jinnah, president of the Muslim League, invoked the example of Ireland and pushed for partition just as the Ulster Unionist leader, Sir Edward Carson, who like Jinnah was a lawyer, had done during the 'Home Rule crisis' of 1912–14.⁹¹ Gandhi, Nehru and other members of the Indian National Congress staunchly opposed the creation of Pakistan. The division of Bengal and Punjab along communal lines and the creation in the subcontinent of 'many Ulsters' particularly concerned Nehru, anxieties that de Valera shared.⁹² For his part,

⁸⁶ Quoted in O'Malley, *Ireland, India and Empire*, pp. 111, 113.

⁸⁷ Silvestri, *Ireland and India*, p. 37.

⁸⁸ O'Malley, *Ireland, India and Empire*, pp. 4, 144–45.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 156, 160, 167.

⁹⁰ Jackson, 'Ireland, the Union, and the Empire, 1800–1960', in *Ireland and the British Empire*, ed. Kenny, Oxford, 2004, p. 144.

⁹¹ Nicholas Mansergh, *The Prelude to Partition: Concepts and Aims in Ireland and India*, Cambridge, 1978, pp. 5–58.

⁹² T.G. Fraser, *Partition in Ireland, India and Palestine: Theory and Practice*, London, 1984, pp. 120–28; Fraser, 'Ireland and India', in *An Irish Empire?* ed. Jeffrey, pp. 90–91.

de Valera had never accepted the legitimacy of Irish partition and Articles 2 and 3 of the 1937 Irish Constitution claimed sovereignty over the six counties that comprise Northern Ireland, a lead that Pakistan, which became a sovereign state in 1947, followed in maintaining a claim to Kashmir.⁹³

Some have suggested that the 1937 Irish Constitution, in which de Valera enshrined core values of Irish nationalism and political culture, was one of his finest achievements. Certainly, de Valera felt 'deeply honoured' when Nehru expressed admiration for it. Interestingly, in 1928, Nehru's father, Motilal Nehru, had headed a committee that tried to draft a constitution for an independent India modelled on that of the Irish Free State.⁹⁴ Then in 1950 members of the Constituent Assembly, charged with drafting India's Constitution, looked closely at the Irish Constitution of 1937. Though the Irish Constitution is explicitly Catholic and the Indian one profoundly secular, both place great emphasis on sovereignty, democracy, democratic institutions, and directive principles, enforceable by the legislature.⁹⁵ Article 45 of the Irish Constitution stated that 'the state shall strive to promote the welfare of the whole people' and provides guidelines on the control of the economy, credit systems, equality and ownership of property. Sixteen articles in the Indian Constitution (36–51) deal with directive principles and are wider in scope and more ambitious in intention, especially Articles 38 and 39, which deal with the welfare of citizens.⁹⁶ Both constitutions made commitments to self-sufficiency, economic protection and 'import–substitution industrialisation'.⁹⁷

Decolonisation brought with it immense challenges. Colonial structures meant that the economies in both countries were geared towards Britain. Both had underdeveloped industrial sectors and large agricultural ones.⁹⁸ In India Nehru undertook the monumental task of securing economic independence, by 'unstructuring colonialism' and bringing in rapid economic development. Three 5-year plans (1951–65) resulted in industrial growth of 7.1 per cent per annum. Nehru transformed agriculture with land reforms, which laid the foundations for the 'Green Revolution', and also invested in education.⁹⁹ Despite de Valera's best

⁹³ Brian Girvan, 'Political Independence and Democratic Consolidation', in *Ireland and India*, ed. Holmes and Holmes, p. 130.

⁹⁴ Joe Cleary, 'Postcolonial Ireland', in *Ireland and the British Empire*, ed. Kenny, p. 265.

⁹⁵ Aditya Mukherjee, 'Nehru's Legacy: Inclusive Democracy and People's Empowerment', *Economic and Political Weekly* 1 (16) (18 April 2015), pp. 38–45.

⁹⁶ Girvan, 'Political Independence and Democratic Consolidation', in *Ireland and India*, ed. Holmes and Holmes, pp. 131–34, and Mukherjee, 'Nehru's Legacy', pp. 38–45.

⁹⁷ Girvan, 'Political Independence and Democratic Consolidation', in *Ireland and India*, ed. Holmes and Holmes, p. 139.

