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The Politics of Pageantry: Royal Tours and Imperial Pomp on the Periphery of Empire¹

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ABSTRACT

Royal tours are years in the making and the co-ordination between the Royal Household and the British representatives on the ground is vital. The work undertaken by mid-level administrators within the Royal Tour party itself or as a British Representative on the ground is critical to achieving the objectives of the tour. After the cataclysm of the First World War and the growth of nationalist movements across the British Empire, it was even more important that the Royal Tour serve as a political assertion of Britain's presence and its dominance over colonial subjects. The financial constraints that resulted from the four years of warfare also made Britain's projection of power through military methods alone more difficult. The Royal Tour was seen as a means by which Britain could assert its soft power and reaffirm imperial links with messages of thanks for the colonial efforts during the First World War. Within the ritual space of the Royal Tour, it also permitted nationalist actors the platform to challenge the political and cultural aims of imperial rule. The Duke of Connaught's and the Prince of Wales's tour to the subcontinent between 1921 and 1922 are examples of how nationalist agitators could disrupt these displays of British dominance. Royal tours are long in the making but their objectives can be undermined in a matter of hours. Their successful execution required agile responses from the political and military secretaries accompanying the tour party alongside a thorough and deep understanding of circumstances on the ground by the man-on-the-spot.

Introduction

In early 2022, the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge (now the Prince and Princess of Wales) embarked on an eight-day tour of the Caribbean to celebrate Queen Elizabeth II's platinum jubilee. The tour was met with mixed reviews: critics dubbed it a throwback to colonialism as William and Catherine were pictured shaking hands with Jamaican children through a wire fence and a military parade saw the Duke and Duchess both dressed in white, the duke, in full military regalia, stood atop a Land Rover. Royal tours are years

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in the making and the co-ordination between the Royal Household and the British representatives on the ground is vital. The criticism levelled at the Duke and Duchess serve to underline the importance of British representatives being in touch with the local political atmosphere whilst the royal household and home government require a flexible attitude to their diplomatic, political, cultural and commercial priorities.

Royal tours form part of a set of monarchical ritual practices. Their origins can be traced to the royal progress or the grand tour which was designed to both increase monarchical visibility whilst instructing young royals in the lessons of empire. The communication revolution in the mid-nineteenth century witnessed the development of new modes of transport and communication that permitted a much wider reach than hitherto possible. The steamship, the telegraph, print and photography allowed British royals to travel much further whilst, at the same time, their movements could be much more easily documented and digested by consumers within a more immediate timeframe. Ceremonies, speeches and meetings were reported by the print press, captured by photography and filmed by the new medium of newsreel. This material was consumed by the British public as well as colonial subjects across the empire and enhanced the popular culture of empire and institution of the monarchy. Charles Reed in *Royal Tourists, Colonial Subjects and the Making of the British World, 1860–1911* (2016) argues that the Royal Tours of the late Victorian and Edwardian period represented the apotheosis of an imperial-ritual state and possessed a particular political and cultural purpose. Royal tours provided the monarchy with a new function, purpose and justification as it emerged from the political settlement of the Victorian era with a diminished political role, but an imperial monarchy that embraced its ritual function.²

After the cataclysm of the First World War and the growth of nationalist movements across the British Empire, it was even more important that the Royal Tour serve as a political assertion of Britain's presence and dominance over colonial subjects. The financial constraints that resulted from the four years of warfare also made Britain's projection of power through military methods alone more difficult. The Royal Tour was seen as a means by which Britain could assert its soft power and reaffirm imperial links with messages of thanks for the colonial efforts during the First World War. Within the ritual space of the Royal Tour, it also permitted nationalist actors the platform to challenge the political and cultural aims of imperial rule. The Duke of Connaught's and the Prince of Wales's tour to the subcontinent between 1921 and 1922 are examples of how nationalist agitators could disrupt these displays of British dominance.

The concept of empire and the maintenance of imperial space in its political and geo-strategic imagining has long fascinated historians of the British Empire. The politics of pageantry as a mode of authority, was deployed to

project British hegemony along the Empire's expanded frontiers. This use of soft power meant that much more weight was placed on the performance of the individual. A more accessible, personal and intimate relationship with the monarchy has usually been attributed to the Prince of Wales, the future Edward VIII. Frank Mort has, however, demonstrated that this evolution was begun by his parents, George V and Queen Mary in response to newsreels and close-up journalism coupled with the extreme domestic political pressures as a result of the First World War.³ It is not just the royal representative that deserves attention, however. Royal tours are enormous administrative undertakings both at home and abroad and we need to examine the role of these imperial administrators to understand the genesis, aims and evolution of royal tours alongside its political and diplomatic objectives. The private archive of John Loader Maffey allows us to achieve just that. Maffey served on the Prince of Wales' and then the Duke of Connaught's staff for the Royal tour to India in 1921 and then as Chief Commissioner on the North-West Frontier during the Prince of Wales's visit in 1922. Maffey's experience offers a unique window in to the practice and experience of imperial governance during the royal tours both from an external and internal perspective.

This article will demonstrate that whilst these royal tours were undertaken with the specific political purpose of strengthening the bonds of empire, simultaneously dampening down the fires of nationalism within the sub-continent, this objective was not rigid and it responded to events on the spot, largely at the behest of administrative actors within the tour party itself or by the administrators on the ground. Despite the rigid itinerary, it was possible that the tour could adapt to local events and the local atmosphere. That it was possible for mid-level officials, such as Maffey, to influence the shape and purpose of the royal tour whether as a member of the tour party itself or as an administrator on the spot, the use of Maffey's papers will both demonstrate the latitude of these mid-level administrators as well as deepen our understanding of the methods employed to promote Britain's presence within these contested imperial spaces.

Recent work on the British World highlights the complex and nuanced nature of interactions between the imperial forces and indigenous population at a micro level and the wider context of international and diplomatic relations at a macro-level. John Mackenzie has long argued for recognition of the cultural relationship between the colonial periphery and a British metropolis: the relationship between monarchy and empire is an obvious example. David Cannadine contends that the British empire was a reflection of the metropole, 'a vehicle for the extension of British social structures, and the setting for the projection of British social perceptions, to the ends of the world – and back again'.⁴ And, what is more representative of social hierarchy than the royal family. In this vein, royal tours were simply a further practice by which the empire was about the 'familiar and domestic, as well as the different and the exotic [...] about the

domestication of the exotic – the comprehending and the reordering of the foreign in parallel, analogous, equivalent and resemblant terms'.⁵

There can be no doubt that India occupied a particular place in the monarchy's relationship with the Empire. The first member of the royal family to visit India was Queen Victoria's second son, Prince Alfred, the Duke of Edinburgh, who briefly set foot on Indian soil at Bombay in 1860. This visit was followed by a *darbar* of Princes at Calcutta in 1869 and a stopover in Ceylon in 1870 whilst the tour of Victoria's son Edward, Prince of Wales, the future Edward VII, in 1875–1876 followed by the proclamation of Victoria as Empress of India in Delhi, represented the pinnacle in pomp and pageantry.⁶ From this point, royal tours were used as an opportunity to strengthen the bonds of empire and to affirm British imperial authority. After the First World War, however, and in areas where nationalist impulses were gaining ground, such as India, Chandrika Kaul offers a warning over the use of royal tours to promote the ties of empire:

emblematic exploitation of royal prestige was of limited effectiveness and royal manipulation could not function in a contested paradigm [...] While the monarchical presence could work to consolidate loyalty and power where it already existed, it was less successful in creating it when contested.⁷

Royal tours were underwritten by meticulous planning in terms of itinerary, protocol, security and considerations of the domestic political situation to those territories visited. The tours required a significant amount of co-ordination between the royal household and the relevant government department such as the Foreign, India or Colonial Office as well as the national, or local government of the country visited. As an acknowledgement of the sacrifices made by the Empire in pursuit of victory during the First World War, the Prince of Wales, the future Edward VIII, was scheduled to undertake several royal tours. These were to include: Canada and the United States; followed by Australia, New Zealand; the colonies of the Pacific and West Indies in 1920; and a tour to India and Japan in 1921.⁸ For King George V, these tours undertaken by his son would benefit not only the ties of empire but also further the education of his son and break his predilection for married women.⁹

