

New Perspectives on Modern Wales

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*Studies in Welsh Language,
Literature and Social Politics*

Edited by

Sabine Asmus

and Katarzyna Jaworska-Biskup

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INTRODUCTION

This volume presents the research results of young and mature scholars, based in Poland, Wales, Germany, and Spain, who are primarily concerned with matters concerning Wales. The topics included here were intensively debated by academics. They reflect concerns, debates, and developments in modern Wales, regarding the identity problems of a small nation in a global world: the re-interpretation and adjustment of its spiritual and ideological heritage, the function of literature proper in a digitalised world, as well as the sociolinguistic intricacies of a threatened language, past and present. As can be seen, the issues raised reflect a centuries-old colonial conflict and its discourse. Although Wales has made progress in regaining political, cultural, literary, and linguistic, identity and autonomy, this country is internationally still underrepresented. As the experience of Wales is one that can potentially happen to any culture, it is hoped that this volume will raise awareness of the problems, and the fate, that endangered cultures may face. This becomes particularly clear when the comparison of different minority cultures uncovers similar societal developments. Although many individuals affected by these developments think of themselves as isolated victims, they are, in fact, experiencing phenomena that are global. However, the power of long-established cultures becomes evident in unique culture-specific discourses, literary genres, images, and language, thus identifying minority cultures as spiritual repositories of humankind.

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CHAPTER ONE

WELSH OR BRITISH IN TIMES OF TROUBLE? SHAPING WELSH CULTURE AND IDENTITY DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR¹

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‘Wales is an imagined community, a construct which, amoeba like, changes its shape and character according to its people and the influence of external forces’.²

National identity is, according to Bechhofer and McCrone, ‘one of the most basic social identities’.³ It is, in most cases, unambiguous, and directly linked to the nation state of residence (or of birth), and is therefore predominantly geographically-based. Benedict Anderson argued that this basic identity is imagined ‘because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members ... yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion’.⁴ It is this communion, this

¹ This article is derived from (and briefly summarises) a Bangor University-funded PhD research project chronicling the establishment and activities of *Undeb Cymru Fydd* ‘The New Wales Union’ during the Second World War. The project was also supported by the James Pantyfedwen Foundation.

² G. H. Jenkins, *A Concise History of Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2007, 301).

³ F. Bechhofer and D. McCrone, ‘National Identity, Nationalism and Constitutional Change’, in F. Bechhofer and D. McCrone, eds., *National Identity, Nationalism and Constitutional Change* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2009, 1).

⁴ B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso 1991, 6).

affiliation to the ‘imagined community’, that is forged into a national identity. But for the people of Wales, as for other parts of the United Kingdom, which national identity? Wales is a nation with its own culture; its own language, customs, flag, and national anthem, which are distinctly different from those of the nation state of Great Britain (an amalgam of England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland).⁵ Here, concepts of national identity are more indistinct, and less banal, than some theorists would suggest.⁶ Questions of affiliation to two separate ‘imagined communities’ are therefore raised, not least if the needs of the two communities deviate. This was the situation that many of the intellectual, religious, and political, leaders of Wales found themselves in at the beginning of World War Two.

On 31 August 1939, with Europe on the brink of the most devastating conflict in history, the British government, under the auspices of the Ministry of Health, initiated Operation Pied Piper, the evacuation of 1.5 million civilians from the major cities of Britain over the following three days. This measure was designed to protect the most vulnerable in British society; children, pregnant mothers, and the disabled, from the dangers of the expected aerial bombardment. A further two million people made private arrangements to evacuate their dependants to more rural and ‘safer’ areas of Britain and beyond during the same period.⁷ This, and other government wartime measures to protect the British nation state, resulted in a mass influx of ‘outsiders’ into Wales, and, according to Saunders Lewis, the pre-war President of *Plaid Genedlaethol Cymru*, (the Welsh Nationalist Party),⁸ threatened to ‘completely submerge and destroy all of Welsh national tradition’. Like Lewis, many contemporaries feared that war would endanger Wales’ very existence.⁹ This terminology is taken

⁵ It is acknowledged that technically Great Britain is an amalgam of England, Scotland and Wales, and that Ireland is only included in the full title of the Nation State; the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Great Britain is used here as an abbreviation of the title of the full nation state.

⁶ See, for example, M. Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage 1995).

⁷ A. F. Havighurst, *Britain in Transition: The Twentieth Century*, 4th edition (London: Chicago University Press 1985, 290–291).

⁸ In 1945 *Plaid Genedlaethol Cymru* ‘The Welsh Nationalist Party’ became *Plaid Cymru* ‘The Party of Wales’.

⁹ S. Lewis, ‘Y Plant Bach: Cymru dan Dotalitariaeth Rhyfel’, *Y Ddraig Goch* (November 1938, 1).

directly from *Y Ddraig Goch*, and is not unusual for the period, although more realistically, they were referring, more, to Wales' unique identity.

Fears as to the future of Welsh traditions and culture had been building for some time. A review of Welsh newspapers from the 1930s clearly highlights this concern (notably concerns for the Welsh language).¹⁰ Empirical figures corroborate that the number of Welsh speakers had been in decline since the beginning of the century. The 1901 census substantiated that 50% of the population of the country claimed to be able to speak Welsh, and 15% were monoglot Welsh speakers.¹¹ However, industrial migration, the beginnings of tourism, and participation in the Great War had, according to various historians, all contributed to what, by 1935, the *Manchester Guardian* described as the 'anglicising and alienating influence' on Wales.¹² By 1931, barely 37% of the population could speak the language, and only 4% were monoglot Welsh speakers, and this was before the worst effects of the depression had impacted on the country.¹³ Between 1920 and the onset of war, 450,000 people, equivalent to 10% of the population, left Wales in search of work.¹⁴ The worst-hit regions of industrial depression were the South Wales valleys and rural Wales. The latter, especially, were the Welsh-speaking heartlands, where, as Martin

¹⁰ See in particular, *Y Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Y Cymro & Y Ddraig Goch*, M. Johnes, 'For Class and Nation: Dominant Trends in Historiography of Twentieth Century Wales', *History Compass* 8: 11 (2010), 1257.

¹¹ W. T. R. Pryce, 'Wales as a Culture Region: Patterns of Change 1750–1971', in I. Hume and W. T. R. Pryce, eds., *The Welsh and Their Country* (Llandysul: Gomer 1986, 27–29).

