New Perspectives on MODERN WALES

Studies in Welsh Language, Literature and Social Politics

Edited by Sabine Asmus and Katarzyna Jaworska-Biskup

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CONTENTS

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 WAR[1]

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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

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[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

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[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

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[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

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[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

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[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

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[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

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[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. Daniel[42] 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.

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[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,

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[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]

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[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 *Urdd Gobaith Cymru*.
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 *Cofion Cymru*.
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.

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[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 *Plaid* 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,

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[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

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[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

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[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 Artems 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

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[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]

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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

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[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),

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[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

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[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

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[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

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[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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CHAPTER TWO

LOCAL OR NATIONAL?
GENDER, PLACE AND IDENTITY IN POST-DEVOLUTION WALES' LITERATURE

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1979 in Wales heralded a new canon of literature that directly reacted to the failed devolution vote during that year, captured in both prose and poetry. However, the successful referendum of 1997, which led to the establishment of the Welsh Assembly Government in 1999, did not seem to ignite the same fervour in the nation's literary output. Was this simply because a failed historical event naturally incurs an element of backlash, whilst the positive vote had rendered a response unnecessary? Or did it possibly spur a more subtle and gradual forging of identity?

The decade following 1997 witnessed a substantial growth in publishing by young female novelists, such as Fflur Dafydd, Rachel Trezise, and Angharad Price. This new generation of writers signalled a rewriting of national narratives, with an array of distinct perspectives that challenged existing cultural constructions. Literature by women writers in the post-devolution era reminds us that identity is a fluid concept, and is composed of many different strands, in that geographical locations, gender, and language, interconnect with established symbols pertaining to nationality.

However, these literary works did not adhere to the tradition of highly masculine and openly nationalist literature of protest seen in the aftermath of 1979, or to the longstanding historical prestige of poetry as a medium for the Welsh literary tradition. Furthermore, Angharad Price affirms that the majority of Welsh-language authors do not acknowledge any direct effects of constitutional reform on their work in the period following 1997, apart from external factors such as growing national organizations and an increase in funding for creative projects. Dafydd Elis-Thomas, the

Assembly's first president, also attests that the establishment of the Assembly, in his opinion, did not act as a catalyst to literary production apart from influencing publishing policy.[1] Indeed, Alys Thomas claims that much of the Welsh public had not fully taken on board new political developments.[2]

In parallel, Welsh writing in English displays a more heightened awareness of the political context, but a direct engagement with the evolving influences was slow to gather momentum in the new millennium. Rosalyn Marron, in her PhD thesis on literature surrounding the Scottish and Welsh referendum, notes a substantial growth in the contribution of women to the literary sphere, in terms of the politics of representation in the years after devolution, but the explicit references to its effects remain sparse. Rather, Marron views their contribution as challenging the status quo of masculinity, and problematizing ideologies of nationhood, by transforming ideas of belonging on a local and national scale.[3]

Nonetheless, it is difficult to believe that such a momentous event in Welsh history did not inspire any attempts to reinvent the nation's identity, or to question it at least, from outside the political arena.

Literature, as part of a burgeoning culture, could signify an important alternative marker of identity, considering the close vote in the referendum and opinion polls which suggested that the public were not hugely enthusiastic towards the Assembly's activity. As Aaron and Williams note:

> At the same time, its creation has, seemingly, boosted Welsh self-confidence, particularly in cultural matters. The official transmission of authority to the Assembly in May 1999 was popularly celebrated as if it marked the coming into being of a liberated nation.[4]

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[1] D. W. Davies and T. D. Elis, 'Llenyddiaeth ôl-Gynulliad', *Taliesin* 126 (2005, 13).

[2] A. Thomas, 'Maitrez Chex Nous'? Awaiting the Quiet Revolution in Wales', in J. Aaron and C. Williams, eds., *Postcolonial Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press 2005, 97).

[3] R. Marron, 'Rewriting the Nation: A Comparative Study of Welsh and Scottish Women's Fiction from Wilderness Years to Post-Devolution'. PhD thesis (Glamorgan University 2011).

[4] J. Aaron and C. Williams, 'Preface', in J. Aaron and C. Williams, eds., *Postcolonial Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press 2005, xv).

Katie Gramich argues that this event 'undoubtedly changed both the concept and the reality of 'Wales' as a political, and, arguably, a cultural and social place':

> Welsh women's literary production at the turn of this century shows a strong awareness of Wales as a land emerging from a history of colonization and beginning to assert and celebrate a hybrid culture, created by that experience of colonization, yet now asserting its difference from a cohesive 'British' identity.[5]

Bogdanor also states that the previous lack of institutions forced writers to create a cultural arena for Welsh nationalism, based on factors such as language and religion, which have devolved importance in the modern world.[6]

Subsequently, one would presume that a politically-induced national awakening would be based on the newly-emerging cultural and political hub of Cardiff, the home of the Assembly. Whilst a proportion of authors make a conscious attempt to portray the Welsh capital and its new body, it is surprising that the works that have become well-known, as winners of various prestigious literary prizes in the post-devolution period, represent other aspects of Wales. As Francesca Rhydderch declares, "devolution heralded exciting changes: a growing critical appreciation of Welsh writing across the UK",[7] and a change in the shape of Wales: "A new aesthetic of place – or rather, place – is emerging".[8]

However, this paper argues that young emerging female novelists – deliberately or not – diverted attention from the urban centre where change was already underway, to other geographic spaces of significance, and thus projected a reconstruction of national identity that was fostered on a more local level. As Nigel Thrift notes, "Every literary representation of place is … an inherently political creation, just as every reading of a text offers the possibility of challenging received ideas about the politics of place".[9] Despite authors not overtly articulating symbols that represented a

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[5] K. Gramich, *Twentieth-Century Women's Writing in Wales: Land, Gender, Belonging* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press 2007, 183).

[6] V. Bogdanor, *Devolution in the UK* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1999, 144).

[7] F. Rhydderch, 'Out of the Flux', *New Welsh Review* 67 (2007, 3).

[8] F. Rhydderch, 'Shapes of Wales', *New Welsh Review* 57 (2002, 3).

[9] Quoted in: P. Jackson, *Maps of Meaning* (London: Routledge 1989, 44).

new form of political identity, the campaign toward a refreshed national self-determination in areas other than politics demanded alternative avenues of asserting the nation's characteristics.

Literature has acted as a means of resisting cultural colonization, therefore the prospect of self-governance could provide a supreme opportunity to deconstruct and destabilize traditional concepts of nationhood. Angharad Price, in her study of modernism in the 1990s, suggests that a democratic institution could replace literature as a political discussion forum,[10] but it could be argued that the literary medium may also constitute a catalyst. As Bohata states, 'literature is political' and 'aesthetics are neither neutral nor universal'.[11] Furthermore, fiction functions as an important tool for mediating a 'locational identity' within a political context, as a product of the imagination that endorses Benedict Anderson's claim of imagined national identities.[12]

Landscape and belonging

Cartographies of Culture by Damian Walford Davies explores the relationship between place and identity in Welsh literature written in English, which can be clearly delineated, but very few studies have attempted to acquire an understanding of this connection in Welsh-language literature, especially in the post-devolution context.

Cultural theorists are concerned with how people form meaningful relationships with localities, and how meaning is ascribed to space,[13] which provides a valuable springboard for considering the importance of place in the realm of identity creation. Darby asserts that fragmentation and homogeneity are found in an affiliation to place,[14] thus underpinning the idea of the nation as an adaptable concept. Anthony Smith has used the

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[10] A. Price, *Rhwng Gwyn a Du: Agweddau ar Ryddiaith Gymraeg y 1990au* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru 2002, 268).

[11] K. Bohata, 'Psycho-Colonialism Revisited', *New Welsh Review* 69 (2005, 39).

[12] L. Pearce, 'Devolution and the Politics of Re/Location', in L. Pearce, ed., *Devolving Identities* (Aldershot: Ashgate 2000, 3).

[13] S. Low and D. Lawrence-Zuniga, 'Locating Culture', in S. Low and D. Lawrence-Zuniga, eds., *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture* (Oxford: Blackwell 2003).

[14] W. Darby, *Landscape and Identity* (Bloomsbury, London 2000, 283).

term 'ethnoscape' to describe this synthesis,[15] whilst for Bhabha, the 'Third Space' arbitrates the ambiguity present in redrawing cultural character:

> ... though unrepresentable in itself, which constitutes the discursive conditions of enunciation that ensure that the meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity; that even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricized and read anew.[16]

Alice Entwistle, in her study of contemporary Welsh poetry, also describes 'geopolitical' poems as a location and a representation of cultural contexts, which underscore the political context of any cultural depictions of place.[17]

Jackson maintains that place is a highly-charged element in producing and reproducing culture, and that the act of reading landscapes becomes a thoroughly political process:

> Like any cartographic image, 'maps of meaning' codify knowledge and represent it symbolically. But like other maps, they are ideological instruments in the sense that they project a preferred reading of the material world with prevailing social relations mirrored in the depiction of physical space.[18]

Kirsti Bohata argues that place is one of 'the most important organizing concepts in postcolonial discourse and literature'.[19] Her description of the 'investment of familiar landscape with enormous emotional importance' found in postcolonial writing, is especially resonant with Angharad Price's book *O Tyn Y Gorchudd*, which won the Prose Medal in the National Eisteddfod in 2002. Although she has never lived in Maesglasau, the mid-Wales valley represented in the book, a strong bond is displayed with the place through tracing her family roots, and providing their historical themes, which are inextricably linked with nation-building.

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[15] A. D. Smith, *The Antiquity of Nations* (Cambridge: Polity 2004).

[16] H. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge 1994, 37).

[17] A. Entwistle, *Poetry, Geography, Gender: Women Rewriting Contemporary Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press 2013).

[18] Jackson, *Maps of Meaning*, 186.

[19] Bohata, 'Psycho-Colonialism Revisited', 80.

Through the fictional autobiography of Rebecca Jones, a relation of Price, the valley epitomizes a Welsh way of life which is central to her sense of identity – both on a personal and national level. Landscape, and an affinity with place, have occupied a fundamental marker of Welsh identity for centuries, and the aesthetic beauty of Wales has provided a rich thematic seam for literature in all forms.

Literature categorized as 'geopolitical' is often surrounded with loaded meaning, such as loss and displacement, but Jackson suggests that culture is inherently political, in the sense that they cannot be separated.[20] Topography, the practice of describing a place, has been deemed free of cultural interests,[21] but Duncan and Ley have claimed that landscape 'is anything but a neutral element,' as it is linked to social, political, and cultural values.[22] Therefore, the act of depicting a place in itself becomes a political process, as it comprises a complex web of influences. As Diarmuid Johnson states, the novel is distinctively Welsh, and mediates a 'cultural particularity'.[23]

The jeopardised culture portrayed by Price is fragile, but the landscape is projected as an organic source of strength, as change permeates the valley. Rebecca, the narrator, demarcates a record of Welsh culture and area history through a single pair of eyes. She internalizes the land as synonymous with her own life and fate, which chimes with poets, such as T. H. Parry Williams, who felt that the landscape was an essential part of his soul. Rebecca also enshrines the valley as an embodiment of her individual being, due to her familiarity with it: "I too have lived in this valley's quietness all my life … Cwm Maesglasau is my world. Its boundaries are my boundaries. To leave it will be unbearably painful".[24] Ian Davidson has stressed the importance of 'embodied awareness of concrete space' in relation to 'the notion of the decentralized concept, and

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[20] P. Jackson, *Maps of Meaning* (London: Routledge 1989).

[21] J. Duncan and D. Ley, 'Introduction: Representing the Place of Culture', in J. Duncan and D. Ley, eds., *Place, Culture, Representation* (London: Routledge 1993, 1).

[22] Duncan and Ley, 'Introduction: Representing the Place of Culture', 11.

[23] D. Johnson, 'Welsh Literature from a European Perspective', *New Welsh Review* 68 (2005, 42).

[24] A. Price, *The Life of Rebecca Jones*, trans. L. Jones (London: Maclehose 2012, 14–15).

the specific actual concrete situated experience coexists with more general concepts'.[25]

Rebecca associates herself overwhelmingly with the landscape of Maesglasau valley and Tynybraich, where the family is believed to have farmed for a thousand years, which is very fittingly encroached on the dawn of a new millennia. The lyrical evocation of the land's features becomes intertwined with her personal genealogy, where her own survival is equated with the continuation of the land and its way of life:

> My remains shall be scattered in the Valley. For it is to Maesglasau, with its mists and waters, that I give thanks for my own life … I once sought my own continuance in the continuance of the cwm. In the flow of the stream and in the slant of the mountain ... I sought my own continuance in the unchanging quietness of Cwm Maesglasau.[26]

Spatialization has strong connotations for the narrator's sense of Welshness, with symbolic signifiers such as the stream and mountain – almost mythical presences, and protectors of Welsh identity described in figurative extended images. As Simon Pugh articulates, "the experience of landscape is determined by descriptive language which modifies, even constitutes ways of seeing landscape".[27]

Each sub-chapter includes animated italicized descriptions of the landscape, often in female entities, a tradition seen in Welsh women's writing, according to Gramich.[28] Three whole pages are devoted to the personification of the stream:

> She has her moods like all of us … She's never the same, the stream in Cwm Maesglasau, changing from one day to the next. Having lived with her throughout my life, and despite all her transformations, I know her more intimately than the blood in my own veins. When the stream's flow

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[25] I. Davidson, *Ideas of Space in Contemporary Poetry* (Hampshire: Palgrave 2007, 49).

[26] Price, *The Life of Rebecca Jones*, 149.

[27] S. Pugh, 'Introduction: Stepping Out into the Open', in S. Pugh, ed., *Reading Landscape: Country-City-Capital* (Manchester University Press 1990, 3).

[28] Gramich, *Twentieth-Century Women's Writing in Wales: Land, Gender, Belonging*, 185.

comes to an end, so will my own life. Knowing this is what gives me peace.[29]

This description of the multidimensional personality of the stream exults the continuation of the valley,[30] as the sensual images of seasons convey the symbolic significance of water as an essential earth element which is constant, but also ever-changing.

The discursive power of the gendered description of the stream as 'she' also reinforces how Welshness is manifested through feminine eyes, where the landscape reflects an inverted identity: "And just like the stream at Maesglasau, these recollections are a product of the landscape in our part of rural mid-Wales at the beginning of the twentieth century. Its familiar bubbling comforts me".[31] Her alliance with water, soil, and mountain is conjured in embodied physical experiences, in what Gwion Hallam deems as 'daearydd-iaith' (geo-language),[32] as the stream characterizes life's journey: "It was not really like that, of course. The flow was halted frequently. Indeed, a stream is not the best metaphor for life's irregular flow between one dam and the next".[33] Infusing the stream with human features adds to her account of the circle of life and sense of belonging. Indeed, Bethan Williams argues that the stream and valley could be viewed as characters in the novel, due to their frequency,[34] which exemplifies the importance of the environment to the negotiation of identity.

In contrast to Price, Rachel Trezise is an inhabitant of the South Wales Rhondda valleys, and is a lucid and critical observer of her community and sense of place from within, as described in her first novel, *In and Out of the Goldfish Bowl*. Her novel, published in 2000, at the cusp of devolution, contrasts sharply with Price's romanticized view of the valley as a protector of tradition.

Trezise provides a very honest account of the community, which encounters a process of demystification and voluntary detachment, as the

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[29] Price, *The Life of Rebecca Jones*, 45.
[30] K. Gramich, 'Adolygiad o 'The Life of Rebecca'', *Traethodydd* (2011, 123).
[31] Price, *The Life of Rebecca Jones*, 38.
[32] G. Hallam, 'Adolygiad o 'The Life of Rebecca', *Taliesin* 140 (2010), 152–154.
[33] Price, *The Life of Rebecca Jones*, 39.
[34] B. Williams, 'O! Tyn y Gorchudd-Clasur Cyfoes?' MPhil (Aberystwyth University 2013, 55).

main character, Rebecca, runs away and returns to the 'dumb-institutional clutches of the Rhondda'.[35]

Theorists such as Cosgrove and Domosh have referred to the process of creating and inscribing meaning about places and spaces,[36] which involves mapping layers of meanings in literature: "… a series of cultural constructions, each representing a particular view of the world, to be consulted together to help us make sense of ourselves and our relation to the landscape and place we inhabit and think about".[37] Trezise captures the essence of the Valleys in contemporary Wales, a region affected by economic downturn, a direct result of political processes.

> My mother and I moved into a house on the outskirts of the estate shortly before Christmas ... by which time it was the drug and crime capital of the Valleys; and the most mentioned location on the subject of poverty and trouble anywhere in Wales. Surrounded by forest and a two-mile stretch from civilisation ... it was prison for the innocent and a haven for the criminal.[38]

Her use of place is central to the manifestation of a fractured identity as she creates a distorted reality: "She foregrounds her character's location and emphasizes the particular topographical space in order to contest the discourses surrounding the concept of Wales".[39]

Fflur Dafydd, who won the Prose Medal in the National Eisteddfod in 2006, chose Bardsey Island as a setting for her characters in her novel, *Atyniad*. Similar to the isolation of the valleys portrayed by Trezise and Price, the island represents a particular space where characterization unfolds in response to the landscape, and is a site where meanings are renegotiated.

In the Welsh-language version, it is interesting that she refrains from any explicit references to devolution, using the island as a site of

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[35] R. Trezise, *In and Out of the Goldfish Bowl* (Cardigan: Parthian 2000, 73).

[36] D. Cosgrove and M. Domosh, 'Author and Authoring: Writing the New Cultural Geography', in J. Duncan and D. Ley, eds., *Place, Culture, Representation* (London: Routledge 1993, 27).

[37] Cosgrove and Domosh, *Author and Authoring: Writing the New Cultural Geography*, 27.

[38] Trezise, *In and Out of the Goldfish Bowl*, 50.

[39] Marron, 'Rewriting the Nation: A Comparative Study of Welsh and Scottish Women's Fiction from the Wilderness Years to Post-Devolution', 135.

contesting identities and exploring its effects on individual perceptions, relationships between characters, and their inner desires. All the characters experience some sort of transformation in attitudes or change in worldview, borne directly out of their inhabiting this space:

> ... the relationship between people and their surroundings encompasses more than attaching meaning to space. It involves the recognition and cultural elaboration of perceived properties of environments in mutually constituting ways through narratives and praxis.[40]

In contrast, her English-language adaptation, *Twenty Thousand Saints*, published in 2010, uses the island as a potent political weapon that interpolates between ideas of separation and connectedness through its boundaries.

As Rodman notes, a place embeds a plethora of complexities which are manifested in the projection of national identity: "Places are not inert containers. They are politicized, culturally relative, historically specific, local and multiple constructions".[41] The separation from the mainland, which is also a feature of 'geopolitical' writing, at first represents marginalisation, where this liminal space acts as a clear barrier to civilisation for some characters. For others, it is a saviour and defender of values, as Maesglasau is for Price. Mererid, the writer in residence, says: "The island guards her, as it guards all of the islanders".[42]

The English-language version introduces a completely new character, Viv, a nun who lives in voluntary exile on Bardsey following the failed referendum of 1979. In a confrontation, Viv justifies her decision to leave the mainland, and the island is portrayed as an escape route from the political tensions of the time, representing an independent Wales. Even though they did not live in the capital, being on the mainland was too close for her to the turmoil of Wales:

> We moved here because it seemed to be so separate somehow, from all the rest of it. An island that governed itself, even if it didn't politically. Where everyone spoke Welsh. I didn't want to be in Wales, but I couldn't leave it

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[40] Low and Lawrence-Zuniga, 'Locating Culture', 14.

[41] M. Rodman, 'Empowering Place: Multilocality and Mulivocality', in S. Low and D. Lawrence-Zuniga, eds., *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture* (Oxford: Blackwell 2003, 205).

[42] Ff. Dafydd, *Twenty Thousand Saints* (Talybont: Lolfa 2010, 46).

entirely. It seemed plausible enough at the time. It seemed like the only option.[43]

The island is elevated by more than beauty alone, as a nucleus for Viv's identity, a strategy that resonates with Price's novel, in the sense that the landscape becomes so enmeshed within a person that it cannot be separated:

> She'd grown closer to the island these past few years. It was speaking to her in a different voice. It wasn't merely the island's beauty that kept her going now, year after stubborn year, but something deeper, something so indelibly woven into the island's landscape it didn't even have a name.[44]

As Price bridges epochs of time by describing the tranquility of Maesglasau, Dafydd also expressed that Bardsey is 'above time', as she recorded her own experiences as a writer in residence there.[45] It is almost as if the landscape causes time to stand still, 'turning quietly on a different axis, where every second is slow', indicating that place and time are both generators of meaning for a particular space.

Local or global?

These authors sought to depict a very specific locality, which enhances the authenticity of their reappraisal of local culture within a national context. Welsh culture, faced with the threat of Americanization and globalization, can intensify the search for a local assurance. Hughes suggests that one response to globalization is an 'increasingly localized sense of place' where regionality is a strength in the way it could map broader contours: '... because the microscopic may well turn out to be one of the best ways to fully register the macroscopic, to give it meaning without overwhelming us'.[46]

Agnew has argued that the scale of a place can be significant on a local, national, and global level, where culture refers to a 'matrix of

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[43] Dafydd, *Twenty Thousand Saints*, 185.
[44] Dafydd, *Twenty Thousand Saints*, 25.
[45] Ff. Dafydd, 'Nos Sadwrn Wyllt', *Barn* (September 2002).
[46] T. Hughes, 'From Yoknapatawpha to Ynys Môn', *New Welsh Review* 69 (2005, 24).

socially constructed practices and ideas that 'mediate' between location and social processes'.[47] Two interpretive communities come to the fore in linking space, scale, and culture, where space is seen as national and modern, increasingly displacing traditional local areas, or as structural units which are fixed and constant, due to relationships with each other.

A parallel can also be drawn with gender, as females have been associated with living more local lives than men. Despite problematizing the local and global in this way, Massey states: 'None the less, in terms of the usual meaning of the word 'local', the association with the feminine probably does have some symbolic force'.[48] Her correlations between place and the construction of the woman are reminiscent of the authors explored here; both a romanticized notion of place, and a longing for place, in the form of nostalgia and aestheticism, are evident in Price's work, and to some degree Dafydd's: "In both versions, and whether longed for or feared (or both), place is interpreted as being important in the search for identity in this supposedly troubled era of time-space compression".[49] Gramich has argued that Welsh women writers construct a "distinctively Welsh topography, largely through use of symbolic place,[50] and furthermore, that this allegiance to a 'square mile' can be 'manipulated by writers into a microcosm of the larger whole which is Wales'.[51]

Women were largely invisible in the political domain until the establishment of the National Assembly.[52] It could be construed that the lack of political engagement of women in politics invited another form of

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[47] J. Agnew, 'Representing Space: Space, Scale and Culture in Social Science', in J. Duncan and D. Ley, eds., *Place, Culture, Representation* (London: Routledge 2003, 251–252).

[48] D. Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Cambridge: Polity 1994, 9).

[49] Massey, *Space, Place and Gender*, 10.

[50] Gramich, *Twentieth-Century Women's Writing in Wales: Land, Gender Belonging*, 207.

[51] Gramich, *Twentieth-Century Women's Writing in Wales: Land, Gender Belonging*, 2–3.

[52] J. Osmond, 'Nation Building and the Assembly: The Emergence of a Welsh Civic Consciousness', in A. Trench, ed., *Has Devolution Made a Difference? The State of the Nations* (Exeter: Imprint 2004, 69).

representation,[53] and that their participation was voiced through other mediums, such as literature. Yuval-Davis asserts that the gendered aspect of nations should only be contextualised within an understanding of nationalist ideologies and the state in specific historic moments,[54] which is useful here to consider the impact of a national historical landmark on women's literature.