The Royal tours to India in 1921 and 1922, the focus of this article, took much detailed planning, negotiation, sensitivity over who and where would be part of the Royal programme as well as deft diplomacy between the Viceroy, the India Office and the Royal Household. As someone whose imperial experience could bridge the divide between the Government of India, the India Office and the Royal household, John Loader Maffey was recommended by Lord Chelmsford, Viceroy of India, for a position on the Prince of Wales' staff for the duration of the tour to India. Maffey had served as Chelmsford's

private secretary between 1916 and 1920 and he came highly recommended. In writing to Lord Stamfordham, private secretary to King George V, Chelmsford commented:

[Maffey is] one of the best men that I have come across in India. He has got an extremely sound head on his shoulders; he is a very fine sportsman in the best sense of the term and he is a very delightful companion. I hope that you will allow him to talk to you on matters and sundry, because he has been in my closest confidence for the last four years and knows from the inside the *ration decidendi* of my policy both internal and external.¹⁰

Maffey was available for this position because he was due a period of leave. The presence of Maffey in London also held the added advantage of providing Chelmsford with a clear line of communication, an inside track, between himself and London as discussions around the North-West Frontier, Afghan policy as well as the appointment of the next Viceroy continued in the background.¹¹ For Maffey's part, he had been struggling with a bout of ill-health and had spent most of the time on his return to Britain resting at his home in Sussex. Disappointed at being unable to see out his full term as private secretary to Chelmsford, Maffey was glad that he had returned home for two reasons: '*Firstly*, because I did not let you down with this disease [he was suffering from a bout of sciatica-cum-neuritis]; and, *secondly*, because I was in time to get in a strong word in season with [Edwin] Montagu [Secretary of State for India]'.¹² It was no secret that Chelmsford and Montagu did not always walk in lock-step over India so for Chelmsford to have a trusted advisor in London was crucial. Chelmsford wrote to Montagu:

I hope you will make considerable use of Maffey, he has always been in my entire confidence and he can explain fully to you my views and attitude with regard to the many subjects on which we have unfortunately differed during the past year. [...] Above all, I hope that you will induce Lord Stamfordham and the Court authorities to lean on him for advice with regard to His Royal Highness' tour. They will find him most sound in his views in regard to the sort of functions and ceremonies that ought to play a part in the Prince's visit, and I am sure they will find him most sympathetic to the wish expressed by the Prince that his tour should not be one wholly of official drudgery but that it should be interspersed by opportunities for recreation and sport.¹³

These entreaties by Chelmsford were successful and Maffey was accepted onto the prince's staff by Lord Cromer, assistant private secretary and equerry to King George V.¹⁴ In writing to Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Grigg, the prince's military secretary and special adviser, Cromer commented that Maffey had provided 'much helpful information as to the Viceroy's views. I feel sure the prince will like him, as he is a very nice fellow and should be most helpful in India'.¹⁵ Planning for the forthcoming tour, however, was an uphill struggle. Maffey complained to Chelmsford that 'of course you are all disgusted over the lack of drive and decision shown

here over details connected with the Prince of Wales' visit. I have done my best, but have no official *locus standi*. Cromer is very slow'.¹⁶ The continued complaints over delayed answers led to the formation of a working committee between Maffey, Cromer and James Scorgie Meston, recently returned from India to give evidence to Parliament on Indian reform. Maffey hoped this committee would ease the planning and decision-making around the upcoming tour but he noted, wryly, 'I seem to be Secretary! It is a bit awkward, as I am "on leave" and have my own plans'.¹⁷

As preparations continued for the tour to India and Japan, unhappy news emerged from the prince's current tour of Australia and New Zealand. The Prince of Wales began to cite exhaustion and concerns were raised over the state of his health. Stamfordham wrote to John T Davies, Lloyd George's principal private secretary, on 17 July 1920 to request a meeting between the King and the prime minister as soon as possible since 'I am seriously of opinion that the visit [to India and Japan] will have to be postponed on account of the Prince's health'.¹⁸ Reports on the prince's health began to trickle through. Ronald Ferguson, Governor-General of Australia, reported:

The wonderful enthusiasm of the people and their eagerness to see the Prince have led, unfortunately, to considerable crowding in the streets, which hampers His Royal Highness's arrival at his different functions, and thus prolongs the programme [...] the disposition of the guests to press near the Prince, and even to touch him, adds to the nervous strain inseparable from these occasions.

His Royal Highness also eats very little, and is not inclined to go to bed early. All this combined with his determination to disappoint no one, and to carry through every function with complete thoroughness, has resulted in a nervous strain.¹⁹

Ronald Fergusson suggested that upon completion of this tour, the prince should have several months rest and postpone the projected visit to India. This recommendation was echoed by Admiral Lionel Halsey, chief of staff and commander of *HMS Renown* during the prince's tour.

His Royal highness shirks nothing, and is not content unless he goes everywhere and sees all the people properly. He is, however, only a human being and not a machine, and cannot continue at high pitch indefinitely. I am of opinion when he finishes in Australia, and by the time he gets back to England after a very hot passage through the Tropics and more hard work in the West Indies, that he will be nothing like fit to carry out the projected Indian Tour with justice to Your Majesty, the Empire or himself. It is not absolute rest that he will need, but that he should have a few months of normal life, with both work and exercise.²⁰

The correspondents of *The Times* and *The Morning Post* echoed these concerns over the prince's health, commenting on 'renewed signs of nerve strain'²¹ and that a breakdown would entail 'at least two years enforced quiet with risks too great to contemplate'.²² The King's reply to Admiral Halsey was to the point, if perhaps a little cold. 'Any change in programme will require

careful consideration, and the only ground upon which abandonment of visit could be justified'.²³ Nevertheless, it was decided that the prince would not be travelling to India but it remained undecided as to whether there would be a Royal visit at all. Montagu commented to Chelmsford that he was:

now anxiously waiting for the final decision as to whether there is to be a Royal Visit this year or not. It is a most trying time, though not yet officially announced or confirmed, is generally understood and generally accepted [...] So we are both in the awkward position that everybody knows the fact, but nobody had been able to make it definite on a proper footing. Over here there has been much less comment than I should have thought. I do not know what it is like in India, and I am rather uneasy about it.²⁴

A royal proclamation was finally released in early August 1920 confirming that the Prince of Wales would be unable to proceed with his tour of India that year to inaugurate the new legislatures and the new Chamber of Princes that had been born from the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms of 1919. With the Prince of Wales being permitted to remain 'at home' for a year, it was decided that Arthur, Prince, first duke of Connaught and Strathearn, third son and seventh of the nine children of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, would fulfil the ceremonial role of opening the new legislative institutions.²⁵

The duke had enjoyed a successful military career where he had seen service in Egypt during the defeat of Arabi Pasha in 1882 and was the last British prince to command a brigade in action. His tour to India in 1921 at the age of 71 was not his first visit to the sub-continent. Following the defeat of Arabi Pasha, he was retained as governor of Cairo and, in 1883, appointed as a divisional commander of the Bombay army and from 1886 until 1890 as its commander-in-chief.²⁶ The replacement of the prince by the duke brought its own problems and it was not a simple substitution. Lord Chelmsford complained to Maffey: 'I hope that our arrangements with regard to the Duke of Connaught are proceeding well, but it has been a great business to revise the tour that had been settled for the Prince'.²⁷ Indeed Maffey was under no illusion that the tour would not be 'plain sailing' but that he would do his best to ensure its success.²⁸

The duke's voyage to India began in December 1920 on board the *HMS Malaya*, one of five *Queen Elizabeth-class* battleships constructed for the Royal navy during the 1910s and part of the Grand Fleet that saw action in the Battle of Jutland in 1916. The duke's entourage consisted of Lord Cromer, Chief of Staff, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Malcolm Murray, secretary to the duke, Colonel Sir Edward Worthington, medical officer, and Maffey. The voyage across the Mediterranean was rough, Maffey noted to his wife Dorothy Huggins 'thank God we're done with the beastly Mediterranean. All the comfort, good food and luxury of the ship have been thrown away (especially the food)!'²⁹ The duke certainly did not fare too well with the Mediterranean-leg of the journey. Maffey commented: 'the old Duke looks wretchedly ill. He is a dear old thing –

rather fussy, but only in a nice senile gentle sort of way. I imagine he thinks he's going to die, poor old dear'.³⁰ Cromer, on the other hand, fared much better: 'Cromer is a better sailor than I am [Maffey] by far. I am the worst of the lot. I have so far been into dinner once since we left Marseilles. Starvation had been the only means of keeping going'.³¹ Maffey's observations of the royal tour party are insightful and he certainly found the atmosphere of the tour party somewhat suffocating.