¹² W. E. 'The Welsh People', *Manchester Guardian* (2 May 1935, 17); see, for example, respectively, C. H. Williams, 'The Anglicisation of Wales', in N. Coupland and A. R. Thomas, eds., *English in Wales: Diversity, Conflict and Change* (Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters 1990, 38); D. Phillips, 'We'll Keep a Welcome? The Effects of Tourism on the Welsh Language', in G. H. Jenkins and M. A. Williams, eds., *Let's Do Our Best for the Ancient Tongue: The Welsh Language in the Twentieth Century* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press 2000, 531); G. H. Jenkins, 'Terminal Decline? The Welsh Language in the Twentieth Century', *North American Journal of Welsh Studies*, Vol. 1: 2 (Summer 2001, 60).

¹³ A. B. Philip, *The Welsh Question: Nationalism in Welsh Politics 1945–1970* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press 1975, 47).

¹⁴ P. T. J. Morgan, 'The Clouds of Witnesses: The Welsh Historical Tradition', in R. Brinley Jones, ed., *Anatomy of Wales* (Peterson Super Ely: Gwerin 1972, 39); J. Osmond, *The Divided Kingdom* (London: Constable 1988, 125–126).

Johnes has argued, ‘speaking Welsh, was at the core of how they saw their lives’.¹⁵ In these areas, depopulation was even higher, causing an even greater loss to the language. It was generally agreed amongst contemporaries that once a family left Wales it was lost to the language forever.¹⁶ It was felt by many that the language was now in terminal decline.

What resonates through contemporary writing is the link between language, culture, and Wales’ very existence. The philologist K. R. Hilditch, for example, argued: “When the language of a people dies, all that it embraces, its greatness, its art, its literature and its nationalism, dies with it”.¹⁷ A 1940 National Union of Welsh Societies circular stressed that “in a word the fate of the Welsh people, as a nation, is at stake in these difficult times – and that fate, perhaps is final”.¹⁸ Historians have also reinforced the strength of this fear, Johnes highlighted that many ‘doubted whether Wales could survive at all’. John Davies concurred and argued that, “there were fears that the experience of another World War would extinguish not just *Plaid Genedlaethol Cymru* but also the identity of Wales itself”.¹⁹

There had been attempts to redress the linguistic decline and allay some of those fears. From the turn of the century, a wave of new Welsh cultural societies sprang up, mainly in South Wales, in response to the growing tide of Englishness, but these were isolated and fragmented. So, in 1913, under the guidance of D. Arthen Evans and J. Tywi Jones, the National Union of Welsh Societies, (*Undeb Cenedlaethol Y Cymdeithasau Cymreig*), was established. Their first constitution contained an objective to ‘Support the Welsh language and its literature, and secure them their

¹⁵ Johnes, ‘For Class and Nation: Dominant Trends in Historiography of Twentieth Century Wales’, 1257-1274.

¹⁶ O. E. Roberts, ‘Liverpool Response to Undeb Cymru Fydd Survey of Condition of Social Life in Wales, 1943’, Undeb Cymru Fydd (hereafter UCF) Papers, Box 165, National Library of Wales (hereafter NLW).

¹⁷ K. R. Hilditch, ‘A Welshman and a Philologist’, *Welsh Nationalist* (May 1942, 3); K. R. Hilditch of Wolverhampton was a member of the Philological Society from 1944, *Transactions of the Philological Society*, University of Toronto Library.

¹⁸ ‘Circular to Members’, *Undeb Cenedlaethol Cymdeithasau Cymraeg* (Autumn 1940), UCF Papers, Box A3, NLW.

¹⁹ Johnes, *For Class and Nation*, 1257; J. Davies, *Hanes Cymru* ‘A History of Wales in Welsh’ (London: Penguin Press 1990, 576).

due place in every domain of life in Wales'.²⁰ In reality, however, their efforts were primarily constrained to the realm of education and the legal system.²¹ When *Urdd Gobaith Cymru*, (The Welsh League of Youth), was established in 1922, by Ifan ab Owen Edwards, it aimed 'to give children and young people the chance to learn and socialise through the medium of Welsh'.²² The *National Eisteddfod*, the most significant of a series of Welsh language festivals, held annually throughout Wales, had, in its modern form, been operating since the middle of the nineteenth century. It was, according to Miles, 'the last great stronghold of the language', but during the 1930s was insular, and preoccupied with its own organisation.²³

Prior to December 1939, therefore, the Welsh Nationalist Party, established in 1925, led the calls to keep Wales Welsh.²⁴ Indeed, the creation of a monolingual Welsh society was one of the objectives of Saunders Lewis, even though this failed to gain the support of the majority of the party's membership.²⁵ Initially, *Plaid Cymru* was as much a cultural pressure group as a political party, but its cultural objectives were always entwined with its political goals. Like other Welsh organisations, *Plaid Cymru* was concerned for the fate of the language, and when the plans for Operation Pied Piper were released in 1938, Lewis (the party's most prominent spokesperson) argued that, "The movement of population is one

²⁰ M. Loeffler, 'The Welsh Language Movement in the First Half of the Twentieth Century: An Exercise in Quiet Revolutions', in G. H. Jenkins and M. A. Williams, eds., *Let's Do Our Best for the Ancient Tongue: The Welsh Language in the Twentieth Century* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press 2000, 188).

²¹ For more information of each of these see for example M. Loeffler 'Eu Hiaith a Gadwant: The Work of the National Union of Welsh Societies, 1913–1941', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, Vol. 4 (1998), 127–152; R. E. Griffith, *Urdd Gobaith Cymru 1922–1945* (Aberystwyth: Cwmni Urdd Gobaith Cymru 1971); G. Davies, *The Story of the Urdd, 1922–1972* (Aberystwyth: Cwmni Urdd Gobaith Cymru, 1973).

²² *Urdd Gobaith Cymru* website, <http://www.urdd.org/adran.php?tud=17&lng=en>. Accessed 3 October 2013.

²³ D. Miles, *The Royal National Eisteddfod of Wales* (Swansea: Christopher Davies 1978, 7).

²⁴ G. Evans, *The Fight for Welsh Freedom* (Talybont: Y Lolfa 2000, 144).