Many scholars have noted that the fusion between gender and geography is in its infancy, which may account for the lack of consideration of these themes in current research, with the exception of Jane Aaron's study of nineteenth century women's literature and Alice Entwistle's analysis of contemporary poetry by women. Davis also argues that theorizations about nations and nationalism have ignored gender relations as irrelevant.[55]

Nevertheless, Price's advocation for the preservation of the Valley's way of life from a female standpoint, could be interpreted as an attempt to guard established Welsh values in the face of changes on a national level. The landscape is indeed part of Rebecca, she believes, in the depths of her individual soul, but is also a fixed entity that bears a temporal quality, and is able to be shared by others. This particular space connects places and time through history, and as it transitions into a modern world, whilst the land and people allow it to span different periods. As the translator notes: "Maesglasau is a living, breathing place, and this book perhaps a way of life which is disappearing quickly, whilst also recognizing the Valley as an arena for eternity itself".[56] In this, partly nostalgic, view of the Valley, and an attempt to reconnect with her forefathers, it is also possible that Price is 'rehistoricizing' the place in an innovative manner, along with facing up to the inevitable changes it faces, which may redefine the future of the Welsh way of life in a similar rural location. In this context, tracing generations through the symbolic power of a particular place could also reflect the

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[53] S. Betts, J. Borland and P. Chaney, 'Inclusive Government for Excluded Groups: Women and Disabled People', in S. Betts, J. Borland and P. Chaney, eds., *New Governance*, *New Democracy* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press 2001).

[54] N. Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation* (London: Sage 1997, 4).

[55] N. Yuval-Davis, 'Gender and Nations', in R. Wilford and R. Miller, eds., *Women, Ethnicity and Nationalism* (London: Routledge 1998, 23).

[56] L. Jones, 'Introduction', in A. Price, *The Life of Rebecca Jones*, trans. L. Jones (London: Maclehose 2012).

twofold process of maintaining history, whilst also adapting to changes on a national or even global level.

Despite historical events and changes, the Valley remains the same in one sense, a solid unified place: "All this has been witnessed by Cwm Maesglasau, but the cwm remains as it was … So it is. So it shall be".[57] But suddenly she contradicts herself, suggesting that we should not be blind to change, and refers to global processes: "I am deceiving myself, of course. Because I cannot see the erosion of the cwm. We are all blind to the polluting forces of industry, modern farming, global economics. Chernobyl. BSE. Foot and Mouth. The threat to indigenous flocks".[58] The refashioning of national identity will continue, as will the fixed landscape: "The work is unfinished. And thus it will remain, until the end of the family, until the end of the cwm".[59] The location of a novel represents more than a mere backdrop, as it become organically intertwined with community and social processes on a national level. As Agnew quotes: "Geography, therefore, is implicated *in* social processes, rather than being a 'backdrop' or a 'board' upon which social processes are inscribed".[60]

Comparisons could be made here with Twm Morys, a poet who grapples with national issues through an exploration of the local, especially ancestral, landmarks.[61] Renouncing direct criticism of Cardiff, he promotes the local, and voices a form of cultural nationalism that contrasts with the developing civic identity formed by democracy.[62] Price and Morys view an intrinsic connection between the language, culture, and land, in an ecological sense, a premise which resonates with the philosopher J. R. Jones, who believed in the relation between language and land as a basis of nationality.[63]

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[57] Price, *The Life of Rebecca Jones*, 151.
[58] Price, *The Life of Rebecca Jones*, 151.
[59] Price, *The Life of Rebecca Jones*, 155.
[60] Agnew, *Representing Space: Space, Scale and Culture in Social Science*, 264.
[61] M. M. Jones, 'Wyneb yn Wyneb: Hunaniaethau Llenyddol Cymraeg a Chymreig yn erbyn cefndir Refferenda 1979 ac 1997'. PhD thesis (Bangor University 2012, 82).
[62] Jones, 'Wyneb yn Wyneb: Hunaniaethau Llenyddol Cymraeg a Chymreig yn erbyn Cefndir Refferenda 1979 ac 1997', 94.
[63] Jones, 'Wyneb yn Wyneb: Hunaniaethau Llenyddol Cymraeg a Chymreig yn erbyn Cefndir Refferenda 1979 ac 1997', 81.

Trezise, on the other hand, captures the harsh realities of the Rhondda through her main character, Rebecca, and, in her rejection of stereotypical Welsh identity, her resistance to gender inequality is illustrated by the process of providing her with a central voice in the narrative in a certain individualism: "For women, narrating the self can be seen as curative and vitalizing as well as rebellious, and this is especially relevant for women living in the South Wales valleys, a hitherto political and culturally masculinized landscape".[64] In this context, the synthesis of gender and place is a fruitful combination, in terms of reflecting national issues through a particular individual:

> Trezise's text is an examination of the geographical zone (s) which inhabit the fringes. It provides a narrative on the effects of the material, the social, and the economic on the marginalised individual and shows how a centralised power and authority controls and influences the community, the individual and that individual's subjectivity.[65]

Although Dafydd delves into the souls of numerous characters who inhabit the island for various periods of time, her main character, Viv, is the most political of all. This mother figure encompasses the political elements of her writing, in that the failed 1979 public vote has informed her life choices.

Domosh and Cosgrove stress the importance of gender in the 'cultural interpretation of space and concept of landscape' as 'many traditional geographical and spatial metaphors are heavily gendered'.[66] In Dafydd's novel, the mainland represents male figures who are not political activists: "Wales was still full of all those hateful no-voters, she couldn't go through that again. The likes of Jeremy and her husband".[67] In contrast, Marron believes the island typifies a 'topographical detachment' and 'spatial separation' where women find a constructive space to create new meanings, without the dominant patriarchal structures of the mainland. Massey

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[64] Marron, 'Rewriting the Nation: A Comparative Study of Welsh and Scottish Women's Fiction from the Wilderness Years to Post-Devolution', 143.
[65] Marron, 'Rewriting the Nation: A Comparative Study of Welsh and Scottish Women's Fiction from the Wilderness Years to Post-Devolution', 132.
[66] Cosgrove and Domosh, *Author and Authoring: Writing the New Cultural Geography*, 25–38.
[67] Dafydd, *Twenty Thousand Saints*, 214.

affirms that confinement to place and limitation of identity are similarly poised, usually culminated in women's restrictive mobility.[68] This trait is particularly detectable in Dafydd's novel, but also in Price and Trezise's work, where the native locality does restrain the female's movement to a certain extent.

The island represents a liminal space where cultural symbols are staged, and identities renegotiated as the characters discover themselves. Similar to Price's link between the characters and landscape, the historic meaningfulness of the island that creates a spiritual connection with topography allows them to consider their individual identities on a broader level, especially in the case of Viv, who becomes a nun after moving to Bardsey. Iestyn, Viv's son, suggests she should visit Cardiff, to which she at first replies with reluctance, saying "This is my home now. Some of us *like* living on the margins".[69] Ultimately, Viv decides to visit Cardiff, and as she approaches the city, described vividly by Dafydd, the island and city are united as she witnesses the government building in Cardiff Bay:

> How peculiar, she thought, that what she was stood on now was also a kind of island, a piece of land completely segmented from the rest of the city. … And they truly were on an island now, she thought, all of them: the building behind her confirmed it. All the time she had been away, Wales had been prising itself away from the mainland at its border … she was not on the margins anymore, but at the very centre of something that was fast becoming as much of an island as Enlli could ever hope to be, an island that really spoke out to the rest of the world; the waters around it still and calm, the boats never ceasing to come and go.[70]

A positive image of the island is restored as a symbolic trope for the decentralized nation which enjoys a degree of autonomy. These conflicting categorizations for the island suggest that the landscape can implement a multitude of meanings for Welsh identity, both as a marker of freedom and imprisonment. Despite Viv's isolation from contemporary Wales, her Welsh identity is reasserted by returning to Cardiff, thus transforming the symbol of the island from a liminal to a central space where meanings are positively renegotiated. Oscillating between both referendums, past and

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[68] Massey, *Space, Place and Gender*, 179.
[69] Dafydd, *Twenty Thousand Saints*, 221.
[70] Dafydd, *Twenty Thousand Saints*, 243.

present, reminds readers of women's contribution to political activism; Viv played a key part in the 1979 devolution campaign. Regaining her confidence in Wales brings her back to the core of the national movement, a journey which is gendered throughout the novel.

All the female authors discussed use gendered subjects as narrators, thus giving agency to feminist perspectives of nationality. Price uses Rebecca to commemorate a transient way of life in the Welsh countryside, and referring to her as a 'seamstress' binds the characteristics of identity together at the end. For Trezise and Dafydd, their female subjects mirror estrangement and alienation. Whilst all main characters endure suffering in their characterization of their community, each author reclaims power by ending on an uplifting note, and simply by their exclusive possession of the narrative.

The Welsh language

Following devolution, the issue of language remains a divisive one in Wales, and literature can be a way of conveying the politics of language in interaction with gender and place in the national struggle. It can be vital to a shared sense of belonging, as well as contributing to alienation and dislocation, and the way it intersects with various domains provides ample opportunity to dismantle and reconfigure nationhood.

A young generation of male poets, such as Hywel Griffiths and Rhys Iorwerth, has used the civic power of the capital to portray a new kind of Welsh identity very much based on the growth of the language in different domains, as opposed to its preservation in the linguistic heartland. As Bohata notes, "The importance of the language in the construction and contestation of place is central, and the Welsh language has certainly been represented in certain discourses as infinitely, even organically associated with place".[71] This emphasis on the re-birth of the language in a more legislative and celebratory context within the poetry medium contrasts sharply with the novelists, who characterize a threatened culture based on a more traditional foundation.

Whilst Price celebrates the survival of the language in its strongholds, the persistent threat of loss casts a shadow on the future of Welsh identity

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[71] K. Bohata, *Postcolonialism Revisited* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press 2004, 97).

in its established form, a demise which is not so eminent in the enthused declaration of the city's capacity to re-energize identity. It is interesting that the word *cwm* is the only Welsh word used throughout the English translation, suggesting that the translation of 'valley' is untranslatable, due to its importance as a defining concept of identity. References to history and Welsh-language culture also deepen the significance of the ancient landscape as a hallmark of identity, a potent weapon against colonization by reiterating the nation's collective memory, albeit fragmented to express the peril of its loss. As Thacker maintains, metaphoric and natural spaces are linked to histories of social space in a literary text.[72]

Conversely, Trezise espouses a fresh outlook on a very different Welsh identity manifested in the Welsh valleys – a sobering reality not based on the Welsh language, and with no reference to it.

As Dylan Phillips argues, perhaps the most potent threat for the language in postcolonial Wales is an ironic one:

> The creation of the Assembly may have given Welsh people a new focus of their national identity strong enough to leave them without further need of the language as a defining characteristic of their uniqueness and singularity in post-colonialist development where the formerly colonized country is, through its culture, determinedly considering its options. [73]

Again, Dafydd reconciles these different approaches by championing the positive effect of devolution on the indigenous language in Cardiff, as a modern and metropolitan Wales develops. At first, it is perhaps significant that Viv welcomes other nuns to the island, "my home, my haven, my world"[74] in italicized Welsh. This decision may underline the importance of expressing certain crucial concepts, such as place, in the native tongue, a linguistic strategy which is politicized in itself and echoes Price's use of *cwm*. As Gordon and Williams note, 'extrinsic' code-switching provides a local nuance where familiar words can be understood

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[72] A. Thacker, *Moving through Modernity?* (Manchester University Press 2003, 40).

[73] D. Phillips, 'A New Beginning or the Beginning of the End? The Welsh Language in Postcolonial Wales', in J. Aaron and C. Williams, eds., *Postcolonial Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press 2005, 110).

[74] 'Croeso i Fy Nghartref, Fy Hafan, Fy Myd', Dafydd, *Twenty Thousand Saints*, 27.

by most readers, whilst the political form introduces untranslated words without an explanation of meaning that could defy the reader by highlighting cultural rifts. The absence of a unifying culture can act as a galvanizing effort to convince readers to embrace bilingual Wales, with both Price and Dafydd possibly using the extrinsic and political mode to convey the 'beyond', or 'Third Space', described by Bhabha.[75]

However, in comparison to Price's novel, where the linguistic culture is guarded exclusively by the valley, Dafydd executes a reversal shift where the city is now a site for cultural renewal and the formerly preserved periphery increasingly becomes colonized. Iestyn, Viv's estranged son returns to the island after a period in prison in Cardiff, and denounces her decision to move there, to a perceived sanctuary of Welshness when he was a child:

> Suppose that's what this island's like now – all colonised by the English. That'll teach her … It's exactly what she was afraid of on the mainland – except it hasn't happened there, has it? They were all bloody speaking Welsh in Cardiff when I came out, I tell you. Like bloody geese they were about that castle. And I get here and I can't find one Welsh speaking fucker to talk to us.[76]

Viv listens to a news bulletin discussing devolution and its ten-year anniversary, where even their language is urbanized, and the city is symbolic of a national and personal change:

> Their Welsh was slick, urban, rhythmic, so unlike her own … And it was this ten years which made her shudder. Not ten years since the crushing blow of 1979, since setting sail to the island, but ten years since everything had changed. Ten years since she'd been given exactly what she'd fought for, and she still hadn't returned … For those ten years, her son had had more experience of devolution that she had; even in Cardiff prison, such changes were visible.[77]

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[75] H. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge 1994).
[76] Dafydd, *Twenty Thousand Saints* (Talybont: Lolfa 2010).
[77] Dafydd, *Twenty Thousand Saints*, 211–212.

Conclusion

To conclude, place constitutes a strong motif for reconstructing Welsh identity in post-devolution literature, indicating that nationality and place are heterogeneous – whether they are displayed in a negative or positive light. The significance of a localized place in relation to belonging and identity in post-devolution Wales – portrayed by these authors – raises interesting questions. It is also significant that these representations are expressed through gendered subjects created by female authors, thus signifying a feminist approach to place and identity.

The effects of devolution can be mapped to various degrees by the authors discussed in this paper. *In and Out of the Goldfish Bowl*, published in 2000, was too imminent to realise the effects of devolution, and therefore opted to portray 'The Wilderness Years', and poverty following the unsuccessful referendum of 1979.

Price, in 2002, laments a forgotten way of life and advocates its preservation as a sort of subtle warning, and a lack of enterprise to accept forthcoming global changes. Even though Price does not mention devolution in the book, her concern with the loss of a Welsh-language-speaking rural community, and the acceptance of progress, is symptomatic of a national crisis.

It is interesting that Dafydd, in 2006, refrained from any concrete references to devolution in the Welsh-language novel, whilst it is only in 2008, in her English-language version, that the significance of devolution intensifies twofold, as a sign of a mature and forward-looking nation which is able to confidently assess devolution in a critical manner. It is littered with references to colonization and the referendum, which raises questions as to why she feels the need to impose this political element as a recurring theme in her English-language novel.

In the post-devolution era, Price acts as a guardian of traditional values, whilst Dafydd writes a more progressive novel to convince the Welsh to take a bold leap of faith from safety. The linguistic medium may enable the author to employ powers of persuasion to reach a wider audience, and whilst Price warns against the peril of cultural loss, Dafydd also cautions the dangers of an inward-looking identity. For her, legitimizing nationality is achieved through sustaining a dialogue, rather than the false assurance of a hermit. As Viv comments on the island's

shelter against colonization: "I thought it was. Until one day you notice a little thing here, a little thing there … Bilingual signs going up. Before you know it you're in a minority again. Especially when you haven't got anyone to talk to, I mean really talk to".[78] At first, the cartographic location of the island alludes to perceived freedom, similar to that of the Valley, which is protected against outside influences: "It wasn't some pathetic colonised nation. Wales was attached to England, and Bardsey wasn't. You only had to look at a map to tell …"[79] However, the novel's ending, where Viv witnesses the Assembly building for the first time, regains the symbolic meaning of the island as a centrepiece for autonomy that also branches out to the mainland, to embrace diversity in a dialogic opportunity. The acceptance of the penetration of change is welcomed by Dafydd to a larger degree than by Price, where it is demonstrated as invasion.

Alys Thomas asserts that postcolonialism imposes mental constraints, termed 'mental maps' by Farell.[80] Dafydd's impetus in her novel is to dispute the lack of political engagement ingrained in the Welsh mindset, thus mobilising the nation's aspirations by underlining the possibilities accrued by devolution. Dafydd and Trezise's rhetoric confronts cultural uniformity in national paradigms, and attempts to suffuse identification with Welshness with ambivalence, as a vehicle for rethinking national narratives.

Despite a minimal awareness amongst authors about devolution as a prominent theme in their writing, re-inventing the meaning of place incidentally rewrites representations of political ideology, as opposed to a blatant protest, or call for action for a national awakening within a new political framework.

Price's novel has spurred a sort of cultural tourism, as a number of people have now visited Maesglasau, as it has become part of Wales' literary map,[81] giving prestige to the rural, as opposed to the allure of Cardiff. However, the aesthetic beauty of the country also bears a much deeper significance as a token of Welshness, which may symbolize a lost

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[78] Dafydd, *Twenty Thousand Saints*, 185–186.
[79] Dafydd, *Twenty Thousand Saints*, 209.
[80] Thomas, 'Maitrez chex nous? Awaiting the Quiet Revolution in Wales', 85–100.
[81] A. Price, 'Nofel yn creu twristiaeth', *Golwg* 15: 38 (5 June 2003).

Welsh rural community to future generations who are increasingly drawn to the city.

Stephen Knight affirms that novelists, more than any other genre-writers, examine the postcolonial milieu in Welsh writing in English,[82] although Welsh-language literature has also fed on its minimal effects in prose and poetry.

It is also striking that the authors discussed here won highly acclaimed prizes for their novels, which might be indicative of the centrality of place to expressions of belonging and ethnicity in post-devolution literature, based on a localized affinity. The fact that young male poets, articulating Cardiff's power to regenerate culture in the same period, have also won national prizes, suggests that many representations of Welsh places redefine a multivocal identity following devolution.

One of the most critical conclusions in the study of these authors is the plurality of political, cultural, and social issues, reflected in place and space in post-devolution Wales. Price and Dafydd unite characters across place and time, whilst Trezise interrogates the convention of an idealized bond with place, thus challenging traditional national narratives. However, each author resembles the others in their efforts to provide counter-narratives and expand the capacity to assign meanings to cultural spaces beyond Cardiff. Women's literature in the post-devolution age could well be moving towards a 'post-national state', described by Chris Williams, that demands a new vision for an inclusive nationality based on citizenship rather than ethnicity.[83] It is perhaps fitting to end with probing questions, as the newly self-conscious Welsh identity continues to be challenged and redefined:

> The question of devolution engenders not only questions of how we belong together and what will be our future relationship to one another, but of how did we get here, what modalties of 'union' are available to us

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[82] S. Knight, 'Welsh Fiction in English as Postcolonial Literature', in C. Williams and J. Aaron, eds., *Postcolonial Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press 2005), 159–176.

[83] C. Williams, 'A Post-National Wales', *Agenda* (Winter 2003/4).

and, how can we unpack the meanings of the UK in the international post-colonial context which radically and intimately shapes our lives. [84]

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[84] R. McElroy, 'Traversing Britain: Mobility, Belonging and Home', in L. Pearce, *Devolving Identities* (Aldershot: Ashgate 2000, 108).

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CHAPTER THREE

COAL IN OUR BLOOD:
NOTES ON THE HISTORY AND LITERATURES
OF THE COAL-MINING REGIONS IN DONBASS
AND SOUTH WALES

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Introduction

The city of Luhansk in the east of the Ukraine, and Cardiff, the capital of Wales, became twin cities in the middle of the twentieth century. Whereas Luhansk was then a young city, with only a century of history, the history of Cardiff can be traced back to at least Roman times. However, the end of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries brought about changes to the lives of these two communities. As a result of the technological revolution, and increased industrialisation, coal became the main fuel source for both countries. For the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (UK), Wales became a major source of coal, which was also exported and sold to various countries. Gradually, coal mining became the main occupation for large numbers of people in Wales, and in the Donbass. This article provides a brief overview of the history of mining in Donbass and in South Wales.

The Donbass region

«Высь-это глубина.
Я вижу звезды днем
С шахтового
Дна.»
А. Вознесенский «Шахты»[1]

Until the seventeenth century, the Donbass region featured predominantly as an area of nomadic or unstable farming settlements, e.g. Scythians (1000 BCE), Khazars, Cumans, and Pechenegs.[2] Thereafter, these territories were under the control of the 'Golden Horde' (1240s–1502). In the 1520s, the Russian government organised the first security points there, with the help of Cossacks to secure the borders from attacks from Tatars. After the liberation war of the Zaporozhian Cossacks, the Khmelnytsky Uprising (1648–1657), which was one of the manifestations of the global European conflict, known as the Thirty Years War (1618–1648), saw many peasants from the central parts of the Ukraine fleeing to the lands of Sloboda Ukraine and the Donbass territories, i.e. today's Donetsk and Luhansk regions, forming small settlements, known as Cossack communities.[3] These territories were also known as 'Wild Fields' (ukr. Дике Поле), and later formed an autonomous border region of the Russian Empire, which subsequently gave the name to the Ukraine, 'Украина', from 'у края' ('near the end, border'). People who left their homes and belongings in central Ukraine hoped to find a new life in the unpopulated areas of the Sloboda Ukraine. Occasionally, whole villages moved there. This social situation laid the foundation for the present-day linguistic situation, with the rural population of North Donbass still using the Ukrainian language.

In the eighteenth century, the conflict between Turkey and the Russian Empire for access to the Black and Azov seas led to a gradual move of

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[1] 'The height – is the depth. I see stars during the day from the bottom of the mine'. В. И. Демидов. *Шахтерское Братство. Стихи* (Донецк: Издательство Донбасс, 1981, 109). Translation is the author's.

[2] А. Горелик, Т. Вихрова, К. Красильников, *История Родного Края* (Луганск, МАКет 1995).

[3] Ю. А. Стефанов, *Історія Українських Козаків* (Луганськ – Гродков: Манускріпт 2001, 25).

Slavic people out of central and southern Russia, but also from other areas on the European continent, such as the movement of Serbs and Croats to the Donbass region. This movement is reflected in the naming of the city of Slovianoserbsk, 'Slavic Serb'. These migrants, who later populated the Donbass region, chose the Russian language for ease of communication. At that time, the Russian Tsar, Peter the Great (1672–1725), travelled around Europe. While travelling through Great Britain, he discovered the use of coal as a combustible material, and, after his return to St. Petersburg, decided to invite professionals from Wales and Scotland to search for coal deposits in the territory of the Donbass region.[4]

From the end of the eighteenth century onwards, we find stable settlements linked to industrial enterprises in the Donbass region.[5] In addition, qualified workers were needed, and duly attracted. Due to this fact, a large number of labour migrants from central and eastern Russia and the Caucasus settled in the Donbass territories, maintaining their character as a border region into the late nineteenth century.

However, many researchers focus only on a particular type of Donbassian society, i.e. that which takes its ancestry from the time of the settlement of the free Cossacks, purporting a special type of freedom maintained partly with terroristic means. As Zimmer[6] says, it was a seemingly free area, which offered a haven for designated outcasts, refugees, criminals, and all the people who landed there, voluntarily or under duress. As was the habit at the time, their lives were depicted in a rather romantic way in the nineteenth century, which had little to do with reality.

It is important for the topic under discussion that one of the leading promoters of the industrial developments in the Donbass region was a Welshman. Indeed, the founder of the city of Donetsk was John James Hughes (1814–1889). He was a Welsh engineer and businessman, who was born in Merthyr Tydfil in Wales. His father was head engineer at the Cyfarthfa Ironworks in Merthyr Tydfil. The industrialisation of the

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[4] G. Gayko, V. Biletskiy, T. Mikos and J. Chmura, *Mining Engineering and Underground Structures in Ukraine and Poland: Sketches from History* (Donetsk: UCCenter, Donetsk Branch NTS, Edition Mining Encyclopedia 2009, 149).

[5] В. Подов, *Открытие Донбасса* (Луганск, Украинский фонд культуры, 1991, 6).

[6] K. Zimmer, *Machteliten im Ukrainischen Donbass* (Münster: Münster Verlag 2006, 65).