One Royal Tour is enough for any man, I am not a courtier, one of the Gilded Circle, and unless you are admitted by birth to the Sacred Circle it is better not to compete for anything except a humble place within the Holy of Holies. 'Outsiders! At arm's length!' is the [...] command. I [...] accept it with no regrets and no animosity whatsoever.³²

As the voyage continued, Maffey's view of Cromer was one of increasing respect, yet he found him cold 'he safeguards himself from feeling anything and I am glad I am not married to him'.³³ In relation to the duke, Maffey's opinion was conflicted. On a personal level, Maffey perceived the duke as 'a dear old boy', but in an intellectual capacity Maffey commented that:

[There was] not much in his [the duke's] head except decorations and uniforms, no views on general subjects, not much conversation outside reminiscences. I have been working alone with him in the mornings lately getting my speeches through, he seems quite pleased with them and now thinks he wrote them, which is as it should be. When he does suggest an amendment it is usually some silly quibble about a comma or a word being repeated. However, he forgets by next time and I pay no attention. His literary diet seems to be a copy of the Grand Magazine which has lasted him since Marseilles. But all this sort of thing doesn't matter, as he certainly smiles pleasantly, and, if he keeps fit, he will be a success in India through his personal charm.³⁴

The health of the duke was an obvious concern during the voyage, and he suffered a sharp attack of bronchitis. Although up and 'toddling about on deck' the duke looked 'very old and shaken'.³⁵ The India tour was not going to be easy for the duke and it would take a great deal of work to get him through it.

The Royal party arrived in Madras on 10 January 1921. *The Times* reported that the Duke was met by 'enormous crowds, in some places six or seven deep'.³⁶ Maffey declared that their 'arrival was successful in every way', although he conceded that a 'huge "Boycott the Duke" meeting prospered equally well'.³⁷ Maffey observed that the 'political atmosphere is nasty and the further we go north the more it will be'.³⁸ Gandhi had already been in touch with Maffey, writing a personal note of welcome, telling him that 'although we seemed no longer to be working in the same direction, my regard for you remained the same as before'.³⁹ In this letter, Gandhi also included a note to the duke to demonstrate that the current movement was not anti-English in spirit but focussed on destroying a system that has 'emasculated our country in body, mind and soul'.⁴⁰ Lord Chelmsford, for his part, reported to Montagu:

The Duke was received most cordially, even enthusiastically, at Madras and that is all to the good because people are very much like sheep in this country and Calcutta will probably feel that it is up to her to go one better than Madras, and a good example, once given, the anxiety is not to depart from it, but rather to follow it. I telegraphed my congratulations to [Lord] Willingdon [Governor of Madras], who replied that the only non-co-operator in Madras was the weather which was deplorable.⁴¹

That Maffey provided a truer picture of events in his personal accounts is not unsurprising. And, it is possible to see that his experience of the nationalist movement and its impact during the tour was both at the forefront of his thinking and reflected in the speeches he wrote for the duke.

I wrote the old Duke a nice sympathetic speech [. . .] I spoke of ‘my dear mother Queen Victoria’ and felt my purple blood pulsating wildly. The poor old Duke would get up and recite ‘Sing a song of sixpence’ quite blandly if I put it into his royal hands at the Opening Legislative Council.

He suggested one alteration. He thought he ought, strictly speaking, to say ‘my dear Mother, the Queen-Empress Victoria. But I said ‘No’ firmly, and that was that. His speech went well, I think, and he is quite delighted’.⁴²

The Times reported that the reference to Queen Victoria in the duke’s speech at the inauguration of the Chamber of Princes ‘elicited enthusiastic applause’. Lord Chelmsford reported to the India Office that the speech was ‘admirably delivered and contained that personal touch which he has so skilfully embodied in all the speeches that he has made during his visit’.⁴³ Maffey was adeptly walking the line between the burgeoning nationalist movement in India and the political demands of the India Office in London. From the reception and official engagements in Madras, Maffey commented that the tour was going ‘quite well’, but that ‘Madras is less “difficult” at present, and less amenable to Gandhi than any other part of India. Even there there was a nasty background. A huge “Boycott the Duke” meeting was held on the beach at the time his [the duke’s] public arrival’.⁴⁴ Concern over the party’s reception in Delhi and Calcutta was growing as the boycott’s momentum increased. Maffey complained that ‘even the sane people are sulky and mad’ and that this was due to ‘the Punjab, to Dyer and to the sequel of Dyer. I think things will have to go worse before they are better’.⁴⁵

As the tour moved from Madras to Calcutta, more disturbances were expected. In Calcutta, Maffey recorded a great deal of unrest – taxi cab and private chauffeurs were on strike alongside tram drivers as well as students in an effort to boycott the duke’s visit. Maffey commented: ‘It will be an interesting visit! I can see how loathed we are out here at present and the tide has not set in our favour again yet’.⁴⁶ Even *The Times* acknowledged that although the reception was enthusiastic, the non-cooperation movement had made every effort to encourage people to boycott the visit. Gandhi was present in Calcutta and declared

a *hartal* whilst in the outer parts of the city, members of the non-cooperation movement had been 'stopping traffic and turning out the occupants of carriages'.⁴⁷ In Delhi, a week's *hartal* was planned.

The duke was aware of the demonstrations and wrote to King George V reporting the 'noisy agitation fomented by Gandhi. The duke repeated the official view that the boycott only succeeded due to intimidation and by encouraging students to leave their studies whilst it was generally held that the agitation would not last long.⁴⁸ He reported that the agitation was strongest in the Punjab due to 'strong racial feeling, and also due to the fictitious agitation amongst the Mohammedans against the Turkish Treaty of Peace'.⁴⁹ So far, the agitation was confined to the towns, but that it might easily spread to the countryside which might have 'dangerous results'.⁵⁰ These demonstrations undoubtedly affected the duke, Maffey noted: 'The poor old Duke was rather depressed by some newspaper cuttings I sent up to him. So I sent him some cheerier ones to buck him up. I feel it is better that he should not live in a fool's paradise'.⁵¹

The Royal tour presented an opportunity for the duke to report back to the King on how the Viceroy and Governors were perceived. The duke duly informed the King that the inauguration of the Legislative Council, along with 'such good and popular Governors as Lords Willingdon, Ronaldshay and George Lloyd' should be able to contain any national agitation. Lord Chelmsford, however, although liked as a man 'is looked upon as weak and not to have managed things firmly or sufficiently tactfully'. That Lord Reading was appointed as Chelmsford's successor was 'generally approved of, it is expected of him that he will be firm and just', but that the task in front of him would be 'exceptionally difficult [. . .] Some sensible people have told me that they expect Ld Reading will be either a great success or a failure'.⁵²

The Royal party departed Calcutta on the evening of 2 February 1921. Maffey noted that 'it has been a strenuous time, but I always like Calcutta. Lord R[eadings] is a charming host'.⁵³ The party moved to Agra where, for the next three days, they would be under the care of Spencer Harcourt Butler, a member of the Indian Civil Service since 1890 and Governor of the United Provinces between January and December 1921. Of course, a long shadow hung over the tour: the Amritsar massacre of April 1919. Indeed, even in the preparations for the Royal Tour, the events at Amritsar featured heavily during Maffey's time in London. Maffey's observance of the course of the Hunter Committee and subsequent debate in the House in early June 1920 alongside his experience of nationalist feeling in India provided a pragmatic sense of what could, and needed, to be said by the duke in order to ameliorate opinion in India, whilst not going so far as to alienate opinion back home in London. As a direct result, the duke made explicit reference to the massacre in his speech at the opening of the Delhi Legislative Assembly.