²⁵ Evans, *The Fight for Welsh Freedom*, 132.

of the most horrible threats to the continuation and to the life of the Welsh nation that has ever been suggested in history”.²⁶

However, it was not only the proposed movement of the population that the party opposed: it was the war itself. The Welsh Nationalist Party was a pacifist party, and therefore opposed munitions factories and military bases being located on Welsh soil, both from the impact of ‘outsiders’, but also because of the purpose of these establishments.²⁷ Robert Andersen has contended that, “nationalism can be generally thought of as an ideology that uses national identity as the basis for social and political action”.²⁸ In 1936, three prominent members of *Plaid Cymru* took such political action in the name of Welsh national identity, when Saunders Lewis, D. J. Williams, and Lewis Valentine set fire to the construction buildings of what was to become Royal Air Force Penrhos, a bombing training station at Penyberth, near Pwllheli.²⁹ Support for *Plaid Cymru* increased during the subsequent court cases, where, due to British legislation, the use of the Welsh language was not allowed.³⁰ At the beginning of the decade the Welsh Nationalist Party had a membership of

²⁶ S. Lewis, ‘Y Plant Bach: Cymru dan Dotalitariaeth Rhyfel’, *Y Ddraig Goch* (November 1938, 1).

²⁷ Evans, *The Fight for Welsh Freedom*, 137. *The Welsh Nationalist Party* reiterated its neutral stance to the war throughout 1939; see for example ‘The Manifesto of the Welsh Nationalist Party Executive’, *Welsh Nationalist* (May 1939, 1). For a small example of the Party’s opposition to military bases and munitions factories see: M. J. Clubb, *The Welsh Arsenal* (Bridgend: Gwasg Blaen-y-Wawr 2007, 22–23); D. Jenkins, *A Nation on Trial: Penyberth 1936*, trans. A. Corkett (Cardiff: Welsh Academic Press 1998); J. E. Daniel, ‘Defender of Small Nations’, *Welsh Nationalist* (April 1940, 1).

²⁸ R. Andersen, ‘National Identity and Independence Attitudes Minority Nationalism in Scotland and Wales’, Centre for Research into Elections and Social Trends, Working Paper Number 86 September 2001, accessed via University of Oxford website on 24 January 2015, <http://www.crest.ox.ac.uk/papers/p86.pdf>.

²⁹ D. Jenkins, *A Nation on Trial. Penyberth 1936*, trans. A. Corkett (Cardiff: Welsh Academic Press 1998).

³⁰ The British legal system of the time only recognised the English language. Welsh testimony could be accepted in Welsh Courts at the Judge’s discretion, if the defendants (or witnesses) were willing to pay for the use of court translators. To add to the unfairness felt by the Welsh, courts across Britain, when required, would pay for translators to translate the testimony of defendants and witnesses from most other countries.

about 500.³¹ By 1939, this membership had, according to Philip, increased to some 2,000.³²

Between the court cases and 1939, as tensions between Britain and Germany increased, much new nationalist support had dissipated. This was even highlighted in *Plaid's* own newspaper: "It is ceasing to be fashionable in certain circles to have sympathy with many of the ideas of Welsh nationalism ... unstinting devotion to the cause of Wales ... appears to be wearing off".³³ This was reinforced by the sales figures of the party's two newspapers, *Y Ddraig Goch*, and the *Welsh Nationalist*, which peaked in 1938 and then began to decline.³⁴ Several reasons explaining this decline have been postulated, but the common feature of each was their anti-English rhetoric. Dafydd Williams argued that it was *Plaid's* opposition to Welsh celebrations for the Coronation of George VI and Queen Elizabeth that lost them vital support.³⁵ When war broke out in September 1939, *Plaid Cymru* was quick to declare its neutrality, but many party followers soon became involved in the allied war effort, very few resisting conscription on nationalist grounds.³⁶ P. Berrisford Ellis blames this neutral stance as being a 'highly unpopular doctrine'.³⁷ But *Plaid Cymru*, and Saunders Lewis especially, were not content simply to take a neutral stance; they promoted objections to war on conscientious grounds, attacked what they termed 'England's imperialistic war', and

³¹ D. H. Davies, *The Welsh Nationalist Party, 1925–1945: A Call to Nationhood* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press 1983, 270). Davies suggested that even this figure may have been somewhat overestimated.

³² Philip, *The Welsh Question: Nationalism in Welsh Politics 1945–1970*, 17.

³³ E. O. Humphreys, 'The Present Discontent', *Welsh Nationalist* (May 1938, 5).

³⁴ Davies, *The Welsh Nationalist Party*, 270.

³⁵ D. Williams, 'J. E. – Architect of Plaid Cymru: Address by Dafydd Williams on the Life of J. E. Jones', lecture at Plaid Cymru History Society, Llandudno, September 2011, *Hanes Plaid Cymru* website, <http://www.hanesplaidcymru.org/author/admin/page/2/?lang=en>. Accessed on 3 February 2016.

³⁶ J. G. Jones, 'Wales Since 1900', in P. Morgan, ed., *The Tempus History of Wales: 2500 B.C. – A.D. 2000* (Stroud, Tempus Publishing 2001, 231).

³⁷ P. B. Ellis, *Wales – A Nation Again: A Nationalist Struggle for Freedom* (London: Tandem 1968, 107).

opposed the conscription of Welshmen into the ‘English’ army.³⁸ Four members of the party even faced a month’s imprisonment, following their arrest in Aberystwyth for disrupting the playing of the British National Anthem.³⁹ Even contemporary newspapers were critical of the party’s approach. The English language conservative newspaper, *The Western Mail*, referred to *Plaid Cymru* as a ‘virus of nationalist rabies’, and even the moderate Welsh language newspaper, *Y Cymro*, was critical of *Plaid*’s anti-English policy, arguing that this had caused ‘most of the people of Wales’ to ignore them.⁴⁰ Both Laura McAllister and Charlotte Davies emphasise the turmoil, confusion, and decline that the Party suffered during the early war years.⁴¹

Despite the Welsh Nationalist Party’s remonstrations, until September 1939, there was no unified, or unifying voice for Wales. Within days of the initiation of Operation Pied Piper and the declaration of war, Saunders Lewis and J. E. Daniel⁴² wrote to the *Manchester Guardian*, outlining ‘Welsh Interests in Wartime: How to Protect Them’. This correspondence highlighted Welsh fears for the consequence of the evacuation on ‘rural Wales, on Welsh education, and on Welsh cultural life’, and proposed the establishment of an official committee to safeguard Welsh interests during the war.⁴³ Although the letter went un-noticed in Whitehall, it triggered political momentum in Wales.

³⁸ ‘Manifesto of the Welsh Nationalist Party Executive’, *Welsh Nationalist* (May 1939, 1); D. J. Williams, ‘Should Wales take Part in the Next War’, *Welsh Nationalist* (June 1938, 5).