Donbass, promoted by Hughes, initiated a wave of labour migration to the Donbass in the latter part of the nineteenth century.[7] According to the aforementioned tradition of naming urban areas after people who were important and famous for the fate of Russia, Donetsk was originally called Yuzovka/Hughesovka. In the twentieth century, in line with this tradition, the city of Kadievka was renamed in honour of the labour hero and coal miner Alexey Stakhanov (1905–1977) in 1937, and the city of Luhansk was twice re-named Voroshilovgrad (1935–1958 and 1970–1990), in honour of the Soviet politician, Kliment Voroshilov (1881–1969).

In the Tsarist Russia of the nineteenth century, working conditions for miners were challenging. There was no social security, insurance, or medical services for workers. The Hughes factory was no exception. The monograph, *Dreaming the City. From Wales to Ukraine*, by Thomas Colin, refers to the fact that only desperate people, who were veering between life and death, would have accepted the conditions of the Hughes factory.[8] The Russian-language monograph *Под Счастливой Звездой*, about the history of the mines in the Luhansk region, gives the following description of nineteenth century mining there:

> Working up a sweat without weekends at the building work became commonplace. Those who refused overtime work were enrolled as 'quitters' and replaced at the first opportunity, and usually such an occasion was not too long a wait. Hundreds of hungry and destitute people asked to work every day, cruel exploitation of workers; shareholders did not even consider their living conditions. Mine owners didn't even give a thought to housing for the workers. While it was warm, people lived near the mine under construction, just under the open sky, and with the onset of the cold weather, they dug dugouts. Shareholders did not seek mechanization for even the most time-consuming practices. The mine owners wanted to scrimp on everything. Even ventilation was left to just natural air circulation.[9]

In line with developments in Western and Central Europe, the Donbass region witnessed further industrialisation at the beginning of the twentieth

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[7] R. Heather, *The Iron Tsar. The Life and Times of John Hughes* (Brighton: Pen Press 2010, 61).

[8] T. Colin, *Dreaming a City: From Wales to Ukraine* (Aberystwyth: Y Lolfa 2009, 24).

[9] Э. Егерева, М. Ситкин, *Под Счастливой Звездой* (Донецк: Донбасс 1977, 4).

century. The First World War (1914–1918), the Russian Revolution in 1917, and the subsequent civil war (1917–1922), severely affected the Donbass region. The formation of the Ukraine as an autonomous political entity was the result of the First World War and the Brest-Litowsk Peace Treaty from March 3 1918, where the Central Council of the Ukraine did not allow the Bolsheviks to represent the Ukraine in the peace negotiations with the Central Powers.[10] The aforementioned events served as a stimulus for a period of sustained conflict (1917–1921) in the Ukraine, referred to as the Ukrainian War for Independence. This war gave birth to several political foundations in central and Eastern Ukraine: first, the Ukrainian People's Republic (ukr: 'Українська Народна Республіка'), between 1917 and 1921, which was first governed by the Central Council of the Ukraine from March 1917 to April 1918, then by the Hetmatship of Pavlo Skoropadskyi (ukr. 'Гетьманат'), from 29 April to 14 December 1918, then taken over by the government of the Directorate of the Ukraine (ukr. 'Директорія'), from December 1918 to December 1919. At the same time, there existed the West Ukrainian People's Republic (ukr. 'Західноукраїнська Народна Республіка') in Eastern Galicia from late 1918 to early 1919. Both were eventually unified on January 22 1919, by *Акт Злуки* 'The Act of Unification', into the holistic political entity of the Ukraine. In 1919, the Donbass region, together with the rest of the territories of the Ukrainian People`s Republic, was merged, to form the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

After the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in 1922, and the incorporation of the Ukraine into that political body, the Donbass started to play a crucial role for the economy of the USSR as a whole. The coal industry came under the control of the state administration, because of its importance for the rapid industrialisation of the country, which was aligned to the development of heavy industry in the first place.[11] After this development, working conditions greatly improved, and occupational safety became a default condition, as the miner, according to the ideal of a workers' and farmers' state, was regarded as one of the most important figures for the development of Soviet society.

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[10] O. Subtelny, *Ukraine: A History* (Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies 1994, 352).

[11] Zimmer, *Machteliten im Ukrainischen Donbass,* 66.

Statistics show that the largest number of mining accidents occurred before the 1920s, and after the 1990s, i.e. before the formation, and after the collapse, of the Soviet Union, where the prestige and the social status of the miner was, and has since been, nothing but that of a servant.

In the context of the ethnic situation as depicted above, industry during Soviet times was a main unifying factor. Acting as a monolithic social entity was essential for anyone's economic survival. Therefore, the Russian language became a language of interethnic communication. This holds also true for post-industrial Donbass in the twenty-first century, where cities with a clear industrial past continue to use Russian, whereas Ukrainian dominates in more rural areas in the Donetsk Basin, i.e. in the northern areas of the Luhansk region; Svatove, Bilokurakyne, Markivka, and the Novopskov districts.

In the early socialist period, between 1922 and 1991, with the focus on the proletariat, the status and prestige of a miner as a leading figure in national economics was promoted by government and society. The labour feat of Alexey Stakhanov (August 30–31 1935) marked the beginning of the traditional celebration of the 'Day of the Miner' in the Donbass region. Since 1948 this day has been celebrated on the last Sunday of August.

In Donbassian poetry and prose about harsh working conditions, the constant fear for life, and the constant readiness to depart from this life, are depicted. Famous in Russia and Ukraine, writers and poets, like the Russian writer Alexander Kuprin (1870–1938), the Soviet poet Vladimir Mayakowski (1893–1930), or the Ukrainian poet Volodymyr Sosyura (1898–1965), described life and work in the Donbassian coal mines, showing the importance of the role of the mining industry, and miners, in society in the twentieth century.

Pavel Besposhadny (1896–1968), Pavlo Baybedura (1901–1985), Vladimir Mukhin (1916–1996), and Vladislav Titov (1934–1987), were miners themselves, who started to write after tragic incidents which they experienced at work. These included explosions underground, accidents and subsequent disabilities, war, and other political conflicts. They underlined the importance of the miners' labour, the necessity of protecting their lives by authorities, and their character, as being hard on the outside, but very sensitive on the inside.[12]

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[12] А. Куприн, *В Недрах Земли* (Москва: Худ. Литература 1971).

On 16 August 1993, the President of the Ukraine, Leonid Kravchuk, signed a decree to maintain this tradition, and to extend it officially to the entire territory of the Ukraine. Traditionally, this celebration saw the publication of collections of poems and literary works dedicated to miners and their work, e.g. Ionov's *Miner's Soul Sings* (rus. 'Поёт душа шахтёрская') (1969), Demidov's *The Miner's Brotherhood* (rus. 'Шахтёрское братство') (1980), and Chernyaev's *The Black Knights of the Donbass* (rus. 'Чёрные рыцари Донбасса') (2010). Most authors of miners' literature in the Donbass region are ordinary people, i.e. miners, originally untrained in creative writing, who experienced the reality of a miner's life for themselves.

The poet, Pavel Besposhadny (1896–1968), is known as the 'patriarch' of Donbassian mining literature. In 1907–1917, he worked as a miner in the Selezniovka colliery in the Luhansk region. From 1924 to 1968 he published his poetry in praise of mining in the local newspaper *Кочегарка*, ('The Stokehold'). His poetry glorified the miner's work and life, and predicted a great future for the profession and the people linked to it. As a leader of the literary movement in the region, he surrounded himself with young Donbassian labour writers, thereby promoting the development of regional literature. It is noteworthy that Pavel Besposhadny is also the author of the slogan that was created during the time of the Second World War: 'Nobody (ever) put the Donbass on his knees and no one will do this'. This slogan regained fame in 2014, when separatism arose due to a severe political crisis in the Ukraine, as a result of Western European meddling.

In order to pay respect to the tradition described above, the city of Gorlovka (in the Luhansk region) founded the Pavel Besposhadny Literary Prize (rus. 'Литературная Премия им. Павла Беспощадного') in 1990. In 2013, the city of Stakhanov introduced the Stakhanov Literary Prize, which is awarded to authors who write about various aspects of life, and the struggles of typical representatives of the working class. Laureates of the Stakhanov Literary Prize are awarded a diploma and a medal. These institutions aim to encourage the production and development of miners' literature in the region in the twenty-first century. In 2013, the Stakhanov Literary Prize winner was the author of a book about the life of Alexey Stakhanov, the coal-mining idol himself. For the former Soviet post-industrial society, which is currently in a transitional stage of socio-economic and cultural change, it is important to promote identity, stability, and a link to the past, in which mining heroes were respected, whereas today, life has changed considerably and become an unstable reality.

South Wales

As in the Donbass region, mining has been playing a significant role in the history of Wales. In the recent past it was coal mining that shaped Welsh society to a large degree.

Wales is a part of the UK whose origins go back to the Celtic settlements on the British mainland before the Common Era. After the Romans left Britain, in the year 410 CE, the Anglo-Saxon conquest began, leading to the formation of what is today's Wales – confined by Offa's Dyke (seventh century CE), Scotland, and Cornwall. Having a rich oral literary tradition, Welsh history has been captured by oral bardic poetry. This tradition has survived in Wales until the present day, and is, among others, continued in the form of an annual cultural festival, the National Eisteddfod, which attracts bards, poets, and other literary and performing artists, from all over Wales, every first week of August.

After Anglo-Norman Kings had conquered Wales in the thirteenth century (Statute of Rhuddlan 1284), Wales increasingly came under the influence of English rule, with the Welsh language being abolished by the Wales Acts (1535–1542). Wales was finally incorporated into England, reducing it to a purely geographical region. These were the circumstances in which the first complete Welsh translation of The Bible, by William Morgan, appeared in 1588. It advanced the position of Welsh as a language of literature, learning, and belief. The eighteenth century saw changes that would greatly affect Wales; the Welsh Methodist revival, which led the country to adopt an increasingly nonconformist ideology with regard to religion, was largely linked to the Welsh language and the Industrial Revolution.

During the nineteenth century, Wales experienced massive industrialisation, with the rapid growth of heavy industries, such as coal and iron in South Wales, and slate in the North, causing an exponential population increase, predominantly triggered by immigration from England, so that the percentage of Welsh speakers declined. Stereotypes linked to industrial areas also shaped the image of Welsh coal miners in society. In this situation, the language played a decisive role. Industrialisation did not only bring English speakers, but since the 1870s also English-medium education. Consequently, English featured increasingly as a medium of

literature in Wales.[13] In addition, the British economy was strongly influenced by the world economic crisis, in the 1930s. Furthermore, since the First World War, up to 10 percent of Welsh lands were used for military purposes, 'aimed deliberately at conscripting minorities during the First World War'.[14] British coal was no longer transported to all the old British colonies, such as New Zealand or Australia, since German or US coal was much cheaper. After the Second World War, the traditional heavy industries, in particular the mining industry, fell into crisis by the end of the 1950s. This development caused a high percentage of unemployment and subsequent emigration. In addition, individualisation, which weakened community life by providing individual sources of entertainment and leisure pursuits, as well as English-speaking media, changed the linguistic situation further. This caused a further decrease in the percentage of Welsh speakers.[15]

As a result, nationalist feelings and a desire for self-determination gained momentum. The Labour Party ousted the Liberal Party as the dominant political movement in the 1940s, while the nationalist party, Plaid Cymru, developed quickly in the 1960s. In the 1997 referendum, Welsh voters approved the devolution of governmental responsibility to an Assembly for Wales, which first met in 1999.

English had been used, to varying extents, for writing poetry since the sixth century. However, due to the societal circumstances described here, Welsh writing in English became most prominent in the 1920s–1930s.[16] The huge impact of English in Wales since the beginning of industrialisation, anti-Welsh educational programmes, and politics through the last centuries, had an influence on Welsh literature as well. Prominent authors and poets, such as Dylan Thomas (1914–1953), R. S. Thomas (1913–2000), David Jones (1885–1974), and others, represented a new type of literature, called

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[13] S. Asmus, 'A Comparison of the English Literatures in Ireland and Wales', *Celtic Forum. The Annual Reports of Japan Society for Celtic Studies*, No. 17 (2014), 14.

[14] S. Asmus and S. Williams, 'Welsh between Stability and Fragility: Consolidated Status, but Increasing Linguistic Insecurity. A Threat to Diversity Leading to Dangerous Unity', in S. Asmus, B. Braid, eds., *Unity in Diversity, Volume 2* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing 2014), 41.

[15] Asmus, 'A Comparison of the English Literatures in Ireland and Wales', 14.

[16] Asmus, 'A Comparison of the English Literatures in Ireland and Wales', 14.

'Welsh writing in English'. In the context of the immigration of the English-speaking working class, which injected a substantial amount of English literary tradition into Wales, short stories and novels became popular in Welsh literature.

Literature by, and about, miners and mining, developed in both languages. One of the most prominent authors is the Welsh communist and political activist Lewis Jones (1897–1939), with his novels *Cwmardy* (1937), and *We Live* (1939). Gwyn Thomas (1913–1981), Rhys Davies (1901–1978), Davies, Idris (1905–1953), Richard Llewelyn (1906–1983), and the bard Gwenallt (D. Gwenallt Jones, 1899–1968), also turned to the lives of miners and the mining community in their literature. In 1939, Bert Lewis Coombes (1893–1974), an Englishman, wrote an autobiography, entitled *These Poor Hands: The Autobiography of a Miner Working in South Wales*. In the introduction to the Coombes' book, Jones and Williams state that, "Coombes married Mary Rogers, who spoke Welsh as her mother tongue, and Bert learned sufficient Welsh to be able to carry on a conversation, although there is no evidence that he ever read or wrote the language".[17] He describes the life of a coal miner and his everyday struggles as follows: working in dangerous working conditions; lack of air; lack of light; constant danger of landslides; etc. Despite these dangerous conditions, Welsh miners also had to struggle for payment and insurances,[18] in similar conditions to those of the above-mentioned Donbass miners, as described in the literature up to the latter part of the 1920s.[19]

Several traumatic incidents in Wales shaped Welsh consciousness in the twentieth century, such as disasters in coal mines, e.g. Senghennydd in 1901 and 1913, the General Strike 1926, the Aberfan tragedy in 1966, the lost Welsh devolution referendum in 1979, and the miners' strikes of 1984/85.

Even after the Universal Colliery tragedy in 1901, when more than 80 miners died as the result of an explosion, the Senghennydd coal mine, as with many other enterprises in the Donbass at the beginning of the

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[17] C. Williams and B. Jones, *These Poor Hands. The Autobiography of a Miner Working in South Wales. Introduction* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press 2002, X).

[18] Williams and Jones, *These Poor Hands. The Autobiography of a Miner Working in South Wales. Introduction*, 121

[19] Э. Егерева, М. Ситкин, *Под Счастливой Звездой* (Донецк: Донбасс 1977).

twentieth century, did not improve safety. As a consequence, destructive explosions killed 439 men in Senghennydd (in Welsh, *Tanchwa Senghennydd*) in 1913, which marked an industrial climax.[20] Welsh miners had never been provided with health and life insurance.

The General Strike in 1926 also involved Welsh coal miners, who protested against the high-handedness of the mine owners. This event is well reflected in Welsh miners' literature. For instance, B. L. Coombes, in his book, *These Poor Hands. The Autobiography of a Miner Working in South Wales,* claims that miners felt betrayed by their leaders during the strike:

> We were proud of the solid front of the Unions at the beginning, and were confident that we would have their support until we gained a fair settlement. We changed that opinion after a few days. Ever since I have felt that either our leaders betrayed us or they were too chicken-hearted to do in a difficult time the job they had done in easier days and had been well paid for doing. I think that, even until today, the great majority of the men blame our leaders for what happened, and I have never heard one of my workmates speak a good word for J. H. Thomas since that day. A. J. Cook was the only leader who seemed to have kept the respect of the men after 1926 ...[21]

Idris Davies in his poem *The Angry Summer-Poem*, of 1926, described the leader of miners, Arthur J. Cook, as the only man whom miners could trust:

> Here is Arthur J. Cook, a red rose in his lapel,
> Astride on a wall, arousing his people,
> Now with fist in the air, now a slap to the knee,
> Almost burning his way to victory!
> And tomorrow in all the hostile papers
> There will be sneers at Cook and all his capers,
> And cowardly scribblers will be busy tonight
> Besmirching a warrior with the mud of their spite.

The Aberfan tragedy is different from the rest of the coal mining tragedies in Wales. Continued neglect of safety precautions in the 1960s

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[20] J. Davies, *A History of Wales* (London: Penguin 2007, 475).
[21] Williams and Jones, *These Poor Hands. The Autobiography of a Miner Working in South Wales. Introduction*, 121.

was typical for Wales. According to Davies[22] there was an opportunity to cleanse and beautify the industrial valleys after the heavy industry had retreated from the coalfields. Indeed, by the late 1960s, the river Taff was fairly free from pollution; nature trails were created, industrial archaeology won popularity, and the industrial southeast began to be promoted as a tourist area. Yet the Aberfan tragedy proved that death was still lurking. On 21 October 1966, parts of the village of Aberfan, including its primary school, were buried under the waste of a coal tip. A total of 144 people were killed, 111 children among them – the most emotive tragedy in the history of modern Wales. This shows the level of ignorance on the part of mine owners, who did not care about the safety or prosperity of the miners and mining society, and certainly cared even less after their closure.

As shown, aspects of the physical destruction of a minority language by the various effects of industrialisation, such as coal mining, form part of the Welsh and Donbassian experience. The impossibility of physical and social recovery leaves painful marks in the consciousness and memory of these regions, whose mentality was deeply influenced by coal and industrialisation.

Conclusions

There are mostly hard coal mines in South Wales and the Donbass region, and workers must work deep underground, without proper light or air, to extract this kind of coal. This work influenced the formation of the mentality of a miner in both regions. In the twentieth century, the Donbass was known as 'the Heart' of the country, which provided coal for the whole of the USSR. In the Donbass, the miners' situation improved significantly, compared with the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. Depicted in poetry and books, miners then became heroes and honorable people in their country. The celebration of the Day of the Miner, at the end of August in Donbass, shows the importance of these people, even at the beginning of the twenty-first century, which is now urgently needed in order to develop new identities in the post-Soviet area.

Unlike the Donbass region, Wales was not recognised as a separate political unity until 1967. The profession of the miner was not supported

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[22] Davies, *A History of Wales,* 610.

or celebrated by society, either. This only started in post-industrial Wales, in order to promote identity.

Literature describing the Donbass, written in Ukrainian and Russian until 1930, concentrates on the description of the hard work and living conditions of the miners. A noticeable change occurs after the labour feat of Stakhanov, when the main literary motif became the description of the labour exploits of miners, their fearlessness, and their courage. This clearly reflects the influence of societal conditions on the development of literature about the miners; in capitalist society it is literature of complaint and suffering. In early socialist society, miners' literature praises the miners and their job, in both languages of the Donbass region, i.e. Russian and Ukrainian. Although not evenly distributed, both literatures show the same tendency towards system-maintaining literature.

In Wales, we find mining literature that reflects the harshness of the miner's life, mostly produced in English until the 1980s. Predominantly in post-industrial Welsh society, we encounter 'praising' literature, which idealises the miners and their lives after the death of their profession, quite often also in Welsh. As in the Donbass, this is an attempt to regain identity and territory.

Today, people from both industrial regions try to support and maintain a certain mining mythology, as a status holder of positive social values. Some of them would refer to miners' working ethics, or stable value systems, to their ambitions, and aspects of heroism in their daily life. The need to refer to values of the past indicates the existence of a crisis of national identity in these post-industrial regions in the twenty-first century, and reflects attempts to re-establish identity based on positive, society-building values.

In brief, it is clear that the individual histories of these two regions shaped the literature of miners to a great extent. However, the literary output is very varied. Donbassian literature clearly reflects its function in different types of society, and, therefore, ranges from complaint in Manchester capitalism, to praise in early socialism, as well as identity-creating attempts in today`s unsettled world. In Wales, the first and the last aspects matter. Both literatures use two languages and make use of the genres of the dominating language. Further research will show specific linguistic and genre developments in the Donbass region and Wales.

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CHAPTER FOUR

THE DISCOURSE OF HATE IN THE ANGLO-NORMAN CAMPAIGN AGAINST WALES, 1066–1284

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... this nation may now be harassed, weakened and decimated by your soldiery, as it has so often been by others in former times; but it will never be totally destroyed by the wrath of man, unless at the same time it is punished by the wrath of God. Whatever else may come to pass, I do not think that on the Day of Direst Judgement any race other than the Welsh, or any other language, will give answer to the Supreme Judge of all for this small corner of the earth.[1]

The discourse of hate, known also as hate speech, emanates from the imperial ambitions of a particular group of individuals, represented by a power-greedy and often self-proclaimed usurper, who, with a view of gaining an ultimate and unconstrained hegemony, discredit their designated opponents, who are firstly victimised and then dominated. Hate rhetoric pertains to different aspects, mostly the lifestyles, beliefs, customs, traditions, and last, but importantly, the laws, of those subjected thereto. The discourse of hate has been exploited by various propagandists since time immemorial. It was employed by emperors in ancient times, who portrayed the nations they conquered in their own negatively-charged terms invented for the purpose, as was the practice of the Romans and

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[1] Gerald of Wales, *The Journey through Wales/The Description of Wales*, trans. L. Thorpe (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books 1978, 274).

Greeks.[2] It is also present in today's contemporary world, most notably in the domain of politics and the mass media.[3] The discourse of hate was used vociferously by the Anglo-Normans in their complex relations with the Welsh during the medieval period, the peak of which occurred during the anti-Welsh campaign initiated by Edward I (1272–1307) in the second half of the thirteenth century, which not only had an everlasting bearing on the history of Wales and England, but, as the present paper aptly demonstrates, on the formation of separate Welsh and English national identities.[4]

From the eleventh century onwards, beginning with the advent of the successful conquest of England by William the Conqueror (1066–1087) at the famous battle of Hastings, the history of Wales was marked by the incessant endeavours of the Anglo-Normans to reach dominance in this region of the British Isles. The first expeditions of the Anglo-Norman rulers, particularly those of Henry II (1154–1189) and Richard I (1189–1199), proved unable to, colloquially speaking, bring Wales to her knees. The situation exacerbated in subsequent years, when increasing intrusions by Anglo-Norman officers into the Welsh legal institutions were initiated. Anglo-Norman imperial policy also affected the Church of Wales, and entailed, among other things, the pillage of Welsh churches and monasteries, as well as the replacement of the Welsh clergy with Anglo-Norman substitutes. As an illustration, it is worth referring here to a letter from Welsh princes, dated c. 1200/1201, which was addressed to Pope

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[2] W. R. Jones, 'The Image of the Barbarian in Medieval Europe', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (October 1971, 376–407).

[3] See, for example, T. A. Van Dijk, 'Structures of Discourse and Structures of Power', in J. A. Anderson, ed., *Communication Yearbook* 12 (Newbury Park, CA: Sage 1989, 18–59); M. E. Herz and P. Molnar, *The Content and Context of Hate Speech: Rethinking, Regulation and Responses* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2012); S. Heinz, 'Der Anschluß von Wales an England und Seine Folgen', *Utopie Kreativ* 95 (1998, 30–39).

[4] Hate rhetoric was also the bedrock of the Anglo-Norman colonial campaign in Ireland and Scotland. I analysed the Irish and Scottish cases as compared to the Welsh example, in K. Jaworska-Biskup, 'Anti-Irish, Welsh and Scottish Propaganda in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Anglo-Norman Writings', in C. Rosenthal, L. Volkmann, U. Zagratzki, eds., *Disrespected Neighbo(u)rs: Cultural Stereotypes in Literature and Film* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing 2018, 114–126).

Innocent III (1198–1216), and which was a poignant manifestation of their unanimous protest against dismantling the Welsh Church. Its authors complained that Wales, by the Archbishop of Canterbury's command, was staffed with English bishops, who were, to quote the document directly, 'ignorant of the manners and language of our land, who cannot preach the word of God to the people, nor receive their confessions but through interpreters'.[5] In the next lines of the letter, the addressees bemoaned that the Anglo-Normans 'neither love us nor our land, but rather persecute and oppress us with an innate and deep-rooted hatred, seek not the welfare of our souls'.[6] As evident from the letter, the harassment that the Welsh endured from the Anglo-Norman aggressors included confiscations of fruits and profits obtained from the unlawfully seized Welsh lands and properties, as well as the excommunication of Welsh patriots who did not conform to the abuses perpetrated by Anglo-Norman dignitaries devoted to the service of their principal in England.