Since I have landed I have felt around me bitterness and estrangement between those who have been and should be friends. the shadow of Amritsar has lengthened over the fair face of India. I know how deep is the concern felt by His Majesty the King-Emperor at the terrible chapter of events in the Punjab. No one can deplore these events more intensely than I do myself.

I have reached a time of life when I most desire to heal wounds and to reunite those who have been disunited. In what must be, I fear, my last visit to the India I love so well, here in the new Capital, inaugurating a new constitution, I am moved to make you a personal appeal, out in the simple words that come from my heart, not to be coldly and critically interpreted.

My experience tells me that misunderstandings usually mean mistakes on either side. As an old friend of India, I appeal to you all – British and Indians – to bury along with the dead of the past the mistakes and misunderstandings of the past, to forgive where have to forgive, and to join hands and to work together to realise the hopes that arise from today.⁵⁴

Maffey's campaign to include a reference or acknowledgement to increased nationalist feeling in India and the events at Amritsar, in particular, had begun at the end of January 1921. 'Wherever I have been so far with the duke, I have run up against the idea that he is going to make some announcement at Delhi of a healing nature',⁵⁵ Maffey recognised the feeling on the ground and was prepared to respond to it and he had been encouraged by the reception of the duke's address at Madras. 'What the Duke said at Madras on landing has certainly had a good effect here in Calcutta and has been mentioned to me by several India visitors'. In fact, Maffey proposed: 'Could H.R.H. not carry it a stage further at Delhi? The Duke is an expensive luxury and, unless he is used for propaganda purposes, he can be of no use at all'.⁵⁶ Maffey provided reassurance and suggested that any proposed speech to the Central Legislature in Delhi would be run past the India Office for agreement 'and I think you might like to consider whether you cannot find a brick for the duke to throw on that occasion'.⁵⁷ Maffey was essentially proposing to knock out one of the props that supported the nationalist movement.

What I mean is that as the Duke is, as he said, anxious to help in the removal of bitter memories, could we not at least say somewhere in his Delhi speech that it never had been the policy of the British Government to rule by terrorism and that it never would be their policy and so on. I think a great many Indians would make much of a mere phrase of that kind as a bridge.⁵⁸

Maffey judged that 'in spite of all the sound and fury, I do not think Gandhi is doing too well here [...] Gandhi seems to be coming off his pedestal a lot'.⁵⁹ A statement along the above lines, therefore, would allow the British Government to capitalise on this opportunity to retain the moderates and thereby divide the wider nationalist movement. Maffey did, however, have some lines that he was not prepared to cross. 'Ridiculous people suggest that

he should stand in a white sheet, lamenting the story of the Punjab, promise punishment of British officer and better terms for Turkey'.⁶⁰ To persuade London of the benefits of including the 'healing word' was not easy but Maffey finally won out. In recounting the episode to his wife, Maffey wrote:

A great fight for the Duke to say the 'healing word' at the opening of the Delhi Legislative Assembly on the subject of the Punjab and Amritsar. That has embittered the atmosphere here badly.

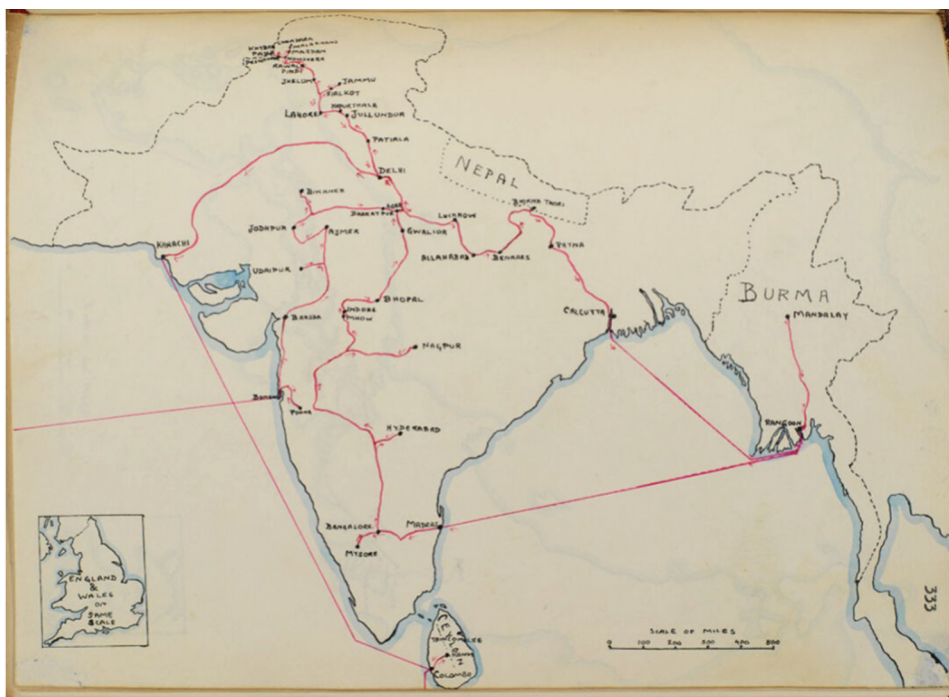
I had started the campaign in Madras, but the Home Dept. opposed me. At Agra I took the bit between my teeth and said the Duke proposed to say the following (here I gave a personal statement at the end of his speech enclosed) and I sent it to Delhi and to the India Office by Clear the Line cable. Then they climbed down. I am glad to say they relented and accepted it and it really was a tremendous success. The words at the end of the speech won't read much to you and I don't claim any particular merit for them. But the old Duke was splendid. He nearly broke down himself from emotion and I don't think there was a dry eye Indian or British in the whole Assembly. The effect was quite electric. It certainly did vast good here. Of course it can't affect the extremists much, but it will help to remove bitterness [. . .] The old Duke quite realised how critical the speech was and he recited it to me twice the day before and again before breakfast on the day. He was most charmingly grateful for any help I had given him.⁶¹

The Times correspondent, Valentine Chirol, acutely aware of the rising tide of nationalism in both India and Egypt, noted the important passage in this final speech given by the duke that asserted the need for a greater effort in England to understand and appreciate the Indian point of view. Chirol observed that: 'His [the duke's] frankly sympathetic speeches, beginning at Madras, struck just the right note. His powerful appeal for unity, in inaugurating the new legislative bodies at Delhi, profoundly impressed all his hearers'. Chirol warned, however, that 'not all the efforts of the non-cooperators succeeded in killing the genuine interest in the duke's visit [. . . but] it is not to be thought that India's problems have disappeared. There are, indeed, signs that the non-cooperation movement is waning, and the students are everywhere returning to the schools and colleges. But there is still an undercurrent of unrest'.⁶² As the tour drew to a close, Maffey reflected that the duke 'really has a wonderful way with him, everybody loves him, his stock in trade are a charming smile, an excellent delivery and a real desire to do good. In the face of much opposition and in a rank atmosphere he is really achieving a great effort'.⁶³ Indeed, Lord Chelmsford declared the Royal Tour as 'a great success'. In writing to Montagu, Chelmsford praised the individuals involved in the organisation and prosecution of the engagement 'there has really been no hitch in any of the functions which have taken place, and they are now all over'. He noted the absence of the people of Delhi, a harbinger of what was to come for the Prince of Wales, but expressed relief that there had been no untoward incident.⁶⁴ The duke's final letter to the King, reported that the new

assemblies and Legislative Chamber had begun their work and that so far everything was 'running reasonably smoothly and thorny questions have been discussed with great moderation on both sides of the House'.⁶⁵ He predicted that, 'if these Chambers do their duty it will go a long way towards calming down the people of India, who, the most of them are ignorant and easily led away by agitators'.⁶⁶