³⁹ ‘Notes and Comments’, *Welsh Nationalist* (December 1941, 2). The article gives very little in the way of detail of the event, but states that the four nationalists were charged with ‘Insulting Behaviour’ for disrupting the playing of ‘God Save the King’.

⁴⁰ ‘Y Blaid a Chymru’, *Y Cymro* (16 September 1939, 3); ‘The Culture Travesty’, *Western Mail* (17 April 1941, 4).

⁴¹ L. McAllister, *Plaid Cymru: The Emergence of a Political Party* (Bridgend: Seren 2001, 29); C. A. Davies, *Welsh Nationalism in the Twentieth Century: The Ethnic Option and the Modern State* (New York: Praeger 1989, 69).

⁴² The wartime President of *Plaid*, Saunders Lewis resigned his Presidency a month before the war began.

⁴³ S. Lewis and J. E. Daniels, ‘Welsh Interests in Wartime. How to Protect Them’, *Manchester Guardian* (8 September 1939, 14).

Within a week of Lewis and Daniel's article being published, an article appeared in *Y Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, entitled 'How to Keep Welsh Culture', requesting 'suggestions as to how to protect Welsh culture against the flow of English children'. Proposals included keeping Welsh children and evacuees apart in schools, and not changing Welsh institutions like church services into English, but, if necessary, running additional services to cater for the visitors.⁴⁴ The newspaper also contacted what it termed 'the Nation's Leaders', and asked for their opinion on Saunders Lewis and J. E. Daniels' *Manchester Guardian* proposal. By the following edition, on 20 September 1939, they had received numerous letters on the subject from prominent Welsh figures including R. T. Jenkins, W. J. Gruffydd, T. I. Ellis, William George, Ben Bowen Thomas, and others.⁴⁵ The intervention of *Y Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, one of Wales' leading Welsh language newspapers, was to prove pivotal to the growing momentum for some form of measure to safeguard the Welsh language, Welsh culture, and indeed Welsh national identity.

On the same day that *Y Baner* published these letters, Caernarfon Town Council unanimously resolved to write to the Prime Minister, to Welsh Members of Parliament, and to every local Council in Wales, to lobby for a Committee as proposed by Lewis and Daniels. By 23 October, twenty-three councils had pledged 'complete support', not all of these from the Welsh-speaking heartlands of North and mid-Wales. Bridgend, Swansea, and Neath Town Councils, as well as the Llanelli Rural Council, had all pledged support for Caernarfon's proposal.⁴⁶ Some town councils, including Menai Bridge and Llanfairfechan, both in the Welsh-speaking region, waited to see how other councils responded.⁴⁷ Anglesey Rural Council, much to the distaste of Caernarfon's Council, passed a resolution to defer discussion on the matter for ten years, as one councillor noted,

⁴⁴ 'Sut i Gadw Diwylliant Cymru', *Y Baner ac Amserau Cymru* (13 September 1939, 8).

⁴⁵ 'Cadw'n Fyw y Genedl Cymreig: Arweinwyr y Genedl yn Cytuno ag Awgrym y Fanner', *Y Baner ac Amserau Cymru* (20 September 1939, 12).

⁴⁶ H. D. Roberts, 'Report for Welsh Advisory Council', UCF Papers, Box A3, NLW.

⁴⁷ H. D. Roberts, 'Report for Welsh Advisory Council', UCF Papers, Box A3, NLW.

“Hopefully there will be a Wales waiting for them by then”.⁴⁸ While most local councils in Wales responded to the Caernarfon initiative, there was, again, no official response from London.

In contrast to the relatively disorganised Welsh Nationalist Party, the culturally-focused National Eisteddfod Committee was well established and well organised. It also maintained in its constitution, a proviso that ‘The Court holds full right to promote the interests of the Eisteddfod by any means which it may from time to time deem advisable’.⁴⁹ As highlighted by Albert Evans Jones (better known in Wales as Cynan),⁵⁰ “Remember that the National Eisteddfod is first and foremost an institution for the safeguarding of the Welsh Language and the promotion of Welsh culture”.⁵¹ It was based on this rationale that the Eisteddfod Council, at a meeting on 22 September, decided to take matters into their own hands. They wrote to all the leading organisations in Wales asking them to appoint representatives to attend a Conference for the Defence of Welsh Culture on 1 December 1939, to discuss the dangers Wales was facing.⁵² Ironically, the location chosen for this momentous gathering on Welsh affairs was the English border town of Shrewsbury. The secretary later highlighted, “What made this gathering so significant is that ‘practically every Welsh body or movement of importance and influence, both voluntary and official was represented there’”.⁵³

⁴⁸ H. D. Roberts, ‘Report for Welsh Advisory Council’, UCF Papers, Box A3, NLW.

⁴⁹ T. Parry, *Hanes yr Eisteddfod gan Thomas Parry a'r Eisteddfod Genedlaethol a'r Orsedd Heddiw gan Cynan: The Story of the Eisteddfod by Thomas Parry and the National Eisteddfod and Gorsedd of Today by Cynan* (Liverpool: Gwasg y Brython 1962, 41).

⁵⁰ Albert Evans-Jones was better known in Wales by his bardic name Cynan. He was a former Presbyterian Minister who, from 1931, taught at the University College of North Wales, Bangor. He was a poet and dramatist who maintained strong links with the *National Eisteddfod*, winning multiple awards and frequently acting as adjudicator. He was Archdruid twice and also served as Secretary. He was a prominent figure within Wales during the period. For more information, see Sir Cynan (Albert) Evans Jones at the *Dictionary of Welsh Biography* at the National Library of Wales website.

⁵¹ Parry, *Hanes yr Eisteddfod gan Thomas Parry*, 41.

⁵² T. I. Ellis, *Y Gynhadledd Genedlaethol er Diogelu Diwylliant Cymru* (Denbigh: Gwasg Gee 1940, 3).

⁵³ T. I. Ellis, *Undeb Cymru Fydd* (Aberystwyth: Undeb Cymru Fydd 1948, 2).

Forty-six non-political organisations attended the conference, totalling 121 delegates. The conference approved the establishment of The Committee for the Protection of Welsh Culture, (*Pwllgor Diogelu Diwylliant Cymru*),⁵⁴ and, reinforcing the urgency that was felt at the time, began work the very next day. The Defence Committee, as they often referred to themselves, was made up of a cross-section of the organisations in attendance.