When King John (1199–1216) was installed on the English throne, he pursued the colonial policy established by his predecessors. In 1201, Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, also known as Llywelyn the Great (1195–1240), swore fealty and paid homage to the English monarch, in a feudal fashion, implying that he agreed to treat King John as his superior. The ties between John and Llywelyn ap Iorwerth were also tightened by the arranged marriage of John's daughter Joan, Siwan as she was known in Welsh, to the Welsh prince in 1205. The conflict between both rulers erupted in 1211, when John's army invaded Gwynedd. The agreement, concluded in the same year, provided that should Llywelyn die without issue, the lands remaining under his custody would be forfeited *ex lege* to the English monarch.[7]

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[5] *Letters from Wales*, ed. J. Abse (Bridgend: Seren 2000, 14).

[6] *Letters from Wales*, ed. J. Abse, 14.

[7] D. Walker, *Medieval Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1990, 92–93). The history of medieval Wales was exhaustively described by many authors. For more details concerning the historical facts and figures mentioned in the present study, see the following titles: A. D. Carr, *Medieval Wales* (London: Macmillan Press 1995); J. Davies, *A History of Wales* (London, New York: Penguin Books 1993); R. R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales 1063–1415* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press 1991); J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest* (London, New York: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1911); K. Maund, *The Welsh Kings: Warriors*,

To conquer Wales, the Anglo-Norman rulers, including King John, did not limit their resources only to speedy military onslaughts on her territories. In their efforts to vanquish Welsh resistance, those who wielded power in England were buttressed by churchmen and the Anglo-Norman literary elite, who, in their writings, promoted a short-sighted and biased view of Wales and the Welsh.

One of the most famous representatives of the anti-Welsh discourse was Giraldus Cambrensis (c. 1145/1146–1223), commonly known as Gerald of Wales, who, although he composed his works in the period preceding the Welsh Wars of Independence, fought in the years between 1276–1277 and 1282–1283, and paved the ideological ground for the Edwardian conquest of the thirteenth century. Gerald devoted two of his works, *Itinerarium Cambriae* 'The Journey through Wales' (1191) and *Descriptio Cambriae* 'The Description of Wales' (1194), which are now considered classics of Anglo-Norman literature concerning Wales, to his pro-Anglo-Norman propaganda.[8] Gerald's anti-Welsh sentiments were also strongly articulated in his other writings, in particular *Speculum Duorum* 'A Mirror of Two Men', compiled between 1208 and 1216 in the form of a letter dedicated to his nephew. In the work, he bashed the boy for his cavalier attitude towards education and his excessive devotion to Welsh habits, especially his hobby of playing the Welsh lute to, as Gerald himself put it, 'get some barbarous tunes from it'.[9] He was also critical of the boy's autobiography, which reflected his hopes and aspirations of becoming the bishop of St David's, which, despite Gerald's ongoing perseverance, were never fully realised.[10] Like Gerald of Wales, Walter Map (c. 1130–1210), another medieval writer, equally contributed to fashioning anti-Welsh rhetoric in his work *De Nugis Curialium*, ('Courtiers' Trifles'), a collection of short stories, anecdotes, pseudo-

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Warlords and Princes (Stroud, Gloucestershire: The History Press 2006); D. Moore, *The Welsh Wars of Independence*, *c. 410–c. 1415* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Tempus Publishing Limited 2007).

[8] Gerald of Wales, *The Journey through Wales/The Description of Wales*, trans. L. Thorpe (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books 1978).

[9] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Speculum Duorum*, *or A Mirror of Two Men*, ed. Y. Lefevre, R. B. C. Huygens and M. Richter, trans. B. Dawson (Cardiff: University of Wales Press 1974, 139).

[10] *The Autobiography of Gerald of Wales*, ed. and trans. H. E. Butler (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press 2005).

historical accounts, and folk-tales, written between 1180 and 1190. In this work, he reprimanded the Welsh for their manners which, as he reported, departed from the canons of the Anglo-Norman court.[11]

The parallels between Gerald of Wales' and Walter Map's hate rhetoric regarding Wales are apparent. Both authors praised the Welsh for their hospitality, which they reported was evident by their warm, and above all, respectful, treatment of the guests who visited their households,[12] while simultaneously casting aspersions upon their contentiousness, vindictiveness and unreliability. Although neither Gerald of Wales nor Walter Map officially denied their Welsh connections,[13] they approached

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[11] *Walter Map's De Nugis Curialium*, translated by M. R. James, with Historical Notes by J. E. Lloyd, ed. E. S. Hartland (London: Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion 1923).

[12] The idea of Welsh hospitality whereby a house owner had a socially and legally imposed duty to offer accommodation and food to a passer-by, as well to secure his or her protection when they remained under his custody, endeared both Gerald of Wales and Walter Map. Gerald thus commented: 'In Wales no one begs. Everyone's home is open to all, for the Welsh generosity and hospitality are the greatest of all virtues. They very much enjoy welcoming others to their homes. When you travel there is no question of your asking for accommodation or of their offering it: you just march into a house and hand over your weapons to the person in charge', Gerald of Wales, *The Journey through Wales/The Description of Wales*, trans. L. Thorpe, 236. By the same token, Walter Map complimented the Welsh for their munificence, writing that they were 'most liberal of all goods, very sparing of food to themselves and lavish of it to others, so that everyone's food is everyone else's, and none among them asks for bread, but takes it without question when he finds it, or any victuals he finds ready set out for eating.' *Walter Map's De Nugis Curialium*, translated by M. R. James, with Historical Notes by J. E. Lloyd, ed. E. S. Hartland, 99.

[13] Both writers were of Anglo-Norman and Welsh origin. Gerald of Wales was the son of an Anglo-Norman lord, William de Barri, and Angharad, the daughter of Welsh Princess Nest, and Rhys ap Tewdwr, Prince of South Wales. Although little data exists as to the childhood of Walter Map, historical sources relate that he was born in the Welsh Marches, in an Anglo-Welsh family. For a detailed discussion of Gerald of Wales' and Walter Map's lives and careers, see H. Pryce, 'Gerald's Journey through Wales', *Journal of Welsh Ecclesiastical History* 6 (1989, 17–34); H. Pryce, 'A Cross-Border Career: Giraldus Cambrensis between Wales and England', in R. Schneider, ed., *Grenzgänger* (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Saarländische Landesgeschichte und Volksforschung 33, Saarbrücken 1998,

the topic of Wales and Welshness from the perspective of outsiders, offering stereotypical comments from the point of view of laymen who were well-versed in Welsh matters only from books, rather than from first-hand experience.

The Anglo-Norman antipathy towards the Welsh was also lavishly displayed in *Historia Regum Britanniae*, better known by its English title as 'The History of the Kings of England' (1136), which is attributed to Geoffrey of Monmouth (c. 1100–1154). In his version of history, or perhaps more appropriately, his pseudo-history of the British Isles, the Welsh people were presented as those who, due to their degenerate morale, triggered the collapse of the ancient Britain established by Brutus, and, in effect, the seizure of power by the Anglo-Saxons, and, later, by the Anglo-Normans.[14]

The predominant theme which radiated from the literature of all three Anglo-Norman spokesmen heretofore introduced, was portraying Wales as a festering hotbed of barbarian customs and practices. The notion of 'barbarity' did not only compose much of the main core of the Anglo-Norman anti-Welsh discourse brought under scrutiny herein. As W. R. Jones rightly ascertains, 'barbarity', frequently juxtaposed with its binary opposite, 'civilisation' and its related adjective 'civilised', was invented by ancient people as a pretext to exert power over other minority nations. In W. R. Jones' words, it provided 'a rationalisation for aggression'.[15]

Etymologically, 'barbarity' derives from the Greek word 'barbaros', which the Greeks used to name those alien peoples whose languages they did not comprehend. The Romans borrowed this concept, extending its meaning to a term signifying a notion opposite to civilisation, particularly the Roman civilisation. Thus, from a term denoting a foreign language speaker, 'barbarity' evolved to connote an inferior, marginalised culture incompatible with the norms of what was defined as the civilised world.[16]

45–60); J. B. Smith, *Walter Map and the Matter of Britain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 2017).

[14] Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, trans. L. Thorpe (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books 1966).

[15] Jones, 'The Image of the Barbarian in Medieval Europe', 377.

[16] J. Ayto, *Bloomsbury Dictionary of Word Origins* (London: Bloomsbury 1990, 52); Jones, 'The Image of the Barbarian in Medieval Europe', 376–381. Among many Roman luminaries of hate rhetoric was Tacitus (A.D. 55–A.D. 118), who, in his *Agricola*, wrote the following in relation to the inhabitants of Britain: "Who the

Initially utilised by the Greeks and Romans in ancient times, it was then adopted by medieval writers, ecclesiastics and historians, who adjusted it to their own propagandist purposes. Once Christianity prevailed in Europe, the idea of barbarity was revised, from an antonym of Greek and Roman civility in Antiquity, to a term that then stood for all values that were contrary to Christian beliefs.[17]

In the opinion of Gerald of Wales, the propagated 'barbarity' of the Welsh was expressed in their denial of the ingredients of the 'civilised Anglo-Norman world' and their insistence on continuing a pastoral, tribal way of life. The Welsh, in contrast to the Anglo-Normans, lived by farming and herding, supposedly without interest in commerce, shipping or industry.[18] In their houses, Gerald continued, there were no tables, tablecloths or napkins.[19] As 'typical barbarians', they were said to dwell in the woods, in primitive buildings that did not resemble the lavish architecture of the Anglo-Norman constructions. Elaborating on the living conditions in Wales, Gerald remarked, in a sour tone,

> They [the Welsh] do not live in towns, villages or castles, but lead a solitary existence, deep in the woods. It is not their habit to build great palaces, or vast and towering structures of stone and cement. Instead they content themselves with wattled huts on the edges of the forest, put up with little labour or expense, but strong enough to last a year or so.[20]

The Welsh, as can be gathered from Gerald's *Descriptio Cambriae*, were distinguished by gluttony and greediness, implicit in their table etiquette, or rather, their lack thereof. When invited to someone's house they could not resist consuming enormous quantities of food and drinking alcoholic beverages. Gerald further maintained that, when stricken with hunger, the Welsh displayed behaviours typical of wild beasts, and

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first inhabitants of Britain were, whether natives or immigrants, remains obscure; one must remember we are dealing with barbarians". *Tacitus on Britain and Germany*, trans. H. Mattingly (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books 1954, 61).

[17] Jones, 'The Image of the Barbarian in Medieval Europe', 381–392.

[18] Gerald of Wales, *The Journey through Wales/The Description of Wales*, trans. L. Thorpe, 233.

[19] Gerald of Wales, *The Journey through Wales/The Description of Wales*, trans. L. Thorpe, 236.

[20] Gerald of Wales, *The Journey through Wales/The Description of Wales*, trans. L. Thorpe, 251–252.

devoured any food that they had acquired in order to satisfy their insatiable appetites, commenting that, 'in this they resemble wolves and eagles, which live by plunder and are rarely satisfied'.[21] With regard to the Welsh people's conduct on the battlefield, Gerald informed his readers that their initial bravado, reflected in piercing shouts and the sounds of trumpets, evaporated as soon as they had to confront an enemy directly. Their bravado dwindled once they were besieged by opponents, and the Welsh would disperse in a cowardly manner, to retreat to safety.[22]

The stigma of the alleged barbarity was also ascribed to Welsh princes and kings, who, in the view of the Anglo-Normans, were imprudent, impulsive, uncompromising, and ignorant of law. For instance, according to Walter Map, Gruffudd ap Llywelyn (1039–1063) had a reputation for being disrespectful and contemptuous towards Welsh legal customs. On one occasion, Walter Map reported that the king sentenced a certain man to death, in contravention of the Welsh law of compensation, solely by virtue of him having dreamed about being espoused to the king's wife. Reportedly, it was only due to the protests of the sages of Llywelyn's court, who opposed transgressing the native law, that the man avoided death. Also, if Walter Map is to be believed, Gruffudd ap Llywelyn, since his early childhood days, had been 'lazy and sluggish'.[23] He supposedly abused his kingly power by terrorising his subjects and eliminating anyone who might have put his reign in peril, showing no mercy even on his nephew, Luarc. As Walter Map wrote, "For he resembled Alexander of Macedon and all others in whom covetous lust destroys self-control, liberal, vigilant, quick, bold, courteous, affable, extravagant, pertinacious, untrustworthy, and cruel".[24] Furthermore, his vicious nature, typical of all

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[21] Gerald of Wales, *The Journey through Wales/The Description of Wales*, trans. L. Thorpe, 262. Also, as gleaned from Walter Maps' *De Nugis Curialium*, the Welsh people were demonised, as evidenced by Walter Map's report of an eerie corpse of a Welshman from Herefordshire who rose each night from his grave and haunted the entire village. *Walter Map's De Nugis Curialium*, translated by M. R. James, with Historical Notes by J. E. Lloyd, ed. E. S. Hartland, 113.

[22] Gerald of Wales, *The Journey through Wales/The Description of Wales*, trans. L. Thorpe, 257–260.

[23] *Walter Map's De Nugis Curialium*, translated by M. R. James, with Historical Notes by J. E. Lloyd, ed. E. S. Hartland, 102.

[24] *Walter Map's De Nugis Curialium*, translated by M. R. James, with Historical Notes by J. E. Lloyd, ed. E. S. Hartland, 104.

Welshmen, prevented him from keeping peace with King Edward the Confessor (1042–1066). Using Walter Map's own words, 'after the Welsh manner, it was only kept till they [the Welsh] felt able to do mischief'.[25]

Among many examples of alleged Welsh barbarity which surfaced in Anglo-Norman literature was their iniquity. As Walter Map noted, in his *De Nugis Curialium*, the Welsh, on the one hand, declared a great devotion to the Christian religion, falling to their knees and immersing themselves in prayers, and on the other, when on the battlefield, they indulged in bloodshed and slaughter: 'So strong and one may say innate is the disuse of civility, that if in one respect they may appear kindly, in most they show themselves ill-tempered and savages'.[26]

Walter Map wrote that the Welsh were true-born 'barbarians', who had no qualms about giving vent to their anger and fury. As he reported, in a chapter of his *De Nugis Curialium* entitled 'Of the Rage of the Welsh', it once happened in Wales that a boy, armed with a bow and two arrows when crossing a river, was attacked by two men. Defending himself from a blow inflicted by one of the assailants, he pierced him straight in the heart. Despite the agony caused from the deadly wound, the dying man pleaded with his accomplice to chase the boy. Upon learning that the lad had managed to escape, he expressed his last wish, asking his companion to lean forward, take a kiss from him, and carry it to his wife and children. When the man approached the wounded colleague, as he was pleased to do, he was stabbed in the stomach. As a response to that, he reacted in the same manner, cutting out the entrails of the wounded attacker. "See how foolish and unreasonable is the wrath of these Welsh, and how swift they are to shed blood", commented Walter Map on this gruesome spectacle, portraying the Welsh as the perpetrators of such foul and evil deeds.[27]

One more example of the supposed savageness of the Welsh, and the men of arms in particular, is a letter dated 24 September 1245, that a certain English soldier sent to his friends in England. Apart from reiterating complaints about the hardships of his service in Wales, the man

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[25] *Walter Map's De Nugis Curialium*, translated by M. R. James, with Historical Notes by J. E. Lloyd, ed. E. S. Hartland, 105.

[26] *Walter Map's De Nugis Curialium*, translated by M. R. James, with Historical Notes by J. E. Lloyd, ed. E. S. Hartland, 76.

[27] *Walter Map's De Nugis Curialium*, translated by M. R. James, with Historical Notes by J. E. Lloyd, ed. E. S. Hartland, 110.

indicated the cruelty of the inhabitants of the country. He related that, upon learning that their comrades had been killed by the English, the Welsh 'hung these knights of ours, afterwards decapitating and mangling them dreadfully: finally, they tore their miserable corpses limb from limb, and threw them into the water, in detestation of their wicked greediness in not sparing the church, especially one belonging to religious men.'[28]

The Anglo-Norman, anti-Welsh, rhetoric rested on the criticism of Welsh laws, which, judged by the Anglo-Norman paradigms, were inferior to the laws binding in England. By far the most avid detractor of Welsh laws was, beyond doubt, Gerald of Wales. To this observer and commentator of Welsh legal customs, the tradition of partibility, a cornerstone of the Welsh law of succession, which envisaged that all male descendants succeeded to the land together with its appurtenances after the deceased's death, supposedly resulted in the disintegration of the whole country and constant quarrels between members of the same family. Similar to partibility, Gerald believed the tradition of foster parenthood contributed more often than not to legal wrangles over ownership between members of the same kinsfolk.[29] As Gerald reported in his diary, documenting his and Archbishop Baldwin's journey through Wales, undertaken in 1188, 'Wales recalls with horror the great number of terrible disasters which, as the result of the miserable desire to seize possession of land, have occurred in our time, among blood-brothers and close relations'.[30] The pre-marital and extramarital liaisons approved under Welsh law supplemented Gerald's catalogue of detestable legal provisions constituting Wales' legal corpus. In making his innuendos, he did not spare lewd remarks towards the Welsh clergy either, predominantly expostulating against the inheritance of the benefices.[31] From Gerald's autobiography, it also appears that another 'scourge', with which the

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[28]*Letters from Wales*, ed. J. Abse, 20. The letter was originally published in Matthew Paris' *History. Matthew Paris's English History from the Year 1235 to 1273*, trans. J. A. Giles (London: Enry G. Bohn 1853, 111).

[29] Gerald of Wales, *The Journey through Wales/The Description of Wales*, trans. L. Thorpe, 260–261.

[30] Gerald of Wales, *The Journey through Wales/The Description of Wales*, trans. L. Thorpe, 80.

[31] Gerald of Wales, *The Journey through Wales/The Description of Wales*, trans. L. Thorpe, 262–264.

Welsh clergy was afflicted, was their cohabitation with concubines, also proliferate among the Irish.[32]

It was not only the substance of Welsh substantive and procedural law which did not receive Gerald's acclaim. Gerald also railed against the Welsh people, lambasting them for their disparaging stance towards law and order. In the eyes of Gerald, the Welsh were notorious for stealing, plundering, and committing robberies, from both foreigners and their own comrades. In the same manner as Gerald, Walter Map purported, 'The glory of the Welsh is in plunder and theft, and they are so fond of both that it is a reproach to a son that his father should have died without a wound'.[33] Gerald was also explicit about the supposed lawlessness of the Welsh nation regarding their evasion of covenants. 'They are so accustomed to breaking a promise, held sacrosanct by other nations', he warned his readers, 'that they will stretch out their hand, as the custom is, and with this well-known gesture swear an oath about nearly everything they say, not only in important and serious matters, but on every trifling occasion'.[34] Gerald alleged that the Welsh people's insolence towards justice manifested itself in placing false testimonies and statements in court, despite being lawfully sworn. 'They are always prepared to perjure themselves to their own convenience and for any temporary advantage which they hope to gain by concealing the truth', he wrote in the next lines of his *Descriptio Cambriae*, 'In any lawsuit, civil or ecclesiastic, they are ready to swear anything which seems expedient at the moment, whether they are the accusers or the accused, each side doing all it can to make its point and prove its case'.[35] In his other work, *Speculum Duorum*, Gerald wrote, 'like shameless and impudent actors they take pains to put to the court not that which is strictly relevant to the case, but rather that which is biased opinion, pouring forth slanders before the judges'.[36] 'When it finally comes to the point at issue', he continued, 'they are ready to prove

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[32] *The Autobiography of Gerald of Wales*, ed. and trans. H. E. Butler, 42–43.

[33] *Walter Map's De Nugis Curialium*, translated by M. R. James, with Historical Notes by J. E. Lloyd, ed. E. S. Hartland, 106.

[34] Gerald of Wales, *The Journey through Wales/The Description of Wales*, trans. L. Thorpe, 256.

[35] Gerald of Wales, *The Journey through Wales/The Description of Wales*, trans. L. Thorpe, 256.

[36] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Speculum Duorum, or A Mirror of Two Men*, ed. Y. Lefevre, R. B. C. Huygens and M. Richter, trans. B. Dawson, 99.

whatever they believe helpful to their case, either by acting upon it, by objecting, or even by replying to it, giving no more importance to the oath they have given corporally than to a word just spoken'.[37] In so doing, Gerald purported, they aimed at winning some personal gains rather than observing the law: 'Thus in a public court they do not hesitate or fear to put forward and prove contradictory views at one and the same time, as long as they think they are able to gain from them in some way or other'.[38] Gerald also commented on their vice of perjury, which he alleged was not only inherent in those who were born in Wales, but was also ascribable to the newcomers who came to her lands as visitors. Gerald seemed to disseminate the opinion that 'Welshness' spread like a 'contagious disease', affecting even those not of Welsh origin. To prove the aptness of his words, Gerald mentioned a case of Master David of Oxford, an advocate providing his legal service in Wales. The perjuries that the man witnessed in Welsh courts spurred him to resign from the legal profession and return to England.[39]

In their writings, the Anglo-Normans frequently referred to mythology, specifically the myth of Brutus. The myth espoused the belief that Britain was discovered by Brutus, the descendant of Ascanius and Aeneas, two exiles from Troy. After Brutus' death, as the story relates, Britain was partitioned between his sons: The eldest, Locrinus, received the middle part, from the Humber to the Severn, which was called Loegria, the future England; Albanactus, the youngest of all Brutus' sons, was bequeathed the land north of the Humber, called after his name, Albania, and then Scotland; and Camber, the middle son, became ruler of the territory west of the Severn, known in Welsh as Cambria, and Wales in English.[40]

In Gerald's opinion, the vices of the Welsh contributed to the loss of Britain, or rather perhaps better said, the Second Troy. By listing the sins that the Welsh allegedly committed, such as the aforementioned incest,

[37] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Speculum Duorum*, *or A Mirror of Two Men*, ed. Y. Lefevre, R. B. C. Huygens and M. Richter, trans. B. Dawson, 101.

[38] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Speculum Duorum*, *or A Mirror of Two Men*, ed. Y. Lefevre, R. B. C. Huygens and M. Richter, trans. B. Dawson, 101.

[39] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Speculum Duorum*, *or A Mirror of Two Men*, ed. Y. Lefevre, R. B. C. Huygens and M. Richter, trans. B. Dawson, 112–113.

[40] Gerald of Wales, *The Journey through Wales/The Description of Wales*, trans. L. Thorpe, 232; Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, trans. L. Thorpe, 53–75.

adultery, robbery, theft, and perjury, he openly shattered the hopes of the Welsh nation expressed in Merlin's prophecies of the reoccupation of New Troy, from the myth of Brutus. What Gerald of Wales wished to convey to his readers was that the Welsh, due to their 'barbarous' practices, incurred the wrath of God, and, consequently, relinquished Britain: 'It was because of their sins, and more particularly the wicked and detestable vice of homosexuality, that the Welsh were punished by God and so lost first Troy and then Britain'.[41] The passage, apart from its biased tenor, illustrates Gerald's ignorance, or unawareness, or possibly both, of the principles of the tribal society, which cherished male friendship as a society-building principle. In tribal societies, including the Welsh society, male bonds cemented the people. It cannot be denied that in criticising the Welsh for homosexuality, Gerald rejected the notion of non-homosexual male loyalty.