For Maffey, Lord Chelmsford noted the 'brilliant success'⁶⁷ of Maffey's work on the Royal Tour. Cromer equally praised the work of Maffey noting 'I should like to congratulate you most warmly on the admirable way in which you drafted [...]these important speeches'.⁶⁸ And, despite the King having pronounced that there would be no 'K's' on this tour, the duke had telegraphed after Delhi and received royal assent for Maffey's receipt of the K.C.V.O. Maffey had been tipped off on 16 February 1921 that 'H.R.H is anxious to confer the K.C.V.O. upon me at Bombay and I hear the King has approved. The Viceroy told me, - nobody else. They are so discreet, quite rightly in this case. I shall have to prepare a proper attitude of shy surprise for them (I rather wish H.E. hadn't told me!)'.⁶⁹ With Maffey's upcoming post as Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province announced on 12 January 1921, he recognised that arriving there as 'Sir' would be greatly beneficial. The duke presented Maffey with his K.C.V.O. along with a 'silver cup, suitably engraved', and a framed photograph of the duke.⁷⁰

It was now the Prince of Wales's turn and he embarked on the postponed six-month tour of India, Burma and Japan in October 1921. The prince sailed from Portsmouth on the adapted *HMS Renown* and he wrote to his mother, Queen Mary, 'I must send you a line [...] to tell you how much I loathed saying goodbye to you at the station. It is hard to be going away like this but I don't suppose it will be so bad once I get right away though I really am miserable today and you know it don't you?'⁷¹ For the duration of the tour, the prince's staff consisted of: Vice-Admiral Sir Lionel Halsey; Sir Godfrey Thomas Bart; Captain Dudley North; Captain the Hon. Piers Legh; Lieutenant The Hon. Bruce Ogilvy; Surgeon-Commander A C W Newport; and Lieutenant Lord Louis Mountbatten. The tour party was also joined by The Earl of Cromer; Sir Geoffrey de Montmorency; Colonel-on-the-Staff R B Worgan; Lieutenant-Colonel F O'Kinealy; Lieutenant-Colonel C O Harvey; H A F Metcalfe; D Petrie; Captain F S Poynder and Captain E D Metcalfe. The prince noted that 'de Montmorency my Indian adviser is quite nice and very useful and I have been having some long talks with him about India which will I think be helpful to me out there though I shan't feel I really know anything till one gets there and there's no better teacher than one's own experience. In fact I go so far to say it's the only one!'⁷² The prince used the sailing time to reach India by learning some Hindustani but he approached the tour with



some trepidation. 'It will be a relief to get to India so as to be able to get on with the work in hand though I'm dreading it all. I'm still terribly homesick'.⁷³ He similarly wrote to his father, King George V:

I am dreading India as I can't make head nor tail of what is going to happen to me this next 4 months; its all so complicated and to use my own word (though I think applicable here) tricky!! [...] Of course I am going to have a strenuous time indeed and there's no doubt that I shall be overworked again but then how hopeless it is to try and dictate about a programme in a country one has never been to and where the people and the customs and the life are so very queer and amazing. I foresee a bad first month until I can get the atmosphere of the country and get settled down to Indian life though perhaps it won't be so bad then and parts of the tour are sure to be quite interesting.⁷⁴

The prince landed in Bombay on 17 November 1921 and, much like his uncle's arrival, he was met with a boycott ordered by Gandhi. Indeed, there had been some doubt as to whether the prince would embark on this tour at all because of the increase in nationalist activity as well as the financial costs to the Indian taxpayer.⁷⁵ The prince understood the importance that officials attached to his welcome in Bombay in influencing the rest of India and affecting the four months of his tour. The boycott was largely judged by officials to have failed but Bombay was convulsed by riots in the mill area of the city between 17 and 20 November as supporters of the non-cooperation movement attacked minorities deemed to be loyal to the British.⁷⁶

Whilst the non-cooperation movement did not significantly affect the fulfilment of the tour programme,⁷⁷ the prince felt increasingly depressed

about his work in India because he felt he was not ‘doing a scrap of good; and in fact I can say that I know I’m not’.⁷⁸ A month into the tour, the prince wrote to the King over an incident that had taken place at the universities of Lucknow and Benares.

There isn’t the slightest doubt in fact it is only too obvious that Gandhi and his disciples have kept thousands of natives away from welcoming me in the streets [...] but for the worst thing of all was that I visited the local university at each of these 2 places (Lucknow and Benares) and practically all the students refused to be present and it was quite a ceremony at Benares as they gave me an honorary degree. It was quite humorous the way the university authorities tried to kid me by filling up the empty student seats with high school boys, boy scouts and Europeans; I supposed they hoped I would never get to hear what had happened or what a B.F. they had made of me. Needless to say I was furious [...] So much ‘the enemy’ the non-cooperators!⁷⁹

The prince also expressed frustration at the extent of the precautions over his safety exercised by the police. He complained:

They have the wind up unnecessarily [...] by taking too great care of me they aren’t helping me. I’m hardly ever allowed even to drive through the bazaars and native quarters of the cities and the crowds if there ever are any lining the routes through the European quarters are herded together into pens like sheep and guarded by constables who face ‘outboard’ (with their backs to me) so as to watch them. Such severe policy tactics can scarcely be conducive to encouraging even loyal natives to come and see and welcome the P of W can they? [...] I really don’t see the use of carrying on under the existing police system of precaution through the rest of India.⁸⁰

The prince did not confine his complaints to his father. He also wrote to the Viceroy, Lord Reading to express his dissatisfaction.

I must tell you at once that I am not at all happy about the results of this tour as far as it has gone. £25,000 of English money and goodness knows how many lakhs of rupees are being spent over it, and I must honestly say that I have not as yet been able to justify that vast expenditure.

The ostensible reason for my coming to India was to see as many of the natives as possible and to get as near to them as I could. At least, I presume it was the main reason, and I looked upon that as my duty. Well, I am afraid that I have not had many opportunities of doing this [...]

I feel sure you will agree with me when I say that it is a great pleasure to work hard on a tour like this provided one can always feel that one is doing some good to the Empire, but it makes it desperately hard and a real worry and anxiety if one has a constant feeling that the money and time are being absolutely wasted. I am not at all sure that a tour of this kind that does not carry success is not worse for the Empire in the long run than no tour at all.⁸¹

Reading replied in early January and attempted to reassure the prince that this tour was of vital importance especially after the gargantuan efforts made by India during the First World War. Montagu concurred but this

encouragement did not stop the prince from blaming the unrest on the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms of 1919 that introduced a limited measure of Indian self-governance.

India was a delightful country as you [King George V] knew it before the war though I can assure you that that is the last thing it is now. This is not merely my opinion but it is volunteered to me by every official, soldier and in fact everybody I meet and talk to! They all agree that it used to be a delightful country but that the war and Montagu's reforms have completely changed it for the worse. It is not an unpleasant and difficult country to live in so much so that most Englishmen of Indian experience are dissuading their sons and any good fellows from coming out to India to make a living either in the Indian Army or the I.C.S. [Indian Civil Service].⁸²

To his mother, Queen Mary, the prince wrote, 'I can't tell you how far more than ever do I loathe that man Edwin Montagu and its hardly safe to mention his name to any of our officials either I.A. [Indian Army] or I.C.S. as he has all but lost India for us!'⁸³

It was against this backdrop of nationalist unrest and increasing frustration on the part of the prince that his tour progressed to the North-West Frontier Province [NWFP]. The visit to this region was to last five days between 4 and 9 March 1922. The prince was met at the railway station by Maffey, who had been made Chief Commissioner of the NWFP on 8 March 1921, and a guard-of-honour by the Prince of Wales's Own Yorkshire Regiment and the 89th Punjabis. The prince was then escorted by the 37th Battery, Royal Field Artillery, and the 26th King George's Own Light Cavalry, in State, to Government House where he was received by the Chief Commissioner and Lady Dorothy Maffey. The *Pioneer*⁸⁴ reported that the crowds assembled to greet the prince were 'not very great' and the reception 'must be described as a quiet one'. It was speculated that this was possibly due to the schedule of a forthcoming State drive through the city on Monday 6 March when there would be less restrictions and better opportunities for the local population to see the prince. The paper was at pains to point out that there was nothing in the nature of a *hartal* nor should the description of the reception as being 'quiet' be interpreted as people failing to show their appreciation of the prince's visit.⁸⁵ Lord Louis Mountbatten, cousin of the prince, who had accompanied him on an earlier royal tour to Australia and New Zealand in March 1920, described the arrival in Peshawar as having gone 'off well'. He added that since the arrival in Peshawar was at a cantonment 'one did not expect to see great crowds of natives out, and what is more one didn't see them'.⁸⁶ Mountbatten noted, however, the 'the first reminder that one had reached the "danger zone" of the frontier was to find most of the Government House Chaprassis wearing revolvers and bandoliers over their scarlet coats and soon our own retinue appeared armed likewise'.⁸⁷ There was no official function until the Garden party in the afternoon, so the prince played squash

and went horse riding. In the evening a small dinner party was held at Government House followed by a dance.