The Committee for the Protection of Welsh Culture

Cynan	Former Joint Secretary to National Eisteddfod Committee, Academic at University College of North Wales, Bangor. ⁵⁵
Ifan ab Owen Edwards	Founder of <i>Urdd Gobaith Cymru</i> .
T. I. Ellis (Secretary)	Academic.
William George	Brother of David Lloyd George, chaired National Union of Welsh Societies.
Yr Athro W. J. Gruffydd	Academic, University of Wales, Cardiff, close associations with Eisteddfod.
D. R. Hughes	Joint Secretary of National Eisteddfod Council, and Founder of <i>Cofion Cymru</i> .
R. T. Jenkins	Academic at University College of North Wales, Bangor.
Ddr E. K. Jones	'Uncompromising Baptist'. ⁵⁶
J. Morgan Jones	Vice Principal, University College of North Wales.

⁵⁴ The Welsh word *Diogelu* can be translated as 'to protect, to defend', or 'to safeguard', and the Conference, the Committee, and its local branches used to use all these variations at various times; the *Committee to Safeguard Welsh Culture* and the *Committee to Defend Welsh Culture*, and occasionally the *Committee to Protect Welsh Culture*. They would also abbreviate this to the *Shrewsbury Committee* or the *Defence Committee*. For the sake of continuity, it is the most commonly used *Committee for the Defence of Welsh Culture*, and the abbreviated *Defence Committee*, that are used throughout this paper.

⁵⁵ See footnote 49 above.

⁵⁶ For more information see T. E. Jones, 'The Late Rev. E. K. Jones, D. D.', *The Baptist Quarterly* 14. 1 (January 1951, 13–17).

Saunders Lewis	Former President of the Welsh Nationalist Party.
D. Francis Roberts	Minister, Author, and Religious Academic.
Ben. B. Thomas	Academic, and former <i>Plaid</i> Member. ⁵⁷

This Committee represented some of the most significant of the youth, cultural, political, academic, and religious Welsh leaders of the time, and jointly represented almost all the major Welsh institutions.

The Committee established a national network of branches to meet its objectives, which were: a) ‘To protect Welsh interests during the war’, and b) ‘With regard to the future, helping to establish in all parts of Wales voluntary arrangements for the protection and development of healthy Welsh social life’.⁵⁸ To facilitate these objectives, regional and local conferences were arranged across Wales, each attracting one and three hundred delegates.⁵⁹ By early 1941, fifteen such conferences had been held. On 6 July 1940, for example, Denbighshire convened its conference in Colwyn Bay, and here, as at all conferences, three resolutions were presented. The first was to encourage the preservation of the culture, the second related to the Government Circular 1486 on Youth Services,⁶⁰ and finally, there was a proposition to establish a local branch of the Defence Committee.⁶¹ On the first of these resolutions, the delegates were asked to take an oath. Ambrose Bebb in Colwyn Bay emphasised its significance; ‘the righteous, virtually sacrosanct nature of the oath is taken to safeguard,

⁵⁷ Ben Bowen Thomas initially joined the *Welsh Nationalist Party*, but resigned following disagreement over the party’s objectives for a more independent Wales. Thomas was a believer in more centralist policies.

⁵⁸ ‘Cyngor Diogelu Diwylliant Cymru Cyfansoddiad, September 1940’, UCF Papers, Box A13, NLW.

⁵⁹ T. I. Ellis, ‘Conference for Defending Welsh Culture, Secretaries Report for 1940’, UCF Papers, Box A3, NLW.

⁶⁰ The Board of Education, *Circular 1486, In Service of Youth* (London, HMSO 1939) was a British Government initiative to address the ‘conditions which constitute a serious menace to youth’ (Circular 1486 Paragraph 1), which encouraged the establishment and funding of youth organisations. The conferences, which supported the Circular, proposed a separate overseeing committee for Wales.

⁶¹ T. I. Ellis, ‘Conference for Defending Welsh Culture’, Secretaries Report for 1940, UCF Papers, Box A3, NLW.

even rescue Welsh culture'. He continued, "We – you and I – who take this oath in the name of every generation that has preceded us, are honour-bound to deliver our culture intact into the future".⁶² This same format was used at every conference across Wales.

On 11 October 1940, Morgan Humphries, in Porthmadog, highlighted how the 'Defence Committee's approach to Wales' difficulties varied significantly from the Welsh Nationalist Party, suggesting that, "the greatest peril to Welsh culture comes from within – the people themselves are careless. We should realise that, in these days, we have a double responsibility – to Britain and to ourselves".⁶³ This 'double responsibility' was evident throughout the Defence Committee's existence. It pursued a policy of working with Government agencies and a number of Welsh MPs; nowhere in their records are there any derogatory or critical references to England as a separate entity. There was, at times, criticism of the British government, especially because of its acquisition of Welsh land for military purposes, the refusal to allow Welsh soldiers to serve together in exclusively Welsh Regiments, and because of the problems experienced with the use of the English language by the Home Guard, and by Air Raid Wardens, in Welsh-speaking regions of the Principality. But there were no echoes of the Welsh Nationalist Party's anti-English, anti-war stance. Indeed, driven by their secretary, T. I. Ellis, the Committee pursued a strictly apolitical stance that reflected a greater affiliation to British national identity than the Welsh Nationalist Party's. What makes this disparity between the two organisations more surprising, is that most of the senior members of the Welsh Nationalist Party were also actively involved in the Defence Committee.⁶⁴

Thanks to the third conference resolution, a network of sub-committees was established that covered the whole of Wales, and proved so successful that, within months, the Defence Committee was recognised by Neville Chamberlain's wartime government as, 'being competent to make representations to his Majesty's Ministers upon matters touching the

⁶² A. Bebb, *A Welsh Hundred: Glimpses of Life in Wales*, trans. Marc K. Stengel (Bloomington, In: Authorhouse 2008). Originally published as W. Ambrose Bebb, *1940: Lloffion o Ddyddiadur* 'Gleanings from a Diary', 1941.

⁶³ 'Preservation of Welsh Culture: Inspiring Address at Portmadoc', *Holyhead Chronicle* (18 October 1940, 8).