Gerald of Wales was not alone in juggling the legend of the origin of Britain to justify the colonisation of Wales by Anglo-Norman England. Likewise, Geoffrey of Monmouth made recourse to the story of Brutus in his *Historia Regum Britanniae*. In contrast to the Britons, who waged constant domestic wars, he argued that the Saxons, the first intruders who occupied Britain, 'kept peace and concord among themselves, they cultivated the fields, and they re-built the cities and castles'.[42] Once they committed themselves to savage practices, the former citizens of Cambria started to be called 'the Welsh' instead of 'Britons'. 'As the foreign element around them became more and more powerful', Geoffrey of Monmouth explained, "they were given the name of Welsh instead of Britons: this word deriving either from their leader Gualo, or from their Queen Galaes, or else from their being so barbarous".[43]

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[41] Gerald of Wales, *The Journey through Wales/The Description of Wales*, trans. L. Thorpe, 264.

[42] Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, trans. L. Thorpe, 284.

[43] Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, trans. L. Thorpe, 284. It is important to mention, however briefly, that the Anglo-Norman perception of the Welsh reflected in the English language, in which the verb *to welsh* denoted, and still does, the act of avoiding paying money or debts, or breaking promises and agreements, more specifically, according to *The New Oxford Dictionary of English*, 'to welsh' means to 'fail to honour (a debt or obligation incurred through a promise or agreement'. *The New Oxford Dictionary of English*, ed. J. Pearsall

Marginalising the Welsh, by forging an ethnic and cultural distance between them and the Anglo-Saxons and Anglo-Normans, was also a narrative instrument in Walter Map's *De Nugis Curialium*. When speaking about the erection of Offa's Dyke, Walter Map wrote that its creator, King Offa, intended to 'girdle in the Welsh into a small corner of their Wales'.[44] According to the writer, the Welsh were severely punished for crossing the border; the crime of trespassing was prohibited under the penalty of losing one's foot.[45]

The venture of further subjugating Wales to England economically, legally, and administratively, was continued by Henry III (1216–1272) and Edward I, in the second half of the thirteenth century. After Llywelyn ap Iorwerth's death in 1240, the power in Gwynedd was transferred to his son, Dafydd, who was conceived from the Welsh prince's marriage with Joan. Dafydd's heirless death six years later, in 1246, resulted in the division of the kingdom between his nephews, Owain and Llywelyn ap Gruffudd. The Treaty of Woodstock, signed in 1247 between Henry III and Owain and Llywelyn on the other side, *ipso facto*, reduced the Welsh princes to mere tenants-in-chief of the English monarch. Soon after, the brothers became absorbed in the domestic strife over political ascendancy over Gwynedd, the culminating and decisive moment of which was Llywelyn's victorious battle against his rivals, fought at Bryn Derwin in 1255.[46] Llywelyn ap Gruffudd's triumph in Gwynedd was confirmed by the Treaty of Montgomery of 1267, which secured his position as a prince of Wales.[47]

After the death of Henry III in 1272, the English Crown was bequeathed to his son, Edward I, who adopted the policy of overpowering

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(Oxford: Clarendon Press 1998, 2097). The word 'welsh' was commonly used to refer to commodities that seemed inferior, or which acted as substitutes for a real item, for instance the 'welsh comb' meant using one's hands to comb hair. Ayto, *Bloomsbury Dictionary of Word Origins*, 571.

[44] *Walter Map's De Nugis Curialium*, translated by M. R. James, with Historical Notes by J. E. Lloyd, ed. E. S. Hartland, 91.

[45] *Walter Map's De Nugis Curialium*, translated by M. R. James, with Historical Notes by J. E. Lloyd, ed. E. S. Hartland, 91.

[46] Walker, *Medieval Wales*, 103–110.

[47] *The Acts of Welsh Rulers, 1120–1283*, ed. H. Pryce with the assistance of C. Insley (Cardiff: University of Wales Press 2005), 536–538; Walker, *Medieval Wales*, 120–121.

the neighbouring countries, namely those of Scotland and Wales, as was the practice of his antecedents. To accomplish this goal, he applied a stratagem of exterminating the legal independence of Wales, and by encroaching on the individual rights and privileges that the Welsh had enjoyed since the times of Hywel Dda (who died in c. 949/950), a professed codifier of Welsh customary law, that is, from approximately the mid-tenth century.

Edward I encountered strong opposition from Llywelyn ap Gruffudd as to the English king's vision of Wales as a province subordinate to England. The most blatant sign of resistance of the Welsh prince against the king was the former's unwillingness to attend Edward I's coronation, celebrated on 11 July 1273. Edward I had no intention of tolerating the defiant attitude of the Welsh prince. He imprisoned Llywelyn ap Gruffudd's bride, Eleanor de Montfort (1252–1282), who was Simon de Montfort, the Earl of Leicester's daughter, capturing her in around 1275 or 1276, when she was on her way from France to Wales. By this, Edward I sent a clear message to the Welsh prince that he should remain subservient to the English Crown. Eleanor was detained by Edward I in Windsor Castle for several years, until her release in 1277. The couple officially married in 1278, in a ceremony solemnised at Worcester Cathedral.[48]

The preponderance of cases of violations of Welsh laws by the English, which can be derived from the corpus of complaints sent to Edward I by the Welsh nobility during the period under discussion, prognosticated that an anti-English, Wales-wide revolt loomed on the horizon.[49] These incidents were the prelude to the First War of Independence, which broke out in 1276. The war ended the next year, in 1277, with Llywelyn ap Gruffudd's crushing defeat, marked by his signing of the Treaty of Aberconwy.[50]

The primary source of contention in the years to follow was the conflict regarding laws,[51] particularly the ownership of land.[52] The rift

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[48] *The Acts of Welsh Rulers, 1120–1283*, ed. H. Pryce with the assistance of C. Insley, 580; Walker, *Medieval Wales*, 123–124.

[49] See, for example, *The Acts of Welsh Rulers, 1120–1283*, ed. H. Pryce with the assistance of C. Insley, 561, 574, 600, 722.

[50] *The Acts of Welsh Rulers, 1120–1283*, ed. H. Pryce with the assistance of C. Insley, 589–590; Walker, *Medieval Wales*, 124–126.

[51] Welsh law, different, in many respects, from English Common Law, played a significant role in the struggle of the Welsh nation against the English during the

between the Welsh and English was accentuated by a dispute over Arwystli, a *cantref* in central Wales, between Llywelyn ap Gruffudd and Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn, the lord of Upper Powys (who died in 1286), which commenced in 1278. Dissension concerning the legal title to the land soon transmuted into an argument over the binding law in Wales, more specifically as to what authority Welsh courts had to recognise the cases submitted thereto by the entitled parties. Both litigants disagreed which law, whether Welsh or English, should be applied to settle the legal discord. Llywelyn ap Gruffudd demanded that Welsh law bound, whereas his adversary insisted on English Common Law, on the grounds that the property in question belonged to the March of Wales, where Welsh law did not apply.[53] Finally, the case reached Edward I, who, unsurprisingly, imposed English law on the parties thereto.[54]

From the existent correspondence, it emerges that Eleanor, Llywelyn ap Gruffudd's wife, actively supported her husband in his dramatic efforts to preserve the autonomy of his lands from the English Crown, and to safeguard the observance of Welsh law. In a letter addressed to Edward I, dated 2 February 1282, Eleanor expressed her indignation at the mistreatment of her husband by the English merchants, and she also acted as an advocate of Llywelyn, demanding that his rights to have legal cases recognised according to Welsh law be observed. In the same letter, she petitioned against the imprisonment of the men who had accompanied her during the voyage to Wales. Eleanor died soon after on 19 June 1282, when giving birth to her only baby, a daughter, Gwenllian.[55]

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period analysed. In the words of Norman Davies, "Laws and customs, no less than language, were motors of medieval identity; and it was the fierce Welsh attachment to their law as well as to their language which helped them hold English power at bay". N. Davies, *The Isles: A History* (London: Papermac 2000, 299).

[52] Davies, *A History of Wales*, 158; I. Rowlands, 'The Edwardian Conquest and Its Military Consolidation', in T. Herbert and G. E. Jones, eds., *Edward I and Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press 1988, 46).

[53] The law corpus which developed under Norman and Anglo-Norman rule in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is referred to as English Common Law.

[54] A. J. Roderick, 'The Dispute Between Llywelyn ap Gruffydd and Gruffydd ap Gwenwynwyn (1278–1282)', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 8 (1936, 248–254); Walker, *Medieval Wales*, 146.

[55] Abse, *Letters from Wales*, 25–26.

On 21 March 1282, the war resumed, sparked by the murder of the English commander and constable of Hawarden Castle, Roger Clifford, by Dafydd, the prince's brother, and his men. Dafydd's revolt soon transformed into a national uprising against the English monarch. Archbishop John Pecham was designated by Edward I as mediator between the Welsh princes and the king of England in their conflict. In November 1282, John Pecham visited Wales, where, at the court of Aber, together with Llywelyn ap Gruffudd and Dafydd ap Gruffudd, he attempted to parley the terms of the settlement. The meeting, however, brought no breakthrough. To the disappointment of John Pecham, and more importantly Edward I, Llywelyn ap Gruffudd was not lured by the offer of abandoning Gwynedd in return for some promised estates in England. Embittered by the failure to convince the Welsh to eschew their dreams of full independence, he left Wales empty-handed.[56]

On 11 November 1282, the Welsh Council sent a letter to Archbishop John Pecham, which, apart from blazoning the grievances of the Welsh nation, explicitly stated that the Welsh prince would not alienate the Welsh lands. The letter was a response to the treaty that Edward I attempted to enforce in Wales to gain control in this region. One of the provisions of the treaty stipulated that Llywelyn ap Gruffudd should abandon Snowdonia and cede it to the English Crown. As the Welsh Council succinctly put it, they would not allow Edward I to appropriate the lands that had been in continuous possession of the Welsh proprietors since the times of Brutus, the eponymous forefather of Britain. They further maintained that they would not agree to exchange the lands of their ancestors for some foreign properties somewhere in England, where the language, customs and laws were alien. By evoking constituting elements of Welsh identity, such as their Trojan descent, the Welsh language, and law, the Welsh collaboratively asserted that they were determined to fight for the autonomy of their country, irrespective of the costs.[57]

The bold remonstrance of the Welsh was stimulated by an event that occurred in 1282. In that year, Edward I's army, under the leadership of Luc de Tany (who died in 1282), a seneschal of Gascony, commenced the occupation of Anglesey. Having seized Anglesey, the army constructed a

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[56] Walker, *Medieval Wales*, 129–130.
[57] *The Acts of Welsh Rulers, 1120–1283*, ed. H. Pryce with the assistance of C. Insley, 626–627.

bridge across the Menai Strait for Edward I to move further up the River Conwy. However, Luc de Tany embarked upon the siege on his own initiative. On 6 November, he crossed the bridge, only to be confronted by Llywelyn ap Gruffudd and his men. The victory of the Welsh over the English oppressors was read as a good omen. It was also the point at which the legend of Brutus was revived.[58] As *Flores Historiarum*, a Latin chronicle from the thirteenth century, reported, the Welsh believed that this event prognosticated the fulfilment of Merlin's prophecy. According to the chronicle, the information circulated that the Welsh prince, Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, would be crowned in London with the diadem of Brutus, the Trojan.[59]

Having failed to achieve his goal of exhorting the Welsh to succumb to the English monarch, John Pecham[60] unleashed his xenophobic, or more precisely cymrophobic, views, in letters sent to Edward I and Llywelyn ap Gruffudd. One such correspondence merits reference. In the letter delivered to Llywelyn ap Gruffudd on 14 November 1282, John Pecham soundly condemned Welsh laws which, in his view, were inspired by the very devil. The Archbishop contended that the Welsh 'devilish laws', as he called them, were anchored in Pagan traditions, namely those imported to Britain by the Trojans and their leader, Brutus. According to John Pecham, the first inhabitants of Britain, later called Wales, were the Trojans, who, following Paris' adulterous act with Helen of Troy, were expelled from their homeland. Once they conquered Britain, they introduced their laws, which deviated from the dogma of Christianity. Since the Trojans took Britain by force, he maintained they should not

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[58] Davies, *A History of Wales*, 159–160; Davies, *The Age of Conquest*: *Wales 1063–1415*, 352–353; Walker, *Medieval Wales*, 130–131.

[59] D. L. Douie, *Archbishop Pecham* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1952, 247); *Flores Historiarum A.D. 1265–1326*, ed. H. R. Luard (London: Printed for Her Majesty's Stationery Office by Eyre and Spottiswoode 1890, 57).

[60] Although John Pecham is considered in scholarly literature as a doyen of medieval archbishopic anti-Welsh discourse, he was not the champion of this kind of rhetoric. Another famous anti-Welsh activist holding the office of the Archbishop of Canterbury was Hubert Walter (1193–1205). In a series of letters that he delivered to Pope Innocent III, most of them polemicising with Gerald's pretences to free St David's from the supervision of Canterbury, he besmirched the reputation of the Welsh. For details, see *The Autobiography of Gerald of Wales*, ed. and trans. H. E. Butler, 136–146, 166–169.

question the right of other peoples, including the English, to suppress and subdue them.[61] John Pecham, as it seems, drew a close link between the fall of Troy and the intended demise of the Welsh during the Wars of Independence, relating that, as the destruction of Troy resulted from the affair of Paris and Helen, so, by analogy, the collapse of Wales could be attributed to the sustenance of Pagan laws, mainly those supporting adultery and concubinage, by its inhabitants.

On 11 December 1282, Llywelyn ap Gruffudd was killed by English soldiers, during the battle at Climeri. His death was followed by the detention and humiliating assassination of his brother, Dafydd, on 25 April, a year after. The war ended on 9 July 1283. Edward I made sure that none of Llywelyn and Dafydd ap Gruffudd's surviving heirs would claim their patrimony. Therefore, Llywelyn ap Gruffudd and Eleanor de Montfort's baby daughter, Princess Gwenllian was captured and detained in a convent in Sempringham Priory, where she died in 1337. By incarcerating Gwenllian in English custody, Edward I ensured she would not assert her rights to the Principality of Wales. What is more, Gwenllian was literally robbed of her Welsh heritage by denying her exposure to the Welsh language.[62] Similarly, Dafydd ap Gruffudd's sons were imprisoned at Bristol castle, where they died, and his daughters were committed to Sixhills convent in Lincolnshire.[63]

The Statute of Rhuddlan, ordained by Edward I on 19 March 1284, which was in force in the king's lands of North Wales and the county of Flint, proclaimed formally the demise of Welsh legal autonomy in the areas concerned, and confirmed the suzerainty of English jurisdiction. The most important regulations of the Statute of Rhuddlan included: The introduction of counties (i.e. the counties of Anglesey, Caernarvon,

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[61] Douie, *Archbishop Pecham*, 249–250; *John Peckham. Registrum Epistolarum Fratris Johannis Peckham, Archcepiscopi Cantuariensis. Volume 2*, ed. C. T. Martin (London: Longman, Brown, Green Longman and Roberts 1884, 473–475).

[62] By ousting Gwenllian from her patrimony and forbidding her to learn the Welsh language, Edward I deprived her of her Welsh identity. The extermination of the Welsh language was a common tactic used by the English in the years to follow. The tragic fate of young Gwenllian became a frequent theme of many poems, for example Myrddin ap Dafydd's (b. 1956) poem entiled *Gwenllian*. For the English translation of the poem, see *The Bloodaxe Book of Modern Welsh Poetry*, eds. M. Elfyn and J. Rowlands (Tarset, Northumberland, Bloodaxe Books 2003, 340–341).

[63] Walker, *Medieval Wales*, 131–133.

Merioneth, Cardigan, and Carmarthen), the new offices of the sheriff and bailiff, as well as the remodelling of the Welsh compensation law into English criminal law, and granting the right to a dowry to Welsh widows. Welsh land law, which had thus far rested on the principle of partibility, remained unaltered. Allowing the Welsh to continue their laws pertaining to land division and succession was not a paragon of the king's good heartedness, as it might seem at first glance, but was a well-thought-out strategy to further disintegrate a country already dishevelled by internal conflicts.[64]

Prior to the enactment of the Statute of Rhuddlan, Edward I, along with lawyers and Church authorities, conducted a scrutiny of Welsh law in the lands under royal control. A special commission was convened in 1281 to collect testimonies of the status of Welsh native customs, to be more precise, to determine which Welsh laws were still in use, and which were obsolete, and thus required amendments. What emerged from the accounts obtained from those interviewed, was that the Common Law of England superseded the *Law of Hywel Dda*, and more importantly, that the Welsh legal customs were falling into desuetude. Simply put, English law appeared to the informants as modern, and in line with the doctrine of the Church, whereas, by contrast, the laws of Wales were considered outdated and impractical. What is more, the lower aristocracy seemed to disregard native customs, tailoring them to their own personal interests. The participants of the investigation testified that the Welsh justice system was plagued with bribery and corruption. For instance, some witnesses maintained that a favourable verdict could be achieved by granting a pecuniary advantage to the prince's justices. Phrases like 'the country desires' or 'if I were the king'[65] placed into the mouths of those

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[64] *The Statutes of Wales. Collected, Edited and Arranged by Ivor Bowen*, ed. I. Bowen (London: T. Fisher Unwin 1908); Walker, *Medieval Wales*, 139–145.

[65] *Calendar of Various Chancery Rolls: Supplementary Close Rolls. Welsh Rolls. Scutage Rolls. Preserved in the Public Record Office. Prepared under Superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records. A.D. 1277–1326. Published by Authority of His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department* (London: Published by His Majesty's Stationery Office. The Hereford Times Limited 1912, 200).

interviewed, were all used to make their claims for the abolition of Welsh law stronger.[66]

In 1284, John Pecham visited four Welsh bishoprics. He reported to Edward I that Welsh clerics openly defied Christian principles, and they were indoctrinated with indulgence in concubinage and drunkenness. Furthermore, they were denigrated for not taking an active part in educating people. Illiterate themselves, Pecham complained, they had no idea of how to stir the country to moral and social advancement, and remained indifferent to such old-standing customs as the right of inheritance by bastards.[67]

On 8 July 1284, Pecham sent a letter to Edward I, in which, apart from accusing the Welsh people of 'savageness', 'wickedness' and 'idleness', he convinced the English king that the only way to subjugate the Welsh was by imposing an urban way of life on them. 'Their bloody and other customs arise', he argued, 'because they do not live together but keep themselves distant from one another'. As a resolution, he suggested that Edward I 'command that they live together in towns'.[68] John Pecham also proposed in his letter that Welsh children should be transported to England, where they would receive a 'proper' education. He claimed they could not be adequately educated in their homeland, because the clerics in Wales were poorly educated themselves. Broadly speaking, the letter voiced a great post-conquest reform of Wales, and the Welsh Church in particular, the goal of which was three-fold: the eradication of Welsh native customs which were incompatible with Canon Law, the subjugation of the Welsh Church to Canterbury, and the Anglicization of Welsh children through the medium of the English language.

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[66] *Calendar of Various Chancery Rolls: Supplementary Close Rolls. Welsh Rolls. Scutage Rolls. Preserved in the Public Record Office. Prepared under Superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records. A.D. 1277–1326. Published by Authority of His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department*, 191–211.

[67] Davies, *A History of Wales*, 174; R. R. Davies, *Domination and Conquest: The Experience of Ireland, Scotland and Wales, 1100–1300* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press 1990, 375); Douie, *Archbishop Pecham*, 236; Walker, *Medieval Wales*, 87.

[68] *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland. Volume 1*, eds. A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1869, 570–571). Quoted from Abse, *Letters from Wales*, 27.

To sum up, the passages extracted from selected English and Welsh sources, such as the chronicles, legal documents, and literature, speak volumes of the tense situation in Wales in the period from the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. They also disclose the policy that the Anglo-Norman kings adopted in the process of subjugating Wales and bringing her into the orbit of Anglo-Norman law and administration. The conquest in Wales was not achieved solely by the military occupation of the country, but was substantiated by the hate speech accompanying the propaganda. The study conducted herein demonstrates that Anglo-Norman propaganda was conveyed through highlighting a fissure between barbarity and civilisation, the former being attached to the Welsh and the latter to the Anglo-Normans. Another pillar of Anglo-Norman hate speech was the reconstruction of the myth of the origin of Britain. The Anglo-Norman writers, churchmen, and monarchs, did not acknowledge the Welsh people's title to the succession of Britain. By their refusal to disavow Pagan, tribal, and pastoral habits, among which the most abominable were considered sodomy and sexual promiscuity, the Welsh, from the Anglo-Norman point of view, dissipated the legacy of Brutus, the first founder of Britain.

In the years to follow, English literature still served as a viable platform on which anti-Welsh discourse was forged, thereby perpetuating the stereotypes of the Welsh to the next generation of Anglophone readers.[69] To give but two examples, Daniel Defoe (1660–1731), one of the most distinguished of all English writers, in his *Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1724–1726), attached the previously explored concept of barbarity to the Welsh language. When traversing the mountainous regions of Wales, he commented that 'the names of some of these hills seemed as barbarous to us, who spoke no Welch, as the hills themselves'.[70] Upon seeing Caernarfon, the castle erected by Edward I during the period of the Welsh Wars of Independence, Defoe explained that it was 'built by Edward I to curb and reduce the wild people of the mountains'.[71]

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[69] See, for instance, M. Parker, *Neighbours from Hell? English Attitudes to the Welsh* (Talybont, Ceredigion: Y Lolfa Cyf 2007).

[70] Daniel Defoe, *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books 1971), 382.

[71] Daniel Defoe, *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, 384.

Similarly, Arthur Tysillo Johnson (1873–1956), in his provocative work under the libellous title, *The Perfidious Welshman* (1910), penned a collection of invective addressed to the Welsh and their history, language, manners, and literature, emulating the humiliating discourse of his Anglo-Norman predecessors. "Never allow your children to run the risk of being contaminated by the manners of Welsh children. If you value your self-respect, avoid the Welsh language as you would sin; it is plebeian and low", thus he convinced his compatriots.[72] Similarly to Walter Map, who had ridiculed Gruffydd ap Llywelyn, he mocked Llywelyn ap Gruffudd who, in his words, was, "no more than a pestilent outlaw who, not satisfied with the goodly lands offered to him, lived to create trouble and dissatisfaction in a country that was at least peaceable".[73] For the Welshmen he also had one simple piece of advice: "Anglicise yourself as speedily as you can. It will never be possible for you to be quite equal to an Englishman, but you may make him your ideal. By so doing you may, perhaps, in course of time realise the awful misfortune of having been born Welsh, and endeavour, for the sake of others as well as of yourself, to forget it".[74]

The hate rhetoric disseminated by John Pecham and Edward I in their inquiries into the condition of Welsh education, law, and administration, as well as the shape of the Welsh Church, which were set forth mainly, but not exclusively, in the previously discussed Statute of Rhuddlan of 1284, blatantly revealed themselves in the infamous Report into the State of Education in Wales, issued in 1847, which was also known as *Brad y Llyfrau Gleision*, or Treachery of the Blue Books. The report depicted the Welsh as a barbarous, primitive, and morally degenerated people; hence the need for the reform of Wales, by 'competent' English officers.[75]

The text opened with a quotation from Gerald of Wales' *Descriptio Cambriae*, being a prophecy supposedly predicted by a Welshman from Pencader, who had joined the army of Henry II in the expedition to South Wales in 1163. The victory over the Welsh, as this passage strongly

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[72] A. T. Johnson, *The Perfidious Welshman* (London: S. Paul 1910), 149.
[73] Johnson, *The Perfidious Welshman*, 54.
[74] Johnson, *The Perfidious Welshman*, 157.
[75] For an exhaustive linguistic analysis of the Report, see G. T. Roberts, *The Language of the Blue Books: Wales and Colonial Prejudice* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press 1998).

accentuates, is only attainable if God intervenes; in other words, Wales would not perish unless its inhabitants provoked the wrath of God. Despite many attempts to annihilate the tokens of Welsh culture, such as language and law, by the Anglo-Normans, the Welsh people preserved their heritage, passing it to the next generations. The turbulences of the previous periods, particularly the hate rhetoric promoted by Anglo-Norman writers and rulers, which constituted the topic of this survey, did not vanish with the end of the Anglo-Norman epoch but were deeply intertwined with Wales' identity. For this reason, outlining new perspectives on Wales, the goal established in the very title of this volume, requires the consideration of the past. To truly understand Wales is to be aware of its history, an intrinsic part of which has always been subject to the discourse of hate.