On 5 March, the prince and his party travelled some nine or ten miles to the Khyber Pass. En route they stopped at the Jamrud fort. The fort was surrounded by barbed wire entanglements and sentries whilst the troops were paraded for the prince to inspect. What other people there were, they were all armed and, for the time being, 'friendly'.⁸⁸ They then travelled another two or three miles to the entrance of the Khyber Pass 'the only satisfactory gateway into India so long as we keep command of the seas',⁸⁹ Mountbatten noted. Of particular interest was the 'Telfer Span', an Overhead Railway which could be seen from some distance before they entered the Pass itself. This railway was of recent construction to bring supplies of food and material to the garrison stationed all along the pass and to the army operating in Afghanistan. It was recognised, of course, that even this scheme would be incapable of maintaining an army fighting in Afghanistan so work was being undertaken to construct a broad-gauge railway line through the pass 'under the peaceful guise of opening up trade with Kabul, Bokhara and the interior'.⁹⁰ At present, two complete and separate roads ran right the way through the pass. Mountbatten described the road as climbing steadily from the time it enters between two mountains until it eventually attains a height of 3000 feet at Landi Kotal, where the main Infantry Brigade is quartered. Pickets to protect passage along the pass were only out on Tuesday and Fridays and Mountbatten noted that the Afridis 'think nothing of sniping people in the pass when the pickets aren't out'.⁹¹ The prince described his visit to the Khyber Pass as 'very interesting'. He noted the number of troops that were required to hold the Pass, two infantry battalions and a further battalion at Landi Kotal, three miles further West.⁹² He reflected that this had been 'about the most interesting day I have spent in India and one cannot see that wild and rugged country which has been the gateway into India for so many centuries without bring thrilled'. The Prince of Wales noted, however, that 'our troops who do at least a year sometimes 2 [sic] up in these God forsaken mountains lead a hard and deadly life and I am very sorry for them particularly as they aren't in the least necessary up there now particularly the British which would be of greater value down in Peshawar where there is only one and there should be two'.⁹³

On 6 March the tour was scheduled to continue with a full-dress drive into the city to receive an address. The Prince of Wales, however, managed 'to wriggle out of full dress, which was very pleasant, and then it was changed to motor cars which was better still'.⁹⁴ During the previous evening of 5 March, however, a *hartal* was declared and the following day all of the shops were shut and reports arrived describing there to be 'bad work afoot'.⁹⁵ The *Pioneer* reported that this was the work of a 'band of city roughs, upon whom the general calm and tranquillity was beginning to pall'. The *Pioneer* continued: 'they backed up their proclamation with certain touching little innuendos,

mainly apropos of flaming torches and burning shops, which were intended for the delectation of those who might have the strength of will to flout their edict'.⁹⁶ Many of the bazaars hurriedly closed and approximately 40 arrests made for intimidation. Mountbatten reported:

Most of the political people tried to dissuade Maffey from carrying out the city drive, but he said that, although he would lose his job if anything went wrong, he felt he could not altogether haul down the flag in the face of the Ghandists. So far so good – a man after David's own heart – not to be cowed by the agitators, although it is far more dangerous on the frontier here than anywhere else.⁹⁷

As a consequence of the *hartal*, when the Prince of Wales drove through the city to the Hastings Memorial to receive the Provincial address, there was not a shop open. Perhaps it was this spectacle along with an attempt at interrupting the address by a group of non-co-operators that gave Maffey pause and, after the address, Maffey decided to escort the prince back to Government House via a short cut instead of returning by the advertised route, where soldiers had lined the street. This change of plan is omitted from the official history of the tour. Indeed, the prince was said to have received 'cheering which speeded him on his way [that] was particularly hearty, as though to show that the city was ashamed of itself'.⁹⁸ Maffey, however, was about to pay for his caution. Mountbatten noted:

Had he [Maffey] consulted David all would have been well, as the latter would have insisted on returning by the advertised route, but he didn't and thereby incurred David's everlasting wrath. During the reading of both address and reply men in black pugarees went round shouting out the Ghandiists' cry 'Mahatma Ghandi Ki Ji'. David felt that people, especially the soldiers lining the route, would feel he had funk'd the drive back, and as nothing was further from his mind he reached Government House in the blackest rage I ever hope to see him in and has rowed everyone well. Personally I do not think one soul will think David funk'd it.⁹⁹

The extent of the prince's displeasure was perhaps reflected in the fact that a dance was held that evening and 'neither David nor I [Mountbatten] felt like much like dancing; indeed David only had one dance, with Lady Maffey, the whole evening'.¹⁰⁰ Notes were also received by Lady Maffey after the Prince's visit to the Frontier. Colonel Harvey noted: 'The Monday contretemps was very sad, and must have spoilt the whole show from your point of view'. There was some attempt at amelioration over the Prince's reaction however with Harvey adding that 'I think HRH has got over it by now, and I am sure he will better appreciate Peshawar the more he thinks about it'.¹⁰¹ Sir Geoffrey de Montmorency of the Indian Civil Service provided further reassurance to Lady Maffey:

I know that HRH enjoyed his time there [the North-West Frontier Province] and takes away pleasant recollections. He admitted to me that he was sorry that for a time he had been – in his own expressive phrase – so 'bloody minded'; but I don't think that phase of

his Peshawar visit is one that will make any lasting impression on his mind. I know him pretty well now and like the sundial he only records the bright hours and I think he marked up a good many for the NWFP.¹⁰²

This incident obviously caused quite a stir since Maffey received a letter from Lord Stamfordham on behalf of King George V. Lord Stamfordham wrote:

It was very good of you to write me so full an account of the incident at Peshawar, which evidently caused the Prince of Wales annoyance, though, I am sure it was only momentary. It was very bad luck that the work of a few hooligans should have so upset the peace and order of the City and created a hartal, especially when till then and subsequently everything connected with His Royal Highness's visit had gone so exceptionally well.¹⁰³

Lord Stamfordham confirmed that Maffey's letter had been read by the King, alongside a copy of a report by the Central Intelligence Agent that confirmed the 'very difficult and risky situation' that confronted Maffey. Lord Stamfordham reported:

His Majesty completely realised your serious responsibility and knowing, as His Majesty does by experience, what a queer nondescript element is included in the population of Peshawar, and that the safety and indeed the life of the Prince was concerned, he considers that you were right in acting as you did. But the King thinks the Prince should have been informed of the change of plans before it was carried out.¹⁰⁴

Lord Stamfordham continued:

His Royal Highness evidently greatly enjoyed his trip on the Khyber and the Malakand and will have carried away with him a very pleasant impression of the Frontier and, in addition, he will have derived valuable information and experience, which will stand him in good stead in the days to come.¹⁰⁵

Interestingly, the Prince of Wales does not write about this incident in his letters to Queen Mary and the King. The remainder of the prince's time in the NWFP passed off without incident, the prince largely presiding over audiences with Pensioners, a Police Parade and luncheons with British regiments, such as the West Yorkshire regiment. The prince completed his tour of India in March 1922 after spending four months touring the subcontinent. Upon his departure, he wrote to the King:

I can assure you that it's a very great relief to have that 4 months of tour behind me. It has all been very tricky indeed and the uncertainty of a good welcome at each place was rather a strain. Of course I never had anything like the work and the rush I had on the dominions tours though the constant travelling was very wearing. But I'm sorry to have left India from the riding and polo view point as I've had a marvellous time in that respect [...]