⁶⁴ See for example Saunders Lewis, Moses Griffiths, W. J. Gruffydd and G. Evans, to name a few.

welfare of Wales'.⁶⁵ However, the committee also found that much of their work overlapped with the National Union of Welsh Societies. At the 1941 Eisteddfod, the two organisations met, and agreed to merge.⁶⁶ Following the suggestion of Gwynfor Evans (the future President of the Welsh Nationalist Party), *Undeb Cymru Fydd* (The New Wales Union) was born. For the first time in over a generation, one organisation spoke with legitimacy for Wales.⁶⁷

While the unification of these two institutions appeared to be a natural progression for the Defence Committee, and indeed for the National Union of Welsh Societies, it masks underlying difficulties. The Defence Committee was suffering financial hardship, and had been in debt for much of 1940. Internal disagreements were also apparent. Saunders Lewis, in particular, was accused of amending agreed press statements prior to release, including the initial conference memorandum, which he was accused of changing using Welsh Nationalist Party rhetoric.⁶⁸ The Treasurer, D. R. Hughes, declared, "people are suspicious of everything Lewis is involved with".⁶⁹ William George also, 'confidentially', expressed his discontent and spoke of resigning his position.⁷⁰ The basis for his dissatisfaction revolved around some of the Committee's decision making, especially its initial rejection of his proposal for an amalgamation with the National Union of Welsh Societies. The Chairman, W. J. Gruffydd, and

⁶⁵ T. I. Ellis' letter to Archibald Sinclair (Air Ministry), 18 March 1941, UCF Papers, Box A1, NLW.

⁶⁶ T. I. Ellis' letter to D. R. Hughes, 20 March 1941, UCF Papers, Box A1, NLW.

⁶⁷ The *Defence Committee* was backed by the *National Eisteddfod Council* and the *Urdd*, as well as representatives of the major religious and academic institutions of Wales. The *National Union of Welsh Societies* represented over a hundred Welsh language societies and boasted a combined affiliate membership of over 10,000. For more information, see Loeffler, 'Eu Hiaith a Gadwant', 124–152; Loeffler, *The Welsh Language Movement*, 181–215.

⁶⁸ This resulted in some Welsh MPs believing that the Welsh Nationalists were more influential on the Committee than they were. See, for example, D. Owen Evans' (Liberal MP), letter to Artemis Evans (Secretary of the National Union of Welsh Societies), 31 August 1940. UCF Papers, Box A3, NLW.

⁶⁹ D. E. Evans' letter to D. R. Hughes, 9 January 1940, UCF Papers, Box A3, NLW; D. R. Hughes' letter to D. Emrys Evans, 10 January 1940, UCF Papers, Box A3, NLW.

⁷⁰ T. I. Ellis' letter from D. T. Morgan (Secretary of *National Union of Welsh Societies*), 22 January 1940, UCF Papers, Box A3, NLW.

Saunders Lewis also disliked each other intensely.⁷¹ The reason for the animosity is unclear, but it was apparent during their time as prominent members of the Welsh Nationalist Party, when the two disagreed strongly as to the future direction the party should take. Overall, however, the unification of the Defence Committee and the National Union of Welsh Societies gave new impetus to this cultural project, although the Eisteddfod Council – the Defence Committee’s originator and largest financial backer, withdrew its financial support at the time of the merger, quoting potential overlap in activities between the new organisation and the Eisteddfod Council.

The New Wales Union (the Union) published its aims, which represented the interests of both earlier organisations. But at the core of these aims was the objective of maintaining and promoting the Welsh language, and Welsh culture and traditions, both within Wales and for those outside it. There was no detailed discussion as to what was included in Welsh culture, but initiatives suggest that they were the traditional Eisteddfodau activities, religious participation (of any denomination), and the teaching of Welsh history and traditions. The published aims of *Undeb Cymru Fydd* were:

- To safeguard Welsh interests and maintain, throughout Wales, arrangements for the protesting (sic) and developing of Welsh social life, in accordance with Welsh tradition.
- To secure for the place of Welsh language as an official language in Wales.
- To secure that Welsh education is founded on Welsh life and traditions.
- To stimulate the activity of Welsh societies, and unite their efforts in order to realise the aims of the Union.
- To keep Welsh societies outside Wales, and Welsh people in dispersion, in touch with the life of Wales.

Within a year *Undeb Cymru Fydd* had its first major success with the introduction of the 1942 Welsh Courts Act,⁷² allowing Welsh speakers to

⁷¹ R. G. Jones, *A Bid for Unity* (Aberystwyth: Undeb Cymru Fydd 1971, 19).

⁷² This campaign had been initiated by the *National Union of Welsh Societies* in 1938, following the arson trial of the three Welsh Nationalists, but had stalled on

give testimony in their native tongue. Although this Act did not go as far as many had hoped, it did, for the first time in 400 years, change the legal status of the Welsh language.⁷³ The Union worked with the Welsh Education authorities to recruit more Welsh-speaking teachers, and to publish more Welsh books, to improve the language of the next generation of Welsh speakers.⁷⁴ In addition, the Union wanted to improve the teaching of Welsh history and heritage. For this purpose, a Books Sub-Committee of specialist teachers and school inspectors was established, to consider what books about Wales were needed for schools, both in the English and Welsh languages. Having identified the voids, the movement contacted authors to write such books, and found publishers to print them.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, evacuation continued to dominate debates within the movement.

Plans to evacuate children from Cardiff and Swansea, now suffering from German bombing, to Westmoreland and Cumberland in the north of England, were strongly opposed by the new Union, which argued that, “it would be more sensible to re-evacuate Merseyside children who are already in Wales to Cumberland and Westmorland, and fill their places with children from South Wales”.⁷⁶ The evacuation of these children from South Wales to the north of England never materialised, and there was ultimately very little evacuation from Cardiff, whereas the children from Swansea were evacuated to Pembroke and Carmarthen in west Wales.⁷⁷

commencement of the war. Even before the two organisations had merged, the *Defence Committee* had taken the reins and re-commenced applying pressure to the Welsh Members of Parliament.

⁷³ ‘Welsh Courts Act 1942’, CH. 40 (London, HMSO 1942). Available via *UK Government Legislation* website, http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1942/40/pdfs/ukpga_19420040_en.pdf. Accessed 9 February 2016.

⁷⁴ T. I. Ellis, *Undeb Cymru Fydd* (Aberystwyth: Undeb Cymru Fydd 1948).

⁷⁵ Jones, *A Bid for Unity*, 29–30; ‘The New Wales Union: Support U.C.F. A Non-Party Organisation Pamphlet’ (Aberystwyth, May 1947), Selwyn Jones Papers, Box 49, NLW; ‘Minutes of the Second Meeting of the Book Sub-Committee’, October 1944, UCF Papers, Box 98, NLW.