⁹⁸ Sharit Bhowmik and Sophia Carey, 'Trade Unions, the Economy and the State after Independence', in *Ireland and India*, ed. Holmes and Holmes, pp. 145–65.

⁹⁹ Mukherjee, 'Nehru's Legacy', pp. 38–45; quote, p. 38, and Mukherjee, 'The Return of the Colonial in Indian Economic History', *PIHC*, 68th (Delhi session), pp. 521–23.

attempts Ireland was unable to achieve economic self-sufficiency and during the decades of 'economic war' (1930s and 1940s) with Britain, the people of Ireland suffered great hardship, with significant numbers emigrating. From the mid-twentieth century the Irish economy re-orientated itself away from protectionism towards free trade and export markets, something that India also began to do from about 1991. From the 1960s the Irish government invested heavily in education, laying the foundations for a knowledge economy that underpinned the boom of the 1990s.¹⁰⁰ Ireland's membership of the European Union in 1973 diminished economic dependence on Britain, but it was 1979 before the fiscal link with sterling was finally broken.¹⁰¹

As these economic developments show, the reverberations of the breakup of the British Empire continued to be felt in both India and Ireland long after independence. Partition in India led to widespread communal violence, which resulted in the deaths of over 500,000 people and, as refugees poured into India from Pakistan, the dislocation of 6 million more, along with three major wars with Pakistan over the control of Kashmir.¹⁰² With the Partition of Ireland, in 1920, the British government created in Northern Ireland a Protestant state for a Protestant people. By 1969, the Catholic population had tired of living as second-class citizens and called for the end to state-sponsored discrimination.¹⁰³ What began as a peaceful protest as part of a wider Civil Rights movement quickly developed into a bitter tribal and sectarian civil war, known as the 'Troubles', that lasted 30 years.¹⁰⁴ Throughout the Troubles, the Irish Republican Army targeted 'servants of British imperialism' and in 1979 a bomb killed Mountbatten, his grandson and a local boy, at their holiday home near Sligo. Now that Ireland is at peace there is speculation that the ballot box, rather than the bullet and the bomb, might achieve a united Ireland. In 1969, the Catholics represented 30 per cent of the population of Northern Ireland, in 1999 they constituted 40 per cent and within the near future it is likely that the Catholics will be in a majority. However, according to one leading (Protestant) historian, even in these circumstances a united Ireland is 'by no means a foregone conclusion'.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ Haughton, 'Historical Background', in *The Economy of Ireland*, ed. O'Hagan and Newman, pp. 2–30.

¹⁰¹ Dermot McAleese, 'Anglo-Irish Economic Interdependence: From Excessive Intimacy to a Wider Embrace', in *Ireland and Britain since 1922*, ed. P.J. Drudy, Irish Studies 5, Cambridge, 1986, pp. 87–106.

¹⁰² Bipan Chandra, Aditya Mukherjee and Mridula Mukherjee, *India after Independence*, New Delhi, 1999, and Sucheta Mahajan, *Independence and Partition: The Erosion of Colonial Power in India*, New Delhi, 2000.

¹⁰³ Marianne Elliott, *The Catholics of Ulster: A History*, London, 2000.

¹⁰⁴ Paul Bew and Gordon Gillespie, *Northern Ireland: A Chronology of the Troubles 1968–1999*, London, 1999, and Paul Bew, Peter Gibbon and Henry Patterson, *Northern Ireland 1921–2001*, London, 2002.

¹⁰⁵ Bew and Gillespie, *Northern Ireland: A Chronology*, p. 404.

What then of Ireland and India in this post-colonial age? Nehru, on a visit to Dublin in April 1949, acknowledged the role that Ireland had played in the Indian freedom movement: 'For many years [Ireland's] past history has been interlocked with ours because of our struggles for freedom. We have tried to learn much from the experience of the Irish struggle.'¹⁰⁶ Yet today few Indians have heard of Ireland, never mind read its history. Academic environments aside, it is only when Ireland features in Bollywood blockbusters (as it did in *Ek Tha Tiger*) or when the Irish cricket team, playing that most imperial of sports, beat Pakistan and England in the 2011 World Cup, that we are reminded of our shared colonial pasts.