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CHAPTER FIVE

EARLY WELSH MARIAN DEVOTION: SOME MODERN VIEWS

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In this volume, there are studies of Wales in the modern age, on work, class, politics, gender, and the like. In this paper (originally published in the Spanish journal *Scripta de Maria*) a longer view is taken of medieval Welsh devotion to the Virgin Mary (especially in poetry), and what modern historians have said on it. Appearing now in English, this survey informs us on medieval and modern Wales alike. For the latter, various stages will be seen. In the nineteenth century, Wales was one of the most Protestant cultures in the world, therefore attitudes to the Virgin Mary tended to be hostile or aloof. In the early twentieth century, they were replaced by greater or lesser sympathy, in a more liberal response to Wales's Catholic past, which was sometimes attended with nationalist interpretations of history. The most recent discussion has seen further change. With the decline in Wales, and elsewhere, of Christian practice and belief, Marian devotion now often appears in secularist and feminist terms. In all these, attitudes to the early cult of Mary follow social and intellectual fashion like a shadow.

Crucial to understanding of the subject is the virtual extinction of Welsh Catholicism by the end of seventeenth century. It survived only in parts of the south-east, where the Somerset family (the local magnates) protected it in Monmouthshire, and in the north-east at Holywell, Flintshire, where St Winifred's shrine attracted pilgrims, many of them hoping for cures from its miraculous spring. It was, thus, natural for the

Jesuit writer John Hughes (1615–86), in a collection of prayers and devotions either smuggled into Britain or printed secretly there, to address the faithful of Monmouthshire and nearby Breconshire as his 'brothers and sisters'.[1] Equally natural, given the continuing flow of pilgrims to Holywell and claims of miracles there (with a famous one in June 1805), were the efforts of nineteenth-century Protestants to dismiss both. Evidence here includes a supposed 'triumphant reply' published by the Rev. Peter Roberts (1760–1819) to a pamphlet on Holywell by Bishop John Milner (1752–1826).[2] In most of Wales, however, the Catholic Church vanished. A study of early Marian devotion, therefore, has the nature of a rediscovery. One twentieth-century scholar after another came to acknowledge this aspect of Wales's past, and even admire it. What follows sets out how this act of recovery was accomplished, with emphasis on the literary tradition, from the ninth-century *Historia Brittonum* to bards in Henry VIII's day.

We start a hundred years ago with Sir John Lloyd (1861–1947), composing a stately tribute to the hermit community of Bardsey, off Wales's north-west coast. So respected was this place for sanctity, that "the dearest wish of the Welsh warrior or poet, as he approached the end of his stormy career, was to be buried in the 'beauteous isle of Mary', where the heaving ocean made a girdle round the churchyard and where he might share the sleep of twenty thousand saints".[3] Romanticism, and more receptive views of the Catholic past, appear too, in the chapter 'Domestic Pilgrimages: Cult of the Blessed Virgin' by G. Hartwell Jones (1858/9– 1944), rector of Nutfield, Surrey. Jones, after a brief account of the Virgin and the early Church, discussed her former shrine at Pen-rhys in Glamorgan (South Wales), quoting poetry by Gwilym Tew (active 1460– 80) and Lewis Morgannwg (active 1520–65). Pen-rhys, now in the depressed post-industrial region of the Rhondda, was once a remote place, surrounded by woods. It was then a natural spot for contemplation, and

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[1] J. Hughes, *Allwydd neu Agoriad Paradwys* i'r *Cymry* (Luyck [=Liège]: s.n. 1670, 1–2).

[2] S. Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Wales,* 2nd edn (London: S. Lewis and Co. 1844, 424).

[3] J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales* (London: Longmans 1911, 216–217).

Jones speaks of 'the striking intensity of devotion breathed in some of these poems'.[4]

Jones gave no translations of poetry quoted by him. But H. Elvet Lewis (1860–1953) did, citing Lewis Morgannwg's account of miracles at Pen-rhys in Henry VIII's day:

> Never a mute comes to pray to thee, Mary, but he speaks before the end of two words; if the blind obediently calls to thee, the blind beholds the light of day; if the imbecile comes, fate-stricken, he believes and receives grace; when the deaf comes with another, he hears the cry of the other's pain; he who comes on crutches leaves them in Mary's choir; thine image is health-giving, it heals both pang and wound.

Elvet Lewis was minister of an evangelical Welsh chapel in King's Cross, London. So Protestant was Wales in his day, that he expressed surprise at the 'luxuriant growth of genuinely Catholic poetry' of the years 1450–1520, and concluded that, 'on the very eve of the Reformation, Wales was devoutly, faithfully Catholic'. He yet observed that poems in praise of the Virgin, and her mother, St Anne, owe more to apocryphal gospels and later literature than to the New Testament. He made the point by quoting a poem of Ieuan ap Rhydderch (active 1430–70), a gentleman of Genau'r Glyn in Ceredigion (South-West Wales). Ieuan, addressing the Virgin as our defence against danger, added words from Latin litanies to his verses, calling her both *stella maris* and (in Welsh translation) *seren heli*.[5]

A third cleric, Hugh Williams (1843–1911) of Bala (in North Wales), diligently sought evidence for Welsh Christianity in poems of the earliest period, despite their obscurity and textual corruption. He mentioned Christ as *map Meir* ('son of Mary') in tenth-century verses from Cambridge University Library, MS Ff.4.42 (of the later ninth century, and containing Juvencus's metrical version of the Gospel), and the line *Naut meir gwiri ar gueriton* ('Protection of the Virgin Mary and the Virgins'), in a poem from the thirteenth-century Black Book of Carmarthen (Aberystwyth, National

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[4] G. H. Jones, *Celtic Britain and the Pilgrim Movement* (London: Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion 1912, 329–353).

[5] H. E. Lewis, 'Welsh Catholic Poetry of the Fifteenth Century', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion 1911–1912* (1912, 23–41).

Library of Wales, MS Peniarth 1).[6] The cult of the Virgin figures in a still
older text. It occurs in Arthurian material from *Historia Brittonum*,
compiled in the early ninth century and formerly attributed to Nennius. Its
fifty-sixth chapter sets out Arthur's twelve battles. All these are historical.
Except for Mount Badon (which can be dated to 493 and located in North
Wiltshire, but had nothing to do with Arthur), they will have been fought
in southern Scotland and the Borders prior to 537, when Arthur was killed
at Camlan (Castlesteads, on Hadrian's Wall). But they have attracted
legendary details, one being a conflict *in quo Arthur portavit imaginem
sanctae Mariae perpetuae virginis super humeros suos*, thereby putting
the enemy to flight and slaughtering many of them *per virtutem domini
nostri Iesu Christi et per virtutem sanctae Mariae virginis genetricis eius*.[7]
The passage, noted more by Arthurian scholars than by Mariologists,
shows vigorous (if unreflecting) love of Our Lady in ninth-century Wales.

An important step came in 1931, when Professor Henry Lewis of
Swansea (1889–1968) published an edition of religious poetry predating
the year 1300. He put the study of these poems on a proper basis.
Although the texts often refer to the Blessed Virgin while praising God or
the saints, two of them are of outstanding interest. The first is an
anonymous poem from the Black Book of Carmarthen (copied in about
1250), describing the Flight into Egypt and Instantaneous Harvest. It tells
the legend of how, when Mary and the Infant Jesus were pursued by
Herod's men, they passed a ploughman, and Mary bade him tell the truth
to enquirers. But when soldiers arrived soon after, the corn was being
harvested; the labourer said that he saw Mary and the Child when he was
ploughing; and the persecutors turned back, thinking that the Holy Family
had passed by months before. The poem, showing the influence of Old
French verse, dates from about 1200, and is thus rather a modern piece.
Also modern are lines on the Nativity by Brother Madog ap Gwallter, who
closes Lewis's anthology. Praising their tenderness, he calls them
(inaccurately) 'perhaps the oldest Christmas carol in Welsh', although they
lack the refrain of a true carol. He goes on (also inaccurately) to mention
'the great and tiny giant lying in the manger, and his mother sitting on a

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[6] H. Williams, *Christianity in Early Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1912, 432,
435).

[7] E. K. Chambers, *Arthur of Britain* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson 1927, 15,
239).

bundle of hay', when it is not Mary who rests on hay, but her son. Madog, who wrote about 1250, was certainly a friar, and probably a Franciscan.[8] As for *Historia Brittonum* and Arthur, the Chadwicks of Cambridge stated that the source of chapter fifty-six was 'in all probability to be sought in a catalogue poem', which recounted Arthur's victories one by one.[9] Yet those lost verses hardly referred to the Virgin, whose presence ill-suits a battle-poem.

The Marian shrine of South Wales was Pen-rhys, a wooded and hilly place with a statue of her, a holy well, and miraculous cures. It contrasts with the bleaker pilgrimage-place of the North, in the form of Bardsey, or Enlli, two miles off the Gwynedd coast, but difficult to access because of dangerous tidal currents, which run to eight knots or more in conflicting directions. It is, as already noted, commemorated in the death-bed poem of Meilyr (d. 1137), poet and father of poets. Wishing to be buried in Bardsey's holy soil, Meilyr asks, "May I dwell, while I wait for the call, in the cloister which the flood-tide washes, the lonely ever-enduring refuge, about whose graveyard is the bosom of the sea; the radiant isle of Mary (*Ynys Veir uirein*), the holy isle of saints, the way to resurrection, bright is it therein".[10] In showing devotion to her, these pilgrim-verses on Mary's island predate those on Pen-rhys by three centuries. We may still point out that John Lloyd-Jones (1885–1956), a more precise scholar, translated *Ynys Veir uirein* as 'Isle of Wondrous Mary', which accords with syntax, and is more flattering.[11]

The 1950s saw growing attention to our texts. Ambrose Bebb (1894–1955), nationalist politician and academic, viewed late medieval Wales in terms of glory, not least for its literature and religion (before sixteenth-century English statecraft had fatal results for both). Using poetry as his major source, Bebb quoted Lewys Glyn Cothi (d. 1489) on embroidery, with *Llun Mair a'r deuddeg mewn cadeiriau* ('The Image of Mary and the Twelve enthroned'), or Guto'r Glyn (d. 1493) on Pen-rhys, *Merthyr, lle*

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[8] H. Lewis, ed., *Hen Gerddi Crefyddol* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru 1931, XII–XIII, XIV).

[9] H. M. Chadwick and N. K. Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature: The Ancient Literatures of Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1932, 155).

[10] H. I. Bell, *The Development of Welsh Poetry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1936, 44–45).

[11] J. Lloyd–Jones, 'The Court Poets of the Welsh Princes', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 34 (1948, 167–197).

gwna Mair wyrthiau ('Merthyr, a place where Mary performs miracles').[12] Bebb's work shows a twentieth-century revaluation of medieval Wales, which possessed a Catholic faith and native culture (as yet untainted by English influence) that could inspire pride in modern Welsh patriots. On *Historia Brittonum*'s strange allusion to Arthur's carrying Mary's image, *super humeros*, Rachel Bromwich quoted Thomas Stephens as proof for a written (not oral) source in Welsh (not Latin). Stephens (1821–75) made his living from a chemist's shop in Merthyr Tydfil, where pills and cough-mixture financed pioneering researches on Welsh literature. He observed that a Latin redactor must have confused *ysgwyd* ('shield') and *ysgwydd* ('shoulder'), which, in Old Welsh, could have the same spelling.[13] This points to a lost Welsh poem in which a bard chanted praises of Arthur in battle. Arthur (d. 537) had, by the seventh or eighth century, become the subject of a song, in which he may or may not have been associated with the Virgin Mary. But the Virgin's image on his shield to protect him from enemies seems more a clerical symptom than a bardic one.

Post-war translations of Welsh verse were now making it more accessible for non-Celticists. They included, in what remains a standard history of Welsh literature, lines from Brother Madog's Nativity poem.

> Great giant small and frail,
> So mighty yet so weak, with cheek how pale,
> So rich, so poor is he,
> Our Father – Brother and our Judge to be.

Madog goes on to stress the Infant Christ's poverty.

> Not in rich satin dight,
> His rags how unlike amianthus white,
> Nor yet in sendal laid,
> But poorest tatters furnish forth his bed.[14]

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[12] W. A. Bebb, *Machlud yr Oesoedd Canol* (Swansea: privately published 1951, 80, 85).

[13] R. Bromwich, 'The Character of the Early Welsh Tradition', in N. Chadwick, ed., *Studies in Early British History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1954, 83–136).

[14] T. Parry, *A History of Welsh Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1955, 56).

Despite the translator's archaic English, the poet's emphasis on the paradoxes of the Incarnation is clear enough. Here may be mentioned an Oxford thesis, chapter two of which deals with the Virgin Mary. It provides an analysis more detailed than anything in print. It is a pity that it remains unpublished.[15] On the *Historia Brittonum* passage, savage where Madog is tender, Professor Kenneth Jackson of Edinburgh (1909–91) made strange blunders in an important account. He said, on the confusion of Welsh words for 'shield' and 'shoulder', that, "this would be more conclusive if we knew that the Britons bore devices on their shields in the fifth century", and that the word 'shoulders', from a similar passage in the *Annales Cambriae* entry for 516, 'suggests an established tradition' that involved no shield.[16] On this, we may say (a) that the *Historia Brittonum* battle was of the 530s, not the fifth century; (b) nobody believes that the source's words are as early as that; (c) it is easier to bear an image on a shield than on one's shoulders; and (d) images are placed on shields, where the enemy will see them (with hoped-for apotropaic effects). An image on one's shoulders is seen by a warrior's enemies only when he is running away. The case for an archaic Welsh battle-poem (old enough to be corrupted by the time it reached our ninth-century text) stands.

Despite his greatness as a scholar, Jackson also erred in his account of the Instantaneous Harvest. He noted that the story is found in modern European folklore, in Scotland, Ireland, Sweden, Spain, Malta, Romania, and Russia, and even outside Europe, in modern Aramaic, of a Muslim holy woman who was fleeing an unwelcome marriage. It also occurs in medieval paintings of the Flight into Egypt. But Jackson was also mistaken in thinking that the oldest version was the Black Book one, that it derived from 'some early Apocryphal Gospel text now lost', and that it appeared in medieval Wales (and Ireland), because 'the Celtic Church was particularly fond of apocryphal stories of the marvellous, and that eventually it found its way into the folklore of the Near East and Europe'.[17] This is fantasy. We shall see that the legend figures in Old

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[15] R. T. Davies, 'Medieval Welsh Religious Poetry 1100–1450' (Oxford: Unpublished B.Litt. Thesis 1958).
[16] K. H. Jackson, 'The Arthur of History', in R. S. Loomis, ed., *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1959, 1–11).
[17] K. H. Jackson, *The International Popular Tale and Early Welsh Tradition* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press 1961, 120–122).

French verses surely known to the Welsh bard. The legend would have diffused from France, in art, written texts, and folklore. The 'Apocryphal Gospel text now lost' is Jackson's chimera. In a long study, Count Tolstoy deals with Arthur's battles in detail, regarding them as going back to an Old Welsh poem, if hardly to the age of Arthur.[18]

A milestone in Welsh Marian studies was passed in 1962, with the publication of a history of the Welsh Church from the conquests of 1070–1282 until the 1530s. It is the masterpiece of Professor Sir Glanmor Williams of Swansea (1920–2005), and is a cultural history as well as an institutional one, because he gave full consideration to poetry. His account of the Virgin has two parts. In the first he made summary reference to the professional bardic poems of before 1300, which are typified as 'gaunt, unadorned, deliberately archaic, and obscure', their themes being praise of the Trinity, emphasis on Christ's sufferings, terror of Doomsday and Hell, life's brevity, Mary, and Celtic saints. Williams also mentioned verse not by professional poets, more intimate and lucid, much of it surviving in the Black Book of Carmarthen. (It includes three praise-poems by Master John of St David's, a cathedral cleric, scholar, and amateur poet active between 1148 and 1176.) But easier to cope with, is Sir Glanmor's survey of late medieval Wales, with 'any amount of testimony to the affection in which Mary was held by the Welsh', especially their bards. Dafydd Epynt, active about 1460 near the town of Brecon, declared that 'all the colour and joy of the rest of the saints that exist' were found in Mary. Williams observed that poets owed much of their material, not only to St Luke's Gospel, but to the eighth-or ninth-century Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew and other apocryphal texts. He went on to quote passages in Welsh on how Gabriel's 'Ave' transposed 'Eva', undoing the consequences of the first woman's disobedience and sin. Bards also mention the Old Testament's burning bush as a type of Mary's virginity, light passing through glass as a symbol of the same, Mary as mother, sister, and daughter to Our Lord, her glorious Assumption, and her Five Joys. Nevertheless, the events of the New Testament, particularly those of the Blessed Virgin below the Cross at Calvary,[19] are rarely mentioned.

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[18] N. Tolstoy, 'Nennius, Chapter Fifty-Six', *The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 19/2 (1961, 118–162).

[19] G. Williams, *The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press 1962, 28–29, 479–485).

Typical of these poems is an anonymous fourteenth-century one, translated by Professor Clancy of New York in a style imitating that of the original Welsh. Lines in it derive from the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew's account of the Flight into Egypt.

As the prophesy foretold
To Egypt she brought Jesus;
The lions were light-hearted,
And the snakes, with the pure saint.
Great blessings, Mary noticed
One day when the sun was strong
A tall tree with luscious fruit
On its crest, which she craved for.
His gold love asked of Joseph
Some from the top, a bright gift.
Then angrily, in a few words,
Joseph replied to Mary:
'Ask the one, fair slim maiden,
Who made you pregnant, pure saint'.
It bowed to the level earth,
That tree, by the Son's wonders;
She had from the top her fill
Of fruit, she and her household.[20]

There are also remarks on the Blessed Virgin in a curious study of Welsh pagan and Christian traditions by Pennar Davies (1911–96), poet, evangelical theologian, and perceived victim of English injustice. In 1980 he was convicted for damaging a BBC transmitting station. As a Welsh patriot, he regarded it as an instrument of foreign oppression. Davies cited the twelfth and thirteenth-century bards, edited by Henry Lewis and described by Glanmor Williams, as 'archaic and obscure'. He remarked on how these poets delighted in the paradoxes of the Incarnation, citing Gwalchmai (son of the Meilyr who sought burial on Bardsey) on Mary as Mother of her Father, Daughter of her Son, and Sister of God. He quoted, too, Brother Madog's joyous praise of the Infant Christ, 'Humble, exalted,

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[20] J. P. Clancy, *Medieval Welsh Lyrics* (London: Macmillan 1965, 162–163).

Emmanuel, the honey of meditation'.[21] Religious meditation, with Wales's ancient past and modern politics, come together in this nationalist martyr.

Even though original poetry provides the staple of this paper, Wales saw much translation from Latin, almost all of it into prose, but including a metrical version of *Officium Parvum Beatae Mariae*. There are many surviving manuscripts, showing that it was popular, and demonstrating the Marian devotion of the Welsh in private prayer.[22] Of more general interest is Clancy's translation of Brother Madog's ode on the Nativity. The bard declares that a son has been given to us, one revealed by Heaven. Shepherds visit him, and then men of Eastern lands:

> To the house they went, no rampart, no door,
> Wind-battered doorways:
> The Son, there he was, the one who was born
> Under its shelter,
> Mother on the ground with her precious breast
> Held next to his lips.

The Magi beheld the infant Christ, worshipped him, and then offered gifts.

> They unlocked treasure, they presented gold
> And things far finer,
> Myrrh and incense, sanctuary's honour,
> Holiness' music.[23]

If Madog had written not in Welsh but in Latin, French, or Italian, his poem would be one of the most famous of the Middle Ages. It figured naturally in an account by Professor Caerwyn Williams (1912–99) of early medieval Welsh verse, where he spoke of its 'Franciscan freshness', which is true, though the poem displays learning as well. Williams, like Henry

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[21] P. Davies, *Rhwng Chwedl a Chredo* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru 1966, 74).

[22] J. E. C. Williams, 'Medieval Welsh Religious Prose', in *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Celtic Studies* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press 1966, 65–97).

[23] J. P. Clancy, *The Earliest Welsh Poetry* (London: Macmillan 1970, 165).

Lewis, also called it a 'carol', which it is not. He quoted, in addition, the earlier lyrics on the Deity as Mary's son, father, and brother.[24]

Historia Brittonum's description of how Arthur bore an image of Mary in battle was considered by Leslie Alcock, an archaeologist. He accepted that the story's nucleus is from a vernacular poem, which he thought might go back to the sixth century (which is not credible) or date from a later saga (which must be the case). He noted further, the confusion of Old Welsh *scuid* ('shoulder') and (*scuit*) 'shield'.[25] What he did not consider, archaeologist or no, was when religious images first appeared on Christian shields. Sources from Byzantium might be useful here, and cast light on the Marian devotion of fighting men. On poems to the shrine of Pen-rhys, Ceri Lewis quotes Lewis Morgannwg on its fame, the bard declaring that 'men were drawn from far and wide, by land and sea'. But, when the Reformation came, and Henry VIII's men destroyed the sanctuary, the poet denounced his earlier beliefs, urging the king to take a fierce line against those who opposed the royal will.[26] The longer, tenth-century, Old Welsh verses in the Juvencus Manuscript at Cambridge were translated by Sir Ifor Williams of Bangor, (1881–1965), who took their final verse on the Trinity as:

> The one who has both wisdom and dominion
> Above heaven, below heaven, completely:
> It is not too great toil to praise the Son of Mary.[27]

A highly imaginative book on Arthur cites the chronicle's 'prose summary in Latin of a lost Welsh poem', but with no mention of the history of shield-decoration, which might help date that poem.[28] Caerwyn Williams gave a long account of Welsh religious prose, including late texts on the Assumption and on the Miracles of the Virgin, both translated from

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[24] J. E. C. Williams, 'Beirdd y Tywysogion: Arolwg', *Llên Cymru* 11/1–2: (1970, 3–94).

[25] L. Alcock, *Arthur's Britain* (London: Allen Lane 1971, 38, 51–52).

[26] C. W. Lewis, 'The Literary Tradition of Morgannwg', in T. B. Pugh, ed., *Glamorgan County History: The Middle Ages* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press 1971, 449–554).

[27] I. Williams, *The Beginnings of Welsh Poetry* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press 1972, 102).

[28] J. Morris, *The Age of Arthur* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson 1973, 111).

Latin.[29] At this point may be mentioned the definition of 'carol' by a US expert on carols, as, 'a song on any subject, composed of uniform stanzas and provided with a burden or refrain'.[30]

When Myrddin Lloyd of the National Library of Scotland (not Wales) gave a lecture on the earlier bards, he remarked that it needed more than a lecture to record what they say of the Virgin. But he observed how they stress her power of protection. Meilyr (d. 1137) is the first of them to call her Mother of her Father; Einion Wann (active in about 1240) is the first to call her *dinam* ('immaculate'). Fourteenth-century poets associate her with light, calling her 'fair candle' or 'the moon of heaven's bright company'. Bleddyn Ddu (of about 1200) refers to her 'Five Joys' and her 'fruitful virginity'. In the later fourteenth century, Gruffudd ap Maredudd ap Dafydd wrote two fine theological poems on her, mentioning Christ as 'son to the Virgin Mary from the Word'. Dafydd Benfras in the previous century spoke of her as 'daughter of Anna'.[31] Lloyd's analysis of these poets is a model for other critics. Siân Victory's book on pre-Norman Welsh Christianity hardly mentions Mary, except as a figure crudely represented on a monument of about 1000 from Llanhamlach, near Brecon, Powys. She appears there with St John, below the Cross (the two also figure on a better cross-slab of similar date, from Margam, Glamorgan).[32] As regards the Virgin, Caerwyn Williams's lecture on Welsh religious poetry, 1100–1350, merely rehearses themes already discussed.[33] Myrddin Lloyd's later account of bards between 1200 and 1350 has the advantage of being in English, and the disadvantage of lacking references.[34]

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[29] J. E. C. Williams, 'Rhyddiaith Grefyddol Cymraeg Canol', in G. Bowen, ed., *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith yn yr Oesau Canol* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer 1974, 312–408).