This last month of the tour (since Delhi) has been the hardest of all because I had so many thousands of native ex servicemen to see in the Punjab and NWFP though it was

really the most interesting month and I enjoyed seeing so much of the army and British soldiers were nice to me.¹⁰⁶

On the departure from India, Lord Cromer wrote a letter of thanks to Lady Maffey: 'Our time in India is now drawing to a close and interesting as it has been, you can understand the relief it will be to me to get H.R.H. safely on board the *Renown*'.¹⁰⁷

Whether these royal tours can be judged as a success in terms of their political objectives was not the purpose of this article.¹⁰⁸ The key aim of this article was to showcase the work undertaken by mid-level imperial administrators and therefore advocate for their inclusion into the rich tapestry of the governance of empire. Royal tours take months to plan but their objectives can be undermined in a matter of hours. Their successful execution required agile responses from the political and military secretaries accompanying the tour party alongside a thorough and deep understanding of circumstances on the ground by the man-on-the-spot. Maffey occupied these critical positions, first for the Duke of Connaught as Chief Secretary and then for the Prince of Wales as Chief Commissioner of the NWFP. These case studies demonstrate not only the importance of recognising the contribution of individuals, such as Maffey, in achieving the objectives of a Royal tour but also how these mid-level administrators reacted to and influenced the British response to growing nationalist agitation following the First World War. For the Duke of Connaught, Maffey deftly bridged the gap between his political masters in London and nationalist clamouring in India. For the Prince of Wales, Maffey's reaction must be viewed against the nervousness of British officials over the growing nationalist unrest, especially on the volatile NWF. These mid-level administrators were vital to the functioning of empire and must be recognised as such in the literature.

It must also be recognised that the tours conducted by the duke and the prince provided a conduit of communication to the King that was distinct from the usual official government channels. Their letters back to the King paint a picture quite distinct from the official telegrams by the Viceroy and Secretary of State. This rich line of communication from the duke and prince allowed the King to press politicians over policy that was not always welcome. Perhaps whilst these tours came up short in terms of their political objectives, they, overall, demonstrate the importance of individuals like Maffey who brought their kaleidoscope of imperial experience to these roles.

Notes

1. The author wishes to thank the Aitken family for access to the private correspondence of John Loader Maffey and to His Majesty King Charles III for permission to use material from The Royal Archives, Windsor. Thank you also to the School of History, University of East Anglia for financial assistance in carrying out this research. A debt of gratitude is

owed to colleagues within the School for their encouragement and support in completing this article.

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4. David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism. How the British saw their Empire* (London: Penguin, 2001), p. xix. See also John M Mackenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880–1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984); John M Mackenzie (ed.), *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986) and Stephanie Barczewski and Martin Farr (eds), *The Mackenzie Moment and Imperial History* (Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019).
5. Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*, p. xix.
6. Chandrika Kaul, ‘Monarchical Display and the Politics of Empire: Princes of Wales and India 1870–1920’, *Twentieth Century British History* 17, 4 (2006), p. 466.
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8. See Frank Mort, ‘On Tour with the Prince: Monarchy, Imperial Politics and Publicity in the Prince of Wales’s Dominion Tours 1919–20’, *Twentieth Century British History* 29, 1 (2018), pp. 25–57.
9. At the time, the Prince was in love with Freda Dudley Ward, described as ‘wise, resolute and an excellent influence on him’, but was married and therefore, ‘inconceivable as a future Queen’. Philip Ziegler (ed.), *The Diaries of Lord Louis Mountbatten: 1920–1922 Tours with the Prince of Wales* (London: Collins, 1987), p. 9.
10. Chelmsford to Stamfordham, 25 March 1920, Correspondence, Afghan papers, Aitken private collection.
11. See Jayne L Gifford, ‘“A Damnable Blaze”: John Loader Maffey, the North-West Frontier and the Abduction of Mollie Ellis, 1919–1923’, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 51, 6 (2023), pp. 1114–1142.
12. Maffey to Chelmsford, 3 June 1920, Correspondence, Afghan papers, Aitken private collection.
13. Chelmsford to Montagu, 12 May 1920, Correspondence, Afghan papers, Aitken private collection.
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19. Extract from telegram of Ronald Ferguson to King George V, 2 June 1920, LG/F/29/4/19, Lloyd George papers, Parliamentary Archives.
20. Admiral Halsey to King George V, 5 May 1920, LG/F/29/4/19, Lloyd George papers, Parliamentary Archives.
21. Mr Freeman, correspondent of *The Times* to editor, 11 July 1920, LG/F/29/4/19, Lloyd George papers, Parliamentary Archives.

22. Mr Marsden, correspondent of *The Morning Post*, 13 July 1920, LG/F/29/4/19, Lloyd George papers, Parliamentary Archives.
23. King George V to Admiral Halsey, 18 July 1920, LG/F/29/4/19, Lloyd George papers, Parliamentary Archives.
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25. See telegram from Chelmsford to Montagu, 8 August 1920, LG/F/40/3/23 and S K Brown to Lord Stamfordham, 11 August 1920, LG/F/29/4/22, Lloyd George papers, Parliamentary Archives.
26. Frankland, Noble. ‘Arthur, Prince, first duke of Connaught and Strathearn (1850–1942), governor-general of Canada, army officer, and son of Queen Victoria’. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 23 Sep. 2004. <https://www-oxforddnb-com.uea.idm.oclc.org/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-30462>.
27. Chelmsford to Maffey, 9 September 1920, Aitken private collection.
28. Maffey to Chelmsford, 15 December 1920, Correspondence, Afghan papers, Aitken private collection.
29. Maffey to Huggins, 23 December 1920, Volume III India, Aitken private collection.
30. Maffey to Huggins, 23 December 1920, Volume III India, Aitken private collection.
31. Maffey to Huggins, 23 December 1920, Volume III India, Aitken private collection.
32. Maffey to Huggins, 25 December 1920, Volume III India, Aitken private collection.
33. Maffey to Huggins, 25 December 1920, Volume III India, Aitken private collection.
34. Maffey to Huggins, 5 January 1921, Volume III India, Aitken private collection.
35. Maffey to Huggins, 30 December 1920, Volume III India, Aitken private collection.
36. *The Times*, 13 January 1921.
37. Maffey to Huggins, undated, Volume III India, Aitken private collection.
38. Maffey to Huggins, undated, Volume III India, Aitken private collection.
39. Gandhi to Maffey, 1 February 1921, IOR L/PJ/6/1781, Asian and African Studies, The British Library.
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41. Lord Chelmsford to Montagu, 12 January 1921, MSS EUR D523/5 ff. 5–8, Asian and African Studies, The British Library.
42. Maffey to Huggins, undated, Volume III India, Aitken private collection.
43. Lord Chelmsford to Montagu, 9 February 1921, MSS EUR D523/5 ff. 29–32, Asian and African Studies, The British Library.
44. Maffey to Huggins, 20 January 1921, Volume III India, Aitken private collection.
45. Maffey to Huggins, 20 January 1921, Volume III India, Aitken private collection.
46. Maffey to Huggins, 24 January 1921, Volume III India, Aitken private collection.
47. *The Times*, 31 January 1921.
48. Duke of Connaught to King George V, 2 February 1921, GV/PRIV/AA42/91, The Royal Archives.
49. Duke of Connaught to King George V, 2 February 1921, GV/PRIV/AA42/91, The Royal Archives.
50. Duke of Connaught to King George V, 2 February 1921, GV/PRIV/AA42/91, The Royal Archives.
51. Maffey to Huggins, 24 January 1921, Volume III India, Aitken private collection.
52. Duke of Connaught to King George V, 2 February 1921, GV/PRIV/AA42/91, The Royal Archives.
53. Maffey to Huggins, 2 February 1921, Volume III India, Aitken private collection.
54. Speech by the Duke of Connaught, F&V/VISOV/IND/1921, The Royal Archives.