The British Empire is what brought Ireland and India together and since independence the two nations, while always remaining on very good terms, have gone their separate ways.¹⁰⁷ Ireland's withdrawal from the Commonwealth in 1949 deprived Irish leaders of a forum where they might meet on a regular basis their Indian counterparts though this was compensated by their joining the United Nations in 1955.¹⁰⁸ India was one of the first nations to open an embassy in Dublin in 1951 but it was 1964 before Ireland reciprocated.¹⁰⁹ Yet the two countries shared a similar set of foreign policy principles: non-alignment in the case of India, but in the wider context of ASEAN, and neutrality in the case of Ireland, but in the wider context of the EU.¹¹⁰ Education is one area where meaningful links persisted well beyond independence. The first official count in the 1960s suggested that 580 Irish missionaries, 400 of whom were women, were based in India. In fact Irish missions in India dated from the nineteenth century. Particularly important were the Christian Brothers and the Loreto Sisters, the latter being the first European women missionaries to reach Calcutta in 1841. Over the years they established a large number of vocational institutions, colleges, and schools, which became the most sought after and educated generations of Indian leaders. Today only a handful of Irish nuns and priests remain but their commitment to education, especially of the poor, is widely recognised.¹¹¹

Alongside the human legacies are the physical ones. The landscapes of Dublin and Delhi contain numerous reminders of a shared imperial past.

¹⁰⁶ Quoted in O'Malley, *Ireland, India and Empire*, p. 4.

¹⁰⁷ Michael Holmes, 'The Irish and India: Imperialism, Nationalism and Internationalism', in *The Irish Diaspora*, ed. A. Bielenberg, Harlow, 2000, pp. 244–46.

¹⁰⁸ McMahon, 'Ireland, the Empire and the Commonwealth', in *Ireland and the British Empire*, ed. Kenny, pp. 214–19.

¹⁰⁹ Kate O'Malley, 'Ireland and India: Post-independence Diplomacy', *Irish Studies in International Affairs* 22 (2011), pp. 145–62.

¹¹⁰ Nicholas Rees, 'International Affairs: Principles and Practice', in *Ireland and India*, ed. Holmes and Holmes, pp. 206–28.

¹¹¹ *The Irish Legacy: A Story of the Irish Contribution to Education in India*, New Delhi, 2012, pp. 17–22, and Anne Maher, 'Missionary Links: Past, Present and Future', in *Ireland and India*, ed. Holmes and Holmes, pp. 29–51.

Sir Edwin Lutyen's New Delhi, completed in 1931, and the much less grand but nevertheless impressive government buildings in Merrion Square in Dublin, completed in 1922, are monumental reminders of Empire. Little wonder Nehru selected Le Corbusier, 'the uncompromising modernist' to design the new capital of the Punjab, Chandigarh, as a signal that India was to be 'a modern nation free of the encumbrances of the colonial past'.¹¹² Yet Ireland, as servant and as subversive, lives on in the built environment of India. Roads, hospitals, schools and bridges in India bear the names of Lords Dufferin and Mayo and nearly every major city in India has an 'Annie Besant Road'. In 2007, a street in Delhi's diplomatic enclave was named for de Valera. Northern Ireland bears the 'imprint of Empire' with statues of Lord Dufferin in the grounds of Belfast city hall and that of John Nicholson in Lisburn's town centre. In Belfast Cawnpore Street intersects with Kashmir Street. In Dublin there was a Bengal Street, India Street and India Alley while the development of Aungier Street during the 1670s was funded in part by Indian treasure remitted by the Irish Governor of Bombay.¹¹³ Other symbolic gestures celebrate the historic links between Ireland and India. In 2011, a statue of Tagore was unveiled in St. Stephen's Green in Dublin and in 2015 the Irish government presented the people of India with a bust of Yeats. And it fell to Yeats to capture the essence of the connections between Ireland and India in his introduction to *Gitanjali* (1912). There he noted the 'strangeness and familiarity' of Tagore's poetry, adding:

A whole people, a whole civilisation, immeasurably strange to us, seems to have been taken up into this imagination; and yet we are not moved because of its strangeness, but because we have met our own image.¹¹⁴

¹¹² Thomas Metcalf, 'Architecture in the British Empire', in *Historiography*, ed. Winks, p. 592.

¹¹³ Jackson, 'Ireland, the Union, and the Empire, 1800–1960', in *Ireland and the British Empire*, ed. Kenny, p. 148; Jeffrey, ed., *An Irish Empire?* p. 18.

¹¹⁴ Yeats's introduction to Tagore's *Gitanjali*, London, 1912, p. xii.