[30] R. L. Greene, ed., *The Early English Carols*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1977, XXXII–XXXIII).

[31] D. M. Lloyd, *Rhai Agweddau ar Ddysg y Gogynfeirdd* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru 1977, 24–25).

[32] S. Victory, *The Celtic Church in Wales* (London: SPCK 1977, 126–127).

[33] J. E. C. Williams, *Canu Crefyddol y Gogynfeirdd* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer 1977, 26–27, 36–37).

[34] D. M. Lloyd, 'The Later Gogynfeirdd', in *A Guide to Welsh Literature* (Swansea: Christopher Davies 1979, 36–57).

Writers of the 1980s do not greatly advance our knowledge. Professor Davies of London University writes chapters on the early Church and Christianity without, it seems, ever mentioning the Virgin Mary.[35] Simon Evans made a few remarks, and offered a lame translation of lines by Gwalchmai, son of the Meilyr (d. 1137), mentioned above.

> She is mother to her father, she is undeniably a virgin,
> She is a despenser of gifts, wholly generous,
> She is thus a daughter to her son the way it is,
> She is sister to God of godly faith.[36]

An anthology of medieval Welsh prose has an extract from the fourteenth-century translation of the Office of the Virgin, with a prose version of the *Salve Regina*.[37] Fuller are remarks by Rees Davies (1938–2005) of Oxford, stressing the humanity of Mary as mother (even if medieval men and women may have seen this as evidence of power rather than tenderness), and quoting Brother Madog's hymn to Christ in the manger, 'his throne a little heap of hay'.[38] Glanmor Williams mentions again a 'new and more intense adoration' of the BVM in the fifteenth century, though adding that references to her in Welsh miracle plays, poems, and prose texts owed more to 'apocryphal literature or the *Legenda Aurea*' than to Scripture, there being as well an excessive stress on 'her influence in the Last Judgement, almost at the expense of the merits of her son'.[39]

The 1990s saw improved treatment of medieval Welsh poetry and the Blessed Virgin. In an edition of poetry on legendary heroes, Jenny Rowland of Dublin translated Marian verses from Aberystwyth, National

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[35] W. Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester: Leicester University Press 1982, 141–193).

[36] D. S. Evans, *Writers of Wales: Medieval Religious Literature* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press 1986, 16–17).

[37] N. Lloyd and M. Owen, *Drych yr Oesoedd Canol* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru 1986, 13–15).

[38] R. R. Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence, and Change: Wales 1063–1415* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1987, 207–208).

[39] G. Williams, *Recovery, Reorientation, and Reformation: Wales c. 1415–1642* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1987, 126–127).

Library of Wales, by MS Llanstephan 27, copied in about 1400. She selected four of its six verses.

> Mary nurtures a son in her womb;
> Fortunately born are those who find him;
> Of the path of the sun, wide is his host ....
> Mary nurtures a son of nobility.
> He is God, the chief proprietor of every nation,
> Her father, her strengthener, her brother ....
> He is not knowledgeable who does not know
> How Mary is related to the Ruler:
> Her son, her father, her lord.
> I know, although I am sad and earthly, how Mary is related
> To the spiritual Trinity:
> Her son and her fleshly brother,
> And her father, the good and powerful Lord.[40]

The image is of the Virgin and Child, where the emphasis is solemn and imposing, stressing Mary's power and status, but with little room for tenderness. Professor McKenna of Harvard edited and translated sixteen bardic poems. Verses chosen include Meilyr's death-bed poem.[41] Glanmor Williams contributed a brief remark on Mary in a sketch of Welsh Christianity.[42] Vastly more important is an edition of the anonymous and non-bardic poetry by Marged Haycock of Aberystwyth. It is entirely in Welsh, with translations of the texts into the modern language. Two of these deserve special mention. The first are the stanzas on the Virgin and Child already mentioned, from MS Llanstephan 27. The second is a poem of eighty-four lines from the thirteenth-century Black Book of Carmarthen, the last part of which (on the Instantaneous Harvest) may be translated as follows.

> And a second miracle did the generous Lord perform,
> Who hears himself praised,

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[40] J. Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer 1990, 288–289).

[41] C. McKenna, *The Medieval Welsh Religious Lyric* (Belmont: Ford and Bailie 1991, 154–157).

[42] G. Williams, *The Welsh and Their Religion* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press 1991, 9).

When he wished to avoid capture.
This is the way that he fled:
While a labourer was ploughing the land,
Working as was right,
The Trinity of heaven said,
He and his immaculate Mother of noble blessing,
'Friend, a crowd of men will come after us
To look for our resting-place,
In haste to ask you,
"Have you seen a woman with a child?"
Tell the plain truth
(You will not be rejected in our prayer)
That you saw us pass by
The field, and God's grace on it'.
At that there came a base rabble,
Descendants of wrathful Cain,
A crowd of pursuers hunting down the Lord.
One, odious and churlish,
Said to the man he saw,
'Good fellow, have you seen anyone
Pass by you without turning aside?'
'I did when I harrowed the fair open land
That you see being reaped.'
What the children of Cain did
Was to turn back from the reaper,
Through the intercession of Mary,
Because she knew that God cared for her;
Defending her were with her
The Holy Spirit, and purity within.

This brilliantly-told narrative is not quite the oldest version of the legend, for it is based on an Old French poem. Despite being in Welsh, it has nothing especially Celtic. Also in the Black Book of Carmarthen, are seven stanzas asking for the protection of God, Mary, and the Saints and Martyrs, with these lines amongst them:

To God I ask, a beseeching for sure blessings
Against the torments of Hell:
For my soul, by means of their meditations,

The protection of Mary most pure and the Virgins.[43]

Dr Davies's study of early Welsh spiritual traditions adds little to our knowledge of the Virgin.[44]

Nor does Jane Cartwright's narrowly secular and feminist account of Welsh women and medieval Christianity, despite reference to the translation (its oldest known manuscript being from the earlier fourteenth century) of the Blessed Virgin's *Miracles*.[45] In a different and more humane spirit, is the late Glanmor Williams's description of the fate of Pen-rhys. Bishop Latimer (d. 1555), the future Protestant martyr, wrote on the shrine in June 1538 to Henry VIII's chief minister Thomas Cromwell (d. 1540). He called it 'the devil's instrument to bring many (I fear) to eternal fire', urging (with what Williams referred to as 'coarse hilarity') that it be burnt publicly in London. Cromwell acted swiftly. On 23 August, he wrote to the authorities in Glamorgan, ordering that the image be taken down 'as secretly as might be', lest the decision provoke local opposition. The statue was evidently cherished and revered by many. On 26 September the Royal Will was proclaimed at Pen-rhys; 'idolatry' was denounced; and the image was brought to London and burnt with others, an event celebrated in a semi-official ballad by William Gray, one of Cromwell's servants. Such was the ending of a world of symbols and devotion, in Wales and beyond.[46]

Turning back, from one Marian image and Henry VIII, to another and Arthur, we find Dr Padel doubting that the Virgin could have been depicted on a shield, since we lack 'other mentions of pictorial representations on shields from early Welsh culture', so that [the word] 'shoulders' was always intended'.[47] Yet the truth is that the question has

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[43] M. Haycock, *Blodeugerdd Barddas o Ganu Crefyddol Cynnar* (s. l.: Barddas 1994, 121–135, 269).

[44] O. Davies, *Celtic Christianity in Early Medieval Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press 1996, 36, 101–102).

[45] J. Cartwright, 'Convent and Community in Medieval Wales', in D. Watt, ed., *Medieval Women in Their Communities* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press 1997, 20–48).

[46] G. Williams, *Wales and the Reformation* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press 1997, 127).

[47] O. J. Padel, *Writers of Wales: Arthur in Medieval Welsh Literature* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press 2000, 11).

never been properly investigated by Dr Padel, or anyone else. In contrast is Nick Higham of Manchester, who sees the passage as perhaps reflecting Bede's portrayal of St Oswald's victory over the Welsh King Cadwallon, near Hadrian's Wall in late 633. Oswald had raised a cross before attack, and Higham thinks Arthur may have been regarded as triumphing in the same way, with Christ and his mother as protectors.[48]

More recent writings detain us little. In another presentation, Jane Cartwright suggests that the violence suffered by St Non, mother of St David, Wales's national patron, shows parallels with the life of the Virgin.[49] More gently, a Welsh and an Irish writer set out evidence for the Virgin and the Last Judgement. Most of their material is Irish, but they refer to a faded and fragmentary painting of Doomsday in the parish church at Wrexham (in North-east Wales), where Mary is shown kneeling by her son, and pleading for the sinners whose bodies are seen rising from their graves. These two scholars also mention verse references to the scales of St Michael, in which the Blessed Virgin lays her rosary in one pan to counter the devil's pulling down the other. The most vivid of these is by Llywelyn ap Hywel, a Glamorgan bard active in the 1480s. He must have seen pictures of this motif, which is unknown in Continental Europe, but which can be seen in a few wall-paintings of English country churches, where they have survived generations of Protestant disapproval (generally taking the form of a coat of whitewash, preserving them for discovery in modern times).

> I saw the image of Michael
> And the sinner he weighs;
> And the ugly Black One tugging
> At the thread with his swarthy hand;
> And the gripping on the other side,
> Loaded down with Mary's rosary;
> And the soul there, dying,
> Teaching a sharp lesson about good works.
> May Mary the meek and fair receive him;
> In the fire she knows him.
> When I go to Michael,

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[48] N. J. Higham, *King Arthur* (London: Routledge 2002, 149).
[49] J. Cartwright, 'The Cult of St Non', in J. W. Evans and J. M. Wooding, eds., *St David of Wales* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer 2007, 182–206).

I shall tug Satan's fork,
And by my soul I shall wish him
Ill luck in the scales!
May Mary and Michael, for fear
Of the icy cauldron, be successful against him.[50]

In collected Marian essays, the present writer brings together themes from poems in Welsh, and other languages. The book provides discussion of their patristic or liturgical origins.[51]

An encyclopaedia contains little on our subject, but does mention the revival of pilgrimages to Bardsey (though without reference to the new national Catholic shrine at Cardigan, in South-west Wales).[52] There is nothing relevant to present purposes in a later book on hagiography in Celtic lands.[53] However, an article on Welsh poems sheds fresh light on Pen-rhys.[54] Nick Higham attempts a revisionist interpretation of the *Historia Brittonum* passage, seeing Arthur, not as bearing an image on his shield, but carrying a banner on his arms (a curious translation of *humeros*). He goes on, with rhetoric and faulty syntax, to speak of Arthur's 'achieving victory while bearing the emblems of the Virgin and slaughtering the *pagani* under the protection of both Mary and Christ'.[55] Like much cited above, the passage still awaits definitive exposition.

At this point, the main part of the original paper comes to an end.[56] But research does not. Wales now has a full history of its earliest centuries, with almost a hundred pages on its Church and culture, yet which says

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[50] M. Gray and S. Ryan, 'Mother of Mercy', in K. Jankulak and J. M. Wooding, eds., *Ireland and Wales in the Middle Ages* (Dublin: Four Courts 2007, 246–261).
[51] A. Breeze, *The Mary of the Celts* (Leominster: Gracewing 2008).
[52] Anon, 'Pilgrimage', in *The Welsh Academy Encyclopaedia of Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press 2008, 679).
[53] S. Boardman, J. R. Davies and E. Williamson, eds., *Saints' Cults in the Celtic World* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer 2009).
[54] M. Gray, 'A Rediscovered Miracle Collection from the Shrine of the Virgin Mary at Penrhys?', *Studia Celtica* 45 (2011, 105–109).
[55] N. J. Higham, 'The Chroniclers of Early Britain', in S. Echard, ed., *The Arthur of Medieval Latin Literature* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press 2011, 9–25).
[56] A. Breeze, 'La Virgen María y Gales en la edad media', *Scripta de Maria* 10 (2013, 101–121).

almost nothing on the Virgin.[57] Wales also now has the final volume on her early Christian monuments, which, as regards Mary, limits itself to comments on dedications of churches to her in the immediate pre-Norman period.[58] Better, is a paper on medieval cross slabs in South Wales, with emphasis on their representations of Mary at the foot of the Cross, and helpful references to this in the bardic poetry of the late Middle Ages.[59] Yet again, such work indicates the possibilities of a complete study of Welsh Marian devotion, and modern attitudes to it. It would be a substantial book.

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[57] T. M. Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons 350–1064* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2013, 581–679).

[58] N. Edwards, *A Corpus of Early Medieval Inscribed Stones and Stone Sculpture in Wales: North Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press 2013, 81).

[59] M. Gray, 'Good Thief, Bad Thief', *The Welsh Journal of Religious History* 7–8 (2012–2013, 24–38).

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CHAPTER SIX

LANGUAGE ATTRITION
IN THE WELSH CONTEXT:
EVIDENCE OF ATTEMPTED MURDER
OR SUICIDE?

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Introduction

An official government policy document published in 2012 describes the Welsh language as 'one of Europe's most robust minority languages', pointing out that 'it is a testament to the commitment of Welsh-speakers that it has survived alongside one of the world's most influential languages', yet emphasising, 'Nevertheless, the situation of the Welsh language remains fragile'.[1] If, to an outsider, such an ambivalent statement seems to send mixed messages regarding the vitality of the language at present, perhaps some knowledge of the current political context in which this indigenous language exists would be advantageous.

Whereas it is not possible within the confines of this paper to provide a full historical account of the political relationship between Wales and England, suffice it to say that the Act of Union in 1536, which deprived Wales of its political independence, was sufficiently detrimental to enable its annexation to be objectively referred to much later as 'England's first

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[1] Welsh Government, 'A Living Language: A Language for Living: Welsh Language Strategy 2012–17' (Cardiff: Welsh Government 2012, 7).

colony'.[2] However, unlike countries colonised subsequently in other parts of the world, this political relationship may be said to reflect a form of 'internal colonialism'.[3] From 1536 onwards, the Welsh language continued to exist within an increasingly diglossic context,[4] the Act having succeeded unashamedly in imposing overt restrictions on the official use of the language, thus reducing its status to that of a 'low language', in comparison with the 'high language' status of English, as shown in the following quotation from the 'Language Clause' of the Act:

> … from henceforth no Person or Persons that use the *Welsh* Speech or Language, shall have or enjoy any manner Office or Fees within this Realm of *England*, *Wales*, or other the King's Dominion, upon Pain of forfeiting the same Offices or Fees, unless he or they use and exercise the *English* Speech or Language.[5]

Since then, other more recent events in the history of the Welsh nation have also been acknowledged as seminal contributory factors in the attrition of its language, and the increasing shift towards the assimilative domination of English, both politically and culturally.

Amongst those subsequent events was the 1846 enquiry into the state of education in Wales by commissioners from England, resulting in a report which appeared in 1847, more commonly known as 'The Treason of the Blue Books' and described by Khleif as: 'a colonial, race-supremacist document, of the kind that an imperial power did not hesitate to produce in the Victorian era'.[6]

It was this report which led to the common practice of punishing children for speaking Welsh rather than English in the classroom, a policy similar to that adopted in other parts of the world to prevent children from speaking their mother tongue. Despite the limited educational provision which existed generally, the domination of English was further reinforced

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[2] B. B. Khleif, *Language, Ethnicity and Education in Wales* (New York: Mouton 1980).

[3] R. Blauner, 'Internal Colonialism and Ghetto Revolt', *Social Problems* 16 (Spring, 1969, 396).

[4] J. Fishman, 'Bilingualism and Biculturalism as Individual and as Societal Phenomena', *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 1 (1980, 3–15).

[5] J. Davies, *The Welsh Language* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press 1993, 23).

[6] Khleif, *Language, Ethnicity and Education in Wales*, 112–113.

by the 1870 Education Act, the overt political and cultural aims of which (although couched in the guise of colonial altruism) have been described by Williams as: '… the most manifest expression of [a] centralist and uniform ideology… [which] involved the deliberate introduction of compulsory elementary education exclusively in English, …'.[7] Despite its constitutionally 'internal' structure, the colonial nature of British administration, under which Wales was ruled at the time, whose ideological aims were those of linguistic and cultural assimilation, was summed up in the words of Matthew Arnold:

> It must always be the desire of a government to render its dominions, as far as possible, homogeneous. Sooner or later, the difference between Welsh and English will probably be effaced, … an event which is socially and politically so desirable.[8]

However, emphasizing the *hegemonic* nature of the British political context in which the Welsh language continued to be spoken, albeit only in restricted communal domains, might well appear rather disingenuous to many of today's younger generation who, despite not having experienced linguistic domination in such overt terms, have been largely deprived of such factual information during their statutory education due to the pro-Anglo-British orientation of history taught in schools in Wales. Furthermore, today's younger generation has very little knowledge or experience of the linguistic and cultural issues involved in the continuing battle since the early 1960s to reverse language shift, and to engage in the on-going process of language revitalization. Such a battle (once controversially described by Lord Dafydd Ellis Thomas as 'being over') has since resulted in many gains for the minority Welsh-speaking population on a linguistic, cultural, and political, front. The thriving Welsh-medium education system which now exists from nursery to university level, and is enjoyed and taken for granted by thousands of members of the younger generation, has itself, arguably, contributed to the lack of awareness of more troubled times, when Welsh-medium education

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[7] C. H. Williams, 'Language Planning and Minority Group Rights', in I. Hume and W. T. R. Price, eds., *The Welsh and Their Country* (Gomer: The Open University 1986, 258).

[8] Matthew Arnold quoted in A. R. Jones and G. Thomas, *Presenting Saunders Lewis* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press 1973, 127).

itself was continually in the political arena. Consequently, one could argue that, despite some dissenting voices, the Welsh language and the availability of services in Welsh, for example, are currently perceived as reflecting a process of 'normalization', underpinned by 'official' government support.

Over the past years, especially since the devolution of some powers to Wales in 1998, various policies, strategies, and legislation have been introduced, thus reflecting deliberate Welsh Government intervention to promote, and to revitalize, the Welsh language. Such interventions and developments over recent decades have included the following:

- The 1993 Welsh Language Act, and the establishment of the Welsh Language Board (a statutory body which, however, was terminated in 2012).
- The devolution of British central government and the establishment of the Welsh Assembly Government in 1998.
- A policy statement on the Welsh language, 'Dyfodol Dwyieithog: A Bilingual Future' (Welsh Assembly Government 2002).
- A policy review of the Welsh language, entitled 'Our Language: Its Future' by the Culture Committee and Education and Lifelong Learning Committee of the National Assembly for Wales, in 2002.
- The publication of the policy document 'Iaith Pawb: A National Action Plan for a Bilingual Wales' (Welsh Assembly Government 2003).
- The commitments of 'One Wales: A Progressive Agenda for the Government of Wales' (Welsh Assembly Government 2007a).
- The publication of the Welsh-medium Education Strategy (Welsh Assembly Government 2010).
- The language strategy 'A Living Language: A Language for Living – Welsh Language Strategy 2012–17' (Welsh Government 2012).
- The Welsh Language (Wales) Measure (2011), which received Royal assent on February 9 2011, and gave the Welsh language official status in Wales, and a Welsh Language Commissioner.
- The establishment of a Welsh-medium National University in September 2011 (*Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol*).
- The publication of a further policy statement, 'A Living Language: A Language for Living – Moving Forward' (Welsh Government 2014).

The essence of the intended direction of language planning strategies proposed during the early part of the twenty-first century may be conveyed

by referring to the aims mentioned in some of the above policy documents: for example, '*Iaith Pawb*: A National Action Plan for a Bilingual Wales' referred to:

- an increase in the number of people who both speak and use the language;
- an increase in the opportunities to use Welsh, allied with initiatives aimed at raising people's confidence and fluency in the language;
- an increase in people's awareness of the value of Welsh, both as part of our national heritage, and as an important skill in modern life;
- directed initiatives throughout Wales to strengthen the Welsh language at community level.[9]

The strategic aims and outcomes of the Welsh-medium Education Strategy were:

- Strategic aim 1: To improve the planning of Welsh-medium provision in the pre-statutory and statutory phases of education, on the basis of proactive response to informed parental demand.
- Outcome 1: More seven-year-old children being taught through the medium of Welsh.
- Strategic aim 2: To improve the planning of Welsh-medium provision in the post-14 phase of education and training, to take account of linguistic progression and continued development of skills.
- Outcome 2: More learners continuing to improve their language skills on transfer from primary to secondary school, with increasing targets: 2009 (16%), 2015 (19%), 2020 (23%).
- Strategic aim 3: To ensure that all learners develop their Welsh-language skills to their full potential, and to encourage sound linguistic progression from one phase of education and training to the next.
- Outcome 3: More learners studying for qualifications through the medium of Welsh.

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[9] Welsh Assembly Government, '*Iaith Pawb*: A National Action Plan for a Bilingual Wales' (Cardiff: Welsh Assembly Government 2003).

- Strategic aim 4: To ensure a planned Welsh-medium education workforce that provides sufficient numbers of practitioners for all phases of education and training, with high-quality Welsh language skills and competence in teaching methodologies.
- Outcome 4: More learners aged 16–19 studying subjects through the medium of Welsh in schools, colleges, and work-based learning.
- Strategic aim 5: To improve the central support mechanisms for Welsh-medium education and training.
- Outcome 5: More learners with higher-level Welsh-language skills.
- Strategic aim 6: To contribute to the acquisition and reinforcement of Welsh-language skills in families and in the community.
- Outcome 6: Not specified.[10]

Furthermore, *Iaith Fyw: Iaith Byw* ('A Living Language: A Language for Living"): Welsh Language Strategy 2012–17'[11] was presented as a strategy to increase the use of Welsh in all spheres of life and to build on the vision and structural framework set out previously in '*Iaith Pawb*: A National Action Plan for a Bilingual Wales'.[12] The consultation document,[13] which preceded the final publication, listed 29 key areas of development, indicating an expansion of the usual domains, such as education, to encompass those more recently recognized as having both a direct and indirect impact on language attrition. These included, for example, giving consideration in local authority planning to the links between the local economy, employment, housing, migration and the Welsh language; supporting the development of Welsh language broadcasting on all platforms and considering the possibility of increasing the provision of Welsh language programming on commercial radio

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[10] Welsh Assembly Government, 'Welsh-Medium Education Strategy' (Cardiff: Welsh Assembly Government 2010).
[11] Welsh Government, 'A Living Language: A Language for Living: Welsh Language Strategy 2012–17' (Cardiff: Welsh Government 2012).
[12] Welsh Assembly Government, '*Iaith Pawb*: A National Action Plan for a Bilingual Wales' (Cardiff: Welsh Assembly Government 2003).
[13] Welsh Government, 'A Living Language: A Language for Living: A Strategy for the Welsh Language (Consultation Document)' (Cardiff: Welsh Government 2010).

stations across Wales; and allowing local authorities to use Language Impact Assessments for planning purposes in areas of housing pressure. The subsequent publication of the final strategy 'A Living Language: A Language for Living: Welsh Language Strategy 2012–17', in March 2012, comprehensively listed 52 action points across six strategic areas, which introduced a range of measures aimed at promoting increased language acquisition and use, those areas being: the family; children and young people; the community; the workplace; Welsh-language services; and infrastructure.[14]

A further policy statement intended to build further on the foundations of this five-year strategy was issued in August 2014, entitled 'A Living Language: A Language for Living – Moving Forward'.[15] Whereas this again mainly revisited, or elaborated upon, aspects generally encompassed in previous policy documents, with the aim of normalizing the use of the language in everyday life, an interesting development to previous mainstream language-planning strategies was the reference to efforts to 'change linguistic habits using behaviour change techniques from other fields', and, 'to explore to what extent the foundations of some of these behaviour change techniques can be used in the field of language policy in Wales'.[16]

The reader unfamiliar with the sociolinguistic climate of Wales, therefore, may well receive mixed messages with regard to his/her perception of the future of the Welsh language. Whereas some of the strong negative political forces which have surrounded the language historically may well have diminished substantially by today, one should be aware that any perception of the above list of initiatives as being seemingly positive, and representative of a new dawn in language revitalisation, can be deceptive. The journey of the Welsh language over the past half-century has rather reflected a keen desire on the part of both central and local government administrations to maintain political equilibrium in language policy-making, and to avoid any form of social

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[14] Welsh Government, 'A Living Language: A Language for Living: Welsh Language Strategy 2012–17' (Cardiff: Welsh Government 2012).