55. Maffey to India Office, 29 January 1921, Aitken private collection.
56. Maffey to India Office, 29 January 1921, Aitken private collection.
57. Maffey to India Office, 29 January 1921, Aitken private collection.
58. Maffey to India Office, 29 January 1921, Aitken private collection.
59. Maffey to India Office, 29 January 1921, Aitken private collection.
60. Maffey to India Office, 29 January 1921, Aitken private collection.
61. Maffey to Huggins, 10 February 1921, Volume III India, Aitken private collection.
62. *The Times*, 28 February 1921.
63. Maffey to Huggins, 10 February 1921, Volume III India, Aitken private collection.
64. Lord Chelmsford to Montagu, 14 February 1921, MSS EUR D523/5 ff. 33–35, Asian and African Studies, The British Library.
65. Duke of Connaught to King George V, 2 February 1921, GV/PRIV/AA42/93, The Royal Archives.
66. Duke of Connaught to King George V, 2 February 1921, GV/PRIV/AA42/93, The Royal Archives.
67. Chelmsford to Maffey, 27 March 1921, Aitken private collection.
68. Cromer to Maffey, 9 February 1921, Volume III India, Aitken private collection. By the conclusion of the tour, Maffey had warmed significantly to Cromer noting that he had gotten on nicely with him. ‘He has made a good Chief of Staff, hasn’t fussed and does the ornamental side well and is very conscientious. On the whole my opinion of him has gone up. But I do not think he is capable of any higher flights’. Maffey to Huggins, 25 February 1921, Volume III India, Aitken private collection.
69. Maffey to Huggins, 16 February 1921, Volume III India, Aitken private collection.
70. Maffey to Huggins, 1 March 1921, Volume III India, Aitken private collection.
71. Prince of Wales to Queen Mary, 26 October 1921, QM/PRIV/CC9, The Royal Archives.
72. Prince of Wales to Queen Mary, 4 November 1921, QM/PRIV/CC9, The Royal Archives.
73. Prince of Wales to Queen Mary, 4 November 1921, QM/PRIV/CC9, The Royal Archives.
74. Prince of Wales to King George V, 10 November 1921, EDW/PRIV/MAIN/A/2359, The Royal Archives.
75. See E W M Grigg to Lloyd George, 15 June 1921, LG/F/86/1/6, Lloyd George papers, Parliamentary Archives. The financial cost was estimated by the Treasury to be £25,000. 25 July 1921, IOR L/F/7/2643/8561, Asian and African Studies, The British Library.
76. For a detailed analysis of these riots and their influence on Gandhi’s non-cooperation movement see Dinyar Patel, ‘Beyond Hindu-Muslim Unity: Gandhi, the Parsis and the Prince of Wales Riots of 1921’, *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 55, 2 (2018), pp. 221–247.
77. Hand drawn map of the Prince of Wales’s tour to India, MS62/MB8/1/6, Mountbatten papers, Broadlands Archive, University of Southampton.
78. Prince of Wales to King George V, 16 December 1921 EDW/PRIV/MAIN/A/2380, The Royal Archives.
79. Prince of Wales to King George V, 16 December 1921 EDW/PRIV/MAIN/A/2380, The Royal Archives.
80. Prince of Wales to King George V, 16 December 1921 EDW/PRIV/MAIN/A/2380, The Royal Archives.
81. Prince of Wales to Lord Reading, 28 December 1921, MSS EUR F118/96 ff. 49–54, Asian and African Studies, The British Library.
82. Prince of Wales to King George V, 16 December 1921, EDW/PRIV/MAIN/A/2380, The Royal Archives.
83. Prince of Wales to Queen Mary, 31 December 1921, QM/PRIV/CC9, The Royal Archives.

84. The *Pioneer* is noted by Mrinalini Sinha as 'almost the semiofficial newspaper of the British in India', Sinha, 'Britishness, Clubbability and the Colonial Public Sphere: The Genealogy of an Imperial Institution in Colonial India', *Journal of British Studies* 40, (2001), p. 511.
85. *Pioneer*, 4 March 1922, Programmes, Speeches, Addresses, Reports and References in the Press, HRH the Prince of Wales' Tour in India, 1921–1922, F&V/VISOV/IND/1921-1922, The Royal Archives.
86. Tour diaries of Lord Louis Mountbatten, 26 October 1921 to June 1922, 4 March 1922, MS62/MB8/1/6, Mountbatten papers, Broadlands Archive, University of Southampton.
87. Tour diaries of Lord Louis Mountbatten, 26 October 1921 to June 1922, 4 March 1922, MS62/MB8/1/6, Mountbatten papers, Broadlands Archive, University of Southampton.
88. Tour diaries of Lord Louis Mountbatten, 26 October 1921 to June 1922, 5 March 1922, MS62/MB8/1/6, Mountbatten papers, Broadlands Archive, University of Southampton.
89. Tour diaries of Lord Louis Mountbatten, 26 October 1921 to June 1922, 5 March 1922, MS62/MB8/1/6, Mountbatten papers, Broadlands Archive, University of Southampton.
90. Tour diaries of Lord Louis Mountbatten, 26 October 1921 to June 1922, 5 March 1922, MS62/MB8/1/6, Mountbatten papers, Broadlands Archive, University of Southampton.
91. Tour diaries of Lord Louis Mountbatten, 26 October 1921 to June 1922, 5 March 1922, MS62/MB8/1/6, Mountbatten papers, Broadlands Archive, University of Southampton.
92. Prince of Wales to King George V, 5 March 1922, EDW/PRIV/MAIN/A/2423, The Royal Archives.
93. Prince of Wales to King George V, 5 March 1922, EDW/PRIV/MAIN/A/2423, The Royal Archives.
94. Tour diaries of Lord Louis Mountbatten on tours with the Prince of Wales: India, Japan and the Far East, 26 October 1921 to June 1922, 6 March 1922, MS62/MB8/1/6, Mountbatten papers, Broadlands Archives, University of Southampton.
According to the official history of the tour, this change from a carriage drive to cars was due to the disquiet and sense of unease caused by rumours of a *hartel*.
95. Ziegler, *Diaries of Lord Louis Mountbatten*, p. 263.
96. *Pioneer*, 6 March 1922, Programmes, Speeches, Addresses, Report and References in the Press, HRH the Prince of Wales' Tour in India, 1921–1922, F&V/VISOV/IND/1921-1922, The Royal Archives.
97. Ziegler, *Diaries of Lord Louis Mountbatten*, p. 263.
98. Laurence Frederick Rushbrook Williams, *The History of the Indian Tour of H.R. H., The Prince of Wales, 1921–1922* (Calcutta: Supt. Govt. Print., India, 1922), pp. 203–204, IOR/L/PS/20/H158.
99. Tour diaries of Lord Louis Mountbatten on tours with the Prince of Wales: India, Japan and the Far East, 26 October 1921 to June 1922, 6 March 1922, MS62/MB8/1/6, Mountbatten papers, Broadlands Archives, University of Southampton.
100. Tour diaries of Lord Louis Mountbatten on tours with the Prince of Wales: India, Japan and the Far East, 26 October 1921 to June 1922, 7 March 1922, MS62/MB8/1/6, Mountbatten papers, Broadlands Archives, University of Southampton.
101. Colonel Harvey to Lady Maffey, 9 March 1922, Aitken private collection.
102. Geoffrey de Montmorency to Lady Maffey, 16 March 1922, Aitken private collection.
103. Lord Stamfordham to Maffey, 11 April 1922, Volume III India, Aitken private collection.
104. Lord Stamfordham to Maffey, 11 April 1922, Volume III India, Aitken private collection.

105. Lord Stamfordham to Maffey, 11 April 1922, Volume III India, Aitken private collection.
106. Prince of Wales to King George V, 5 March 1922, EDW/PRIV/MAIN/A/2423, The Royal Archives.
107. Lord Cromer to Lady Maffey, 10 March 1922, Aitken private collection.
108. See, for example Chandrika Kaul, *Reporting the Raj. The British Press and India c. 1880-1922* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), Chapter 9.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

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