⁷⁶ T. I. Ellis’ letter to Megan Lloyd George, 29 April 1941, UCF Papers, Box A1, NLW; ‘Minutes of the 15th Meeting of the Executive Committee, 4 April 1941’, UCF Papers, Box A3, NLW.

⁷⁷ T. I. Ellis’ letter to Rachel Davies, 20 May 1941, UCF Papers, Box A1, NLW; Ellis’ letter to Gwynfor Evans, 20 May 1941, UCF Papers, Box A1, NLW.

There was equal concern about the cultural welfare of young men and women who were required to leave Wales. To help maintain their national identity, a number of initiatives were launched. Ellis corresponded with the Council for the Encouragement of Music and Arts (CEMA), the Entertainment National Service Association (ENSA), and with the National Council of Music in Cardiff, to arrange for Welsh choirs and musicians to visit locations with high concentrations of Welsh personnel. Such a concert was organised near Shrewsbury in 1941.⁷⁸ Ellis also passed on ENSA correspondence from one Welsh soldier who proposed the need for a Welsh Concert Party, “for Welshmen in the forces who retain a definite affection for a form of entertainment which is less low-brow than that which seems to appeal to the ordinary English soldier”.⁷⁹ The use of Welsh entertainment, as beneficial as it was, still only reached a small number of the Welsh in dispersion. The Union treasurer, D. R. Hughes, came up with a method of reaching many more Welshmen and women, through a new newsletter.

Cofion Cymru (Regards from Wales) was a four-page Welsh language newsletter published by the Union in Bangor, and distributed free to service personnel all over the world. It contained poems, short stories, religious extracts, and news from Wales. At its peak, 26,000 copies a month were being printed.⁸⁰ It is clear from correspondence that these were passed around amongst Welsh soldiers. Its true readership was therefore likely to be significantly greater than the numbers printed. A comparison with the 2,000 circulation of the *Welsh Nationalist*, the Welsh Nationalist Party’s own newspaper, in 1939, gives an indication of the popularity of this cultural project.⁸¹ One of the most significant elements of the bulletin was the section that listed details of local Welsh centres and families, who would welcome Welsh soldiers, however far from home

⁷⁸ CEMA (*The Council for the Encouragement of Music and Arts*) was established by the British Government in 1940 to promote British culture. After the war it became the *Arts Council of Great Britain*. ENSA (Entertainment National Service Association) was established in 1939 to provide entertainment to British Armed Forces during the war.

⁷⁹ T. I. Ellis’ letter to M. C. Glasgow (at CEMA), 30 September and 8 October 1941; Ellis’ letter to Charles McLean at *National Council of Music*, 30 September 1941, UCF Papers, Box A4/1 NLW.

⁸⁰ Ellis, *The New Wales Union*, 8.

⁸¹ Plaid Cymru report 1938 quoted in Philip, *The Welsh Question*, 18.

they travelled. One of the first issues, in May 1941, listed 21 locations across England and Scotland. Soldiers, too, were encouraged to organise Welsh centres wherever they were based, and by 1944, Welsh centres were located in such exotic locations as Delhi, Durban, Alexandria, Haifa, Naples, and many others, as well as across the British Isles.⁸² One of the most noteworthy was the centre based on Main Street, Gibraltar, unofficially called *Y Ddraig ar y Graig*, or 'The Dragons on the Rock'.⁸³ For the welfare of women conscripted into the war factories in England, who were 'in grave danger of losing their roots, both spiritual and cultural', Welsh Liaison Officers, such as Mair Rees Jones and Emma Williams, were recruited, and relocated into these areas to ensure the women were not 'corrupted' while away from home.⁸⁴

The Union worked closely with the Welsh MPs, government ministries, local Councils and Education Authority and Government committees, such as Welsh Reconstruction (Advisory Council) and the Central Advisory Council on Education (Wales), on a host of projects to try to improve wartime and post-war Wales.⁸⁵ Much of the success enjoyed by the organisation was due to the drive and commitment of its secretary, Tom Iorwerth Ellis (or T. I. Ellis as he preferred to be called), the son of the 'apostle of Cymru Fydd' (a movement of the 1880s),

⁸² See for example *Trydydd Llyfr Anrheg Cyfres y Cofion*, Rh. 3, Gwanwyn 1944 (Third Special Gift Book, 'Cofion' Series, Iss. 3, Winter 1944), but each issue contains such details. For access to a full set of these newsletters, including the Special Gift Books, see *Cofion Collection*, Box X/ID 295 Cof., Bangor University Archives, Bangor.

⁸³ M. Hughes' letter to Ivor E. Davies, July 1942, Ivor E. Davies Papers, XM/4046, Caernarfon Record Office, Gwynedd Archives.

⁸⁴ T. I. Ellis, *Undeb Cymru Fydd Memorandum ar y Merched yn y Ffatrioedd* 'New Wales Union Memorandum on Women in the Factories', October 1943, UCF Papers, Box 259, NLW; 'Minutes of the Sub-Committee of Undeb Cymru Fydd and the Churches', 17 March 1944, UCF Papers, Box 259, NLW.

⁸⁵ See for example Henry Morris-Jones' letter to Ellis, 9 July 1942, UCF Papers, Box A17, NLW; J. Edward Mason's (Director of Education, Carmarthenshire County Council) letter to Ellis advising that the *Education Committee* had resolved to take no action on the points raised on the Evacuees by the *Defence Committee*, 30 September 1941, UCF Papers, Box A3, NLW; Ellis' letter to Peter Scott, 17 March 1941 UCF Papers, Box A1, NLW; Ellis' letter to T. Alwyn Lloyd, 9 April 1941, UCF Papers, Box A1, NLW.

Thomas Edward Ellis.⁸⁶ Ellis, who was raised in non-conformist chapels, but later converted to Anglicanism, was an academic, youth worker, and writer, with links to the University of Wales Guild of Graduates, the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, and the National Library of Wales. He acted as leader, as well as secretary, of the Union, and, as highlighted by Philip, Ellis, “through his many contacts ... secured access for the Undeb’s [Union’s] viewpoint at every level of government, at a time when little special attention was given to Welsh affairs”.⁸⁷ It is unlikely to be a coincidence that it was during this wartime period that Wales was first acknowledged by the British Government as an independent administrative region, with the establishment of these Welsh Reconstruction Councils.

While the formation of these Councils was positive for Wales, it was widely accepted that, in order to plan for the future, detailed information about the impact of war was required. The Reconstruction Councils obtained their information by sample surveying,⁸⁸ a technique developed by Mass Observation during the early part of the war.⁸⁹ The Union, being sceptical that this method would give a complete picture, decided in 1943, somewhat ambitiously, to organise its own survey. From each parish in Wales, one person or group was nominated to complete the ‘Survey of Condition of Social Life in Wales’ (*Ymchwil Undeb Cymru Fydd i Gyflwr Bywyd Cymdeithasol Cymru*), a booklet which contained 234 questions, separated into five categories, on different aspects of life in Wales. The survey addressed a number of old concerns, enquiring about teaching Welsh in schools, the teaching of Welsh tradition and history, the availability of Welsh books, and Welsh speaking teachers. There were several questions relating to the effect of evacuees, such as ‘Did (their presence) change the atmosphere of the school?’, and, ‘What was the effect of this ‘alien influence’ on households?’ Surprisingly, most

⁸⁶ K. O. Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation* (Oxford: Clarendon 1981, 251).

⁸⁷ M. G. Ellis, *Ellis, Thomas Iorwerth*, *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, National Library of Wales website, <http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/s2-ELLI-IOR-1899>. html. Accessed 17 January 2016; Philip, *The Welsh Question*, 210.

⁸⁸ P. Scott, ‘Report to Wales Survey Board’, 26 September 1942, UCF Papers, Box 43, NLW; Sample Surveying, as the name suggests, involves taking a small cross section sample of a group or community, asking them questions and then using these results to determine the views of the overall group or community.

⁸⁹ M. Savage, *Identities and Social Change in Britain Since 1940: The Politics of Method* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2010, 203–204).

responses indicated that evacuees caused little or no change to the atmosphere of the school – this may have been because in most schools the evacuees were educated separately, often operating a ‘classroom share’, with local children in the morning and evacuees in the afternoon.⁹⁰ Another factor worth noting is that by 1943/4, when this survey was being completed, large numbers of children had already left rural Wales and returned home. While the atmosphere of schools had not changed, many responders do refer to a reduction in the use of the Welsh language, confirming, at least in part, Saunders Lewis’ pre-war fears.⁹¹

Apart from the evacuees, another cause of Anglicisation was that members of the military stationed around Wales had little or no interest in Welsh classes, or indeed Welsh affairs. However, this also meant they had little or no impact on local religious services, although one minister in Anglesey disagreed, complaining that he was required to preach in English for the following Sunday’s Royal Air Force church parade; “This will be the first time ever that a service will be held in English in this chapel, which is well over a hundred years old”.⁹² Music halls and card schools also received close attention. The survey enquired as to who was promoting these dances and card schools, and what language was used within them. In a reproachful tone, it asked, “Have they increased in popularity, and is this due to the influx of outsiders?” While the responses vary considerably by area, there is general agreement that English was the usual language in these increasingly common pastimes, but in most cases, the events were sponsored by Welsh people, or by people from both nationalities working together. This was unlikely to be the response the Union was hoping for.

The undertaking of such a survey, which resulted in over a hundred answer booklets returned from across Wales, is a clear demonstration of both the organisational ability of the Union and the support it engendered. Even though these questionnaires were completed by a narrow section of the population – mainly academics, religious ministers, or nationalist

⁹⁰ ‘Education and Welsh Culture: Caernarvonshire Director of Education Views’, *Holyhead Chronicle* (8 March 1940, 2).

⁹¹ See, for example, the responses to the *Undeb Cymru Fydd. Survey of Condition of Social Life in Wales*, 1943 for Crymych and Llanfyrnach in Pembrokeshire, Y Faenor, Aberystwyth. UCF Papers, Box 165, NLW.

⁹² J. Talwrn-Jones’ letter to Ellis, 28 November 1940, UCF Papers, Box A3, NLW.

activists – they still contain a very rare insight into life of wartime Wales, and reflect the impact that government wartime measures had on Welsh culture and identity.

The differing approaches of the Welsh Nationalist Party and *Undeb Cymru Fydd* to the challenges of affiliation of two separate ‘imagined communities’ during World War Two, are striking. The politically-motivated Welsh Nationalist Party attempted to separate these affiliations, and promoted Welsh interests by criticising England at every opportunity. This approach lost them public support, with most Welsh historians agreeing with Andrew Edwards and Wil Griffith that the Welsh Nationalist Party was in complete disarray by 1943.⁹³ D. Hywel Davies’ and Laura MacAllister’s histories of the party concur that the war was a disastrous period for the Party.⁹⁴ In contrast, *Undeb Cymru Fydd*, not only accepted, but promoted, affiliation to both communities, Wales was, and is, part of Great Britain, and they acknowledged that both interests needed to be protected. *Undeb Cymru Fydd* worked with the authorities to promote Welsh interests, and, where government measures to defend Britain proved detrimental to Welsh culture, they took steps to limit the impact. This policy gained them the support of every major organisation in Wales, and helped them to establish an extensive national network of branches. These differing approaches, and the variance in support for each, also suggests an escalating severance between political nationalism and cultural nationalism in Wales, that, according to John Davies, had begun even before the war started.⁹⁵ Davies and others have argued that the people of Wales felt closely affiliated to the larger community of Great Britain during the wartime period.⁹⁶ However, the popularity of the Defence Committee and *Undeb Cymru Fydd* demonstrates that the people

⁹³ A. Edwards and W. Griffith, ‘Welsh National Identity and Governance, 1918–45’, in Tanner et al., eds., *Debating Nationhood and Governance in Britain, 1885–1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press 2006, 118–146).

⁹⁴ D. H. Davies, *The Welsh Nationalist Party, 1925–1945: A Call to Nationhood* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press 1983); L. McAllister, *Plaid Cymru: The Emergence of a Political Party* (Bridgend: Seren 2001).

⁹⁵ Davies, *Hanes Cymru*, 366.

⁹⁶ See for example J. Davies, *History of Wales*, 2nd edition (London: Penguin 2007, 602); J. G. Jones, ‘Wales Since 1900’, in P. Morgan, ed., *The Tempus History of Wales*, 231; R. Weight, *National Identity in Britain 1940–2000* (London: Pan 2003, 16).

of Wales equally refused to allow their culture to decline, confirming a strong affiliation to their Welshness. This affiliation to the dual ‘imagined communities’ of nation and nation state sat comfortably with the majority of the people of Wales during the period, and therefore, in answer to the question ‘Welsh or British in times of trouble?’, for the Second World War period at least, the answer was both.

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