[15] Welsh Government, 'A Living Language: A Language for Living – Moving Forward. Policy Statement' (Cardiff: Welsh Government 2014).

[16] Welsh Government, 'A Living Language: A Language for Living – Moving Forward. Policy Statement' (Cardiff: Welsh Government 2014, 22).

conflict.[17] Any overt political opposition, which characterised earlier periods, has since mellowed, and has even coalesced into officially recognised government support, as reflected, for example, in policy statements, such as the following:

> Our goal is a bold one. We see no point in setting our targets low. We are no longer concerned with merely stabilising the number and percentage of Welsh speakers. We want to see 'a sustained increase in the number and percentage of people able to speak Welsh'.[18]

However, the next stage in any revitalisation process will clearly require such policy-making to 'engage with the majority non-Welsh-speaking population, and to impact on linguistic behaviour and practice'.

In the meantime, whilst efforts are being made to support the language by means of positive governmental interventions, such as those mentioned above, other negative forces have developed and have replaced those faced previously, including:

- demographic trends, especially the continuing and increasing immigration of non-Welsh-speakers, as well as the outward migration of native Welsh-speakers;
- the ambivalent attitudes to the Welsh language and bilingualism amongst those immigrants;
- poor levels of language acquisition amongst students of Welsh as a second language, as well as amongst adult learners;
- a degree of 'haemorrhaging' in the numbers of pupils as they proceed through the Welsh-medium education system;
- the varied use of Welsh amongst the younger generation.

It is for this reason that, despite its date, Lewin's 'force-field theory'[19] of attempting to maintain 'political equilibrium' when managing change is conceptually useful in demonstrating current 'opposing' forces surrounding

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[17] C. B. Paulston, *Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Bilingual Education* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters 1992).

[18] Welsh Assembly Government, '*Iaith Pawb*: A National Action Plan for a Bilingual Wales' (Cardiff: Welsh Assembly Government 2003, Par. 2.13). Italics added.

[19] K. Lewin, *Field Theory in Social Science* (New York: Harper and Row 1951).

the Welsh language; political and demographic forces which both promote and undermine its revitalisation, simultaneously.
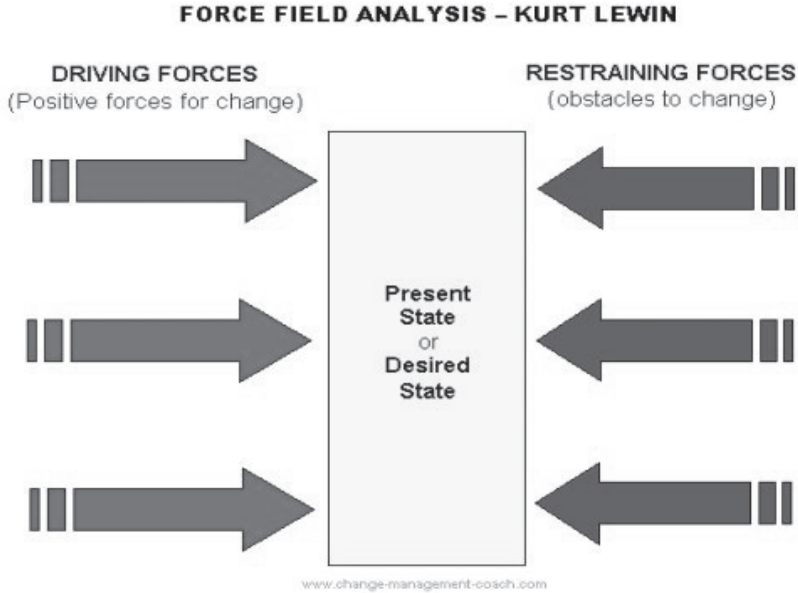
FORCE FIELD ANALYSIS – KURT LEWIN

Figure 1: Source: www.change-management-coach.com

Despite the target set in 2003 by the Welsh Assembly Government of securing an increase of 5% on the 20.8% of Welsh-speakers recorded in the 2001 Census, by 2011, this actually fell to 19.0%, despite the increase shown previously in 1991. In absolute terms, this represented a drop from 582,400 to 562,000 Welsh-speakers, the low rate of linguistic assimilation of people born outside Wales being the main reason why the percentage had fallen in traditionally Welsh-speaking heartlands. Immigration had been particularly intense between 1981 and 1990, with some 600,000 choosing to settle in Wales, the vast majority being from other parts of the UK.[20]

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[20] H. Davis, G. Day and A. Drakakis-Smith, 'Attitudes to Language and Bilingualism among English In-Migrants to North Wales', in D. Morris, ed., *Welsh in the*

Immigration does not only affect the overall 'percentage' of those who speak a language, but also, due to its intricate influence on the dynamic of 'use' amongst indigenous first-language speakers, 'absolute numbers also'. There has been a particular concern about the level of immigrants unable to speak Welsh, and the sustainability of the language in traditional Welsh-speaking heartlands, which are profoundly affected, namely, Ceredigion, Carmarthenshire, Gwynedd, Anglesey, Conwy, and Denbighshire. This trend, which adversely affects the vitality of the language, has been acknowledged by the Welsh Government:

> Living alongside one of the world's strongest languages is a constant challenge, as is the pace of technological change and its impact on a minority language. In addition, migration processes continue to change the linguistic character of Welsh-speaking communities in many parts of Wales. History has shown us that the use of the language within a community can decline with alarming speed, and this decline can be seen today in many parts of Wales.[21]

Although the current situation is in marked contrast to earlier periods in the language's history, it is a shift, nevertheless, which was in evidence even a century earlier, as shown in a government report in 1917:

> Until some fifteen or twenty years ago, the native inhabitants had in many respects shown a marked capacity for stamping their own impress on all newcomers … [but] of more recent years the process of assimilation has been unable to keep pace with the continuing influx of immigrants.[22]

'Welsh Wales' (*Y Fro Gymraeg* as it used to be called, and still is by many who are oblivious to the gradual but constant change in its linguistic nature) is, therefore, a society and culture under threat. Immigration has been largely fuelled by tourism and relatively cheap housing, which has, it seems, attracted a high and increasing level of retirees from England. These are perceived by the indigenous Welsh-speaking population as being alien to Welsh society, its values, culture, and sense of identity, and, typically, being economically better-off, more likely to take control than to

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Twenty-First Century (Cardiff: University of Wales Press 2010).
[21] Welsh Assembly Government, 'Welsh-Medium Education Strategy' (Cardiff: Welsh Assembly Government 2010).
[22] Davies, *The Welsh Language*, 56–57.

blend in, thus causing locals to be severed from their own culture.[23] Immigrants are generally seen as being reluctant to assimilate both linguistically and culturally, leading their lives as if still in England. An English visitor to the National Eisteddfod of Wales in 2015 (a Welsh-language, cultural event, held annually) was heard commenting that it was 'like being in a different country'.

The rate of language erosion has been highest where the proportion of incomers and second-home ownership is greatest. The number of communities where over 70% of the population can speak Welsh has diminished dramatically during the last twenty years or so, from 92 in 1991, to 54 in 2001, and furthermore to 41 in 2011,[24] a situation described earlier by Jenkins and Williams as creating 'strangers in our own land'.[25] A study of the use of Irish in the Gaeltacht stipulates the need for a linguistic community to maintain a density of 70% of speakers in order for a language to maintain its vitality.[26] Demographically, the boundary between Welsh-speaking Wales and Anglicized Wales is being pushed westward.

A study undertaken in 2005–6 by Davis, Day, and Drakakis-Smith, of a sample of 260, selected to be broadly representative of English immigrants to three areas of North-West Wales within the Welsh-speaking heartland, showed that 42% had lived in Wales for more than 20 years and a further 28% for more than 10 years. However, despite the fact that most adopted a broadly sympathetic and supportive attitude towards the Welsh language and culture, and accepted the implications for their children

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[23] Davis, Day and Drakakis-Smith, *Attitudes to Language and Bilingualism among English In-Migrants to North Wales*, 150.

[24] H. M. Jones, *A Statistical Overview of the Welsh Language. Welsh Language Board* (Cardiff: Welsh Language Board 2012).

[25] G. Jenkins and M. Williams, eds., 'Let's Do Our Best for the Ancient Tongue', *The Welsh Language in the Twentieth Century* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press 2000, 303).

[26] C. Ó Giollagáin, S. Mac Donnacha, F. Ní Chualáin, A. Ní Shéaghdha and M. O'Brien, 'Comprehensive Linguistic Study of the Use of Irish in the Gaeltacht: Principal Findings and Recommendations: A Research Report Prepared for the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs. Acadamh na Hollscolaíochta Gaeilge' (National University of Ireland, Galway / National Institute for Regional and Spatial Analysis, National University of Ireland, Maynooth. The Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs 2007).

within the education system (in marked contrast to the negative stance of immigrants in earlier studies), only approximately half of the sample had *tried* to learn Welsh, with very few succeeding at more than a basic level. The main reasons offered were that it was too difficult (38.1%) or not really necessary (33.1%), any incentive apparently being reduced by the relative ease of access to English communication and culture, underpinned by the attitude that 'they all speak English anyway'. As the researchers observed: 'Tolerance for a language seen as belonging essentially to others carries different implications from the idea of language as a significant cultural legacy open to all …'.[27] According to Davis, Day, and Drakakis-Smith:

> The future of the Welsh language is intimately connected with the attitudes, culture, identities and language of those in Wales who do not speak Welsh. This includes the Welsh-born English-speaking population and a substantial minority born outside Wales.[28]

However, despite being a major contributing factor, to apportion blame for the current drop in the percentage of Welsh speakers entirely to immigration would be to give an incomplete account of the problem, the other side of the attritional coin being outward-migration. Nevertheless, there is a causal link between the two. Jones provides statistical data regarding the many Welsh-speaking young people who have moved from their communities to seek work in urban areas, due to a lack of affordable housing, a problem compounded by immigrant purchasing of *second* homes. For example, the number of Welsh-speakers aged 15 in 1991 was 8,462 (24.6% of the age group), whereas, ten years later, the number of Welsh-speakers aged 25 in 2001 was 5,262 (17.4% of the age-group). The 2001 Census reported 24.4% of those aged 15–24 as being able to speak Welsh, whereas, by the 2011 Census, only 15.9% of those aged 25–34 were Welsh-speaking.

Figure 2 also shows the reduction in the numbers of Welsh-speakers between 2001 and 2011 within the same age group:

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[27] Davis, Day and Drakakis-Smith, *Attitudes to Language and Bilingualism among English In-Migrants to North Wales*, 158.

[28] Davis, Day, and Drakakis-Smith, *Attitudes to Language and Bilingualism among English In-Migrants to North Wales*, 148.
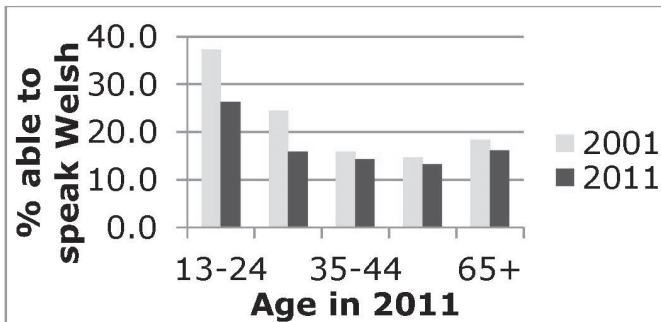
Figure 2: Percentage of Welsh-speakers within the same age groups in successive censuses (2001 and 2011). Source: H. M. Jones, 'I ba le mae'r gwynt yn chwythu? Cyfrifiad 2011 a phethau eraill'. *School of Welsh, Cardiff University Seminar*, 14 October 2014.

Increasing immigration and outward migration as well as other related demographic factors, such as exogamy, also inevitably contribute to the linguistic dynamic and language use within Welsh-speaking communities. The 2001 Census, for example, had revealed that only 7% of three-year olds lived in families where everyone could speak Welsh. Only 58% (317,000) of those families who indicated they were 'Welsh-speaking' also counted themselves as 'fluent', although 87% of those (276,000) spoke the language every day.[29]

Whereas each consecutive ten-year Census had shown a gradual reduction in the percentage of Welsh-speakers since the first recorded in 1891, (54%), yet again, as mentioned earlier, 2001 indicated a small increase on that of 1991 (from 18.7% to 20.8%). This was ascribed to the positive effect of the education system in Wales, where all children of statutory age are provided with some form of 'bilingual' education, either as a first or second language, within the requirements of the National Curriculum, and in accordance with the Education Reform Act of 1988.

In view of the decline in the number of Welsh-speakers over a succession of decades, the education system in Wales has been seen as a key player in effecting a process of language revitalisation, a crucial role

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[29] Welsh Language Board, 'The Welsh Language Use Surveys of 2004–2006' (Welsh Language Board, Cardiff 2008).

which was again emphasised clearly in the Welsh Assembly Government's own policy document in 2003:

> We believe that the long-term well-being of the language is dependent on enabling as many pre-school and young people as possible to acquire the language as early as possible. Accordingly, we want to sustain the growth of the language which has been achieved over the last two decades among school-age children, improve the rate of language transfer from Welsh-speaking parents to their children and encourage those who have used or acquired the language at school to retain and use it once they have left.[30]

Nevertheless, this so-called 'bilingual education' system in Wales can allegedly be described as reflecting a political model of linguistic provision. This allows politicians to claim that every child in statutory education in Wales receives a 'bilingual' education, but without paying due attention to linguistic outcomes which, ironically, would enable the Welsh Government's own political and linguistic agenda of creating 'a bilingual Wales' to be realised, this being:

> a truly bilingual Wales, by which we mean a country 'where people can choose to live their lives through the medium of either or both Welsh or English' and where the presence of the two languages is a source of pride and strength to us all.[31]

Such a definition of a 'bilingual' country is, of course, questionable according to academic sociolinguistic terminology, since the above provides a definition of a diglossic, rather than a bilingual context, albeit unintentionally, thereby approving the continuation of the *status quo*. 'Bilingual' education in Wales can, therefore, be described as a politically-oriented tripartite system of linguistic provision (i.e. curricular programme), which aims to serve the varying wishes and needs of parents, thereby maintaining political equilibrium and avoiding social conflict.[32] So-called

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[30] Welsh Assembly Government, '*Iaith Pawb*: A National Action Plan for a Bilingual Wales' (Cardiff: Welsh Assembly Government 2003, 15).
[31] Welsh Assembly Government, '*Iaith Pawb*: A National Action Plan for a Bilingual Wales' (Cardiff: Welsh Assembly Government 2003, 1). Italics added.
[32] C. B. Paulston, *Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Bilingual Education* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters 1992).

'bilingual education' in Wales, therefore, has a three-fold typology of provision:

1. Heritage/Maintenance bilingual education for Welsh speakers within a Welsh-medium system.
2. Immersion bilingual education for pupils from non-Welsh speaking backgrounds within the same system.
3. 2nd language 'bilingual' education, with Welsh being taught only as 'a subject' in English-medium schools (and in 'traditional' bilingual schools for non-Welsh-speakers) for only a few hours per week and by adopting a 'drip-feed' methodology.

Although these varying linguistic provisions were more specifically redefined and categorised in 2008,[33] according to the quantity of Welsh-medium teaching being delivered in individual institutions, 'Welsh-medium' schools (providing 1 and 2 above) were, until relatively recently, of two kinds, namely, designated bilingual schools and traditional bilingual schools. Under the aegis of the 1944 Education Act, which gave parents the right to have their children educated in their own language, the designated model was originally established in Anglicised, predominantly non-Welsh-speaking areas, and was intended to provide Welsh-medium education for those from minority, Welsh-speaking families. However, due to the academic success of those schools (as well as other positive characteristics), there has been an increasing demand for Welsh-medium education over the years from non-Welsh-speaking parents, with the result that pupils from those families are often much greater in number in some establishments than those whose first language is Welsh.

Traditional bilingual schools have existed historically in Welsh-speaking areas. Ironically, this model has not enjoyed the same legal protection of having Welsh as the only official language, and can, therefore, be attended also by non-Welsh-speaking pupils. In the face of increasing demographic changes due to immigration, these schools have found themselves having to provide education through the medium of both languages, English and Welsh, often in linguistically mixed classes. However, the insurmountable organisational difficulties faced by these

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[33] Welsh Assembly Government, 'Defining Schools according to Welsh Medium Provision' (Cardiff: Welsh Assembly Government 2007b).

schools in attempting to deliver effective Welsh-medium education eventually led to parental demand for the establishment of the designated school model in some Welsh-speaking areas also.

The designated model of Welsh-medium education provision can, therefore, be described as having undergone a three-stage development, from where it was originally designed to provide heritage/maintenance bilingual education for Welsh-speaking children living in Anglicised areas, to the subsequent provision of immersion education within the same system, following the admission of non-Welsh-speaking children, and, finally, to the establishment of the same model in some traditionally Welsh-speaking areas.

However, the third linguistic provision mentioned above, namely the teaching of Welsh as a second language (and only as 'a subject', by using the same methodology as teaching a modern language such as French or German), has remained what is widely recognised as a non-productive system, wih regard to producing competent and proficient Welsh speakers. Although the legal requirement for it to be taught to all pupils in statutory education, and as part of the National Curriculum, was increased from 14 to 16 years of age in 1999, both the level of provision and the standard of acquisition have been recognised as very unsatisfactory, as reported officially in 2014, for example, by the Schools Inspectorate in Wales, Estyn:

> Standards in Welsh second language in secondary schools are good in only a few schools … Even in schools where standards are good, it is rare to find pupils who are confident enough to use the language on a day-to-day basis… Too often, what we see in many Welsh second language lessons reflects traditional and unexciting teaching techniques.[34]

The approach adopted generally in Britain for the teaching of modern languages, often referred to as a 'drip-feed' methodology, has been widely criticised for being ineffective, as well as not being cost-effective, in producing proficient second-language speakers in the UK, the USA, and Canada.[35] However, regardless of its acknowledged deficiencies, it is the

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[34] Estyn, 'The Annual Report of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Education and Training in Wales 2012–2013' (Cardiff: Estyn 2014, 45).

[35] R. Le Blanc, 'Second Language Retention', *Language and Society* 37 (1992, 35–36).

methodology currently adopted to teach the vast majority of pupils in Wales. There is even a short-course currently being made available for pupils of 15–16 years of age who prefer not to opt for the full (albeit ineffective) course, which can result in receiving as few lessons as one per week.

Another fairly common practice adopted until fairly recently, albeit involving only a minority, was for some English-medium secondary schools to allow fluent L1 Welsh speaking pupils to sit the less demanding L2 Welsh language examination at the final stage of statutory education, a retrograde step which undermined both the linguistic progress achieved previously by pupils, and the committed efforts of teachers in the primary sector. Again, since this ploy seems to have been adopted to boost the overall external examination results of the schools themselves, this has inevitably raised questions regarding the cost-effectiveness of curriculum delivery overall, as well as the issue of ensuring continuity in language education, as mentioned by Estyn:

> Too many pupils in bilingual secondary schools follow Welsh second language courses and sit GCSE Welsh second language even though they may have undertaken National Curriculum assessment in Key stage 2 and Key stage 3 in Welsh first language. This strategy serves to boost schools' overall results, with more pupils gaining A*–C in Welsh second language. However, in terms of pupils progression in the Welsh language, this is an artificial boost and they receive less of a challenge as a result.[36]

Such a situation was also heavily criticised in a report published in 2013 following a government-commissioned review by Davies et al. of the teaching of Welsh as a second language.[37] This report recommended, amongst other things, a common continuum of provision for L1 and L2 pupils, thus aiming to move towards a more assimilative language policy. At the time of writing, however, none of its recommendations have been adopted.

With regard to the future outcomes of continuing with the present dichotomous linguistic provision within the educational system regardless,

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[36] Estyn, 'Policy Review: Welsh Language in Education' (Cardiff 2003, 6–7).
[37] Welsh Government, 'One Language for All. Review of Welsh Second Language at Key Stages 3 and 4. Report and Recommendations' (Cardiff: Welsh Government 2013).

and bearing in mind the Welsh Government's current linguistic agenda of creating a 'bilingual Wales', as explicitly expressed in *Iaith Pawb* (2003), one should be mindful of a fundamental question asked by a leading language-planner, as early as 1988, in a paper entitled: *Addysg Ddwyieithog yng Nghymru ynteu Addysg ar gyfer Cymru Ddwyieithog?* (Bilingual Education in Wales, or Education for a Bilingual Wales?).[38] These words highlight the fact that, in terms of producing proficient speakers, an effective 'bilingual' education system must provide either Heritage Language Education, or Immersion Language Education, for all children in Wales, if a process of revitalisation and a reversal of language shift is to be achieved.

Since the ten-year Census currently relies on parents' assessment of their children's proficiency in Welsh, rather than that of the school, as in the past, Census figures now need to be treated with caution, since a fairly high percentage of those 5–15 year-olds indicated as being 'Welsh-speaking' are believed to include some who are learning Welsh only as a second language subject in English-medium schools, with limited exposure to the language inevitably affecting their level of fluency, compared to children receiving Welsh-medium education.

However, as mentioned previously, a high, and ever-increasing, percentage of pupils who are taught Welsh as a first language and educated through the medium of Welsh, come from non-Welsh-speaking homes. Lewis maintains that in Welsh-medium primary schools in South-East and North-East Wales, this is as high as 98 percent, due to a significant percentage of parents from an English-speaking background who have come to recognise the economic and cultural benefits of the language to their children.[39]

> Over recent years, the popularity of Welsh-medium schools in non-Welsh-speaking areas has increased. This means that the intake of pupils into Welsh-medium schools is becoming more diverse in nature, with more and

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[38] C. H. Williams, *Addysg Ddwyieithog yng Nghymru ynteu Addysg ar gyfer Cymru Ddwyieithog?* (Bangor: Canolfan Astudiaethau Iaith 1988).

[39] W. G. Lewis, 'Welsh-Medium Primary Education: The Challenges and Opportunities of the Twenty-First Century', in W. G. Lewis and H. G. Ff. Roberts, *Welsh-Medium and Bilingual Education* (Bangor: University of Wales, Bangor School of Education 2006).

more pupils from a wider range of social and cultural backgrounds than in the past …[40]

Although there has been a drive to promote bilingual education more recently, from the external direction of the Welsh Government itself, by targeting parents and highlighting its various benefits, the development of Welsh-medium education historically has been due to a process of change best described as 'normative-re-educative',[41] where growth has been generated within various social networks of parents, assisted by the promotional work of *Rhieni dros Addysg Gymraeg* (RHAG) (Parents for Welsh-medium Education), and representing both the interests of what Kogan terms 'sectional' and 'promotional' pressure-groups.[42] Although such a normative change process is complicated, and has encompassed a range of seminal factors, the potential for ensuring social-mobilisation and the economic advantages emanating from both the academic and extra-curricular success of these schools, has been widely acknowledged as having played a key role in their growth. Despite the government's subsequent decision to abandon an earlier practice of publishing league tables of academic performance, which seemed to provide evidence of the high level achievement of Welsh-medium schools, previous independent research conducted during the 1990s had already provided data relating to the superior academic performance of pupils educated bilingually in Wales,[43] regardless of their linguistic home background.[44] In addition, the Assessment of Performance Unit (APU), based on earlier research in the achievements of pupils in the English language, had produced significant data: " … the mean scores for second-language speakers (all but a handful

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[40] Estyn, 'The Annual Report of Her Majesty's Inspector of Education and Training in Wales 2004–2005' (Cardiff: Estyn 2006, 46).

[41] R. Chin and K. Benne, 'General Strategies for Effecting Changes in Human Systems', in W. G. Bennis, K. D. Benne, R. Chin and K. E. Corey, eds., *The Planning of Change* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston 1976).

[42] M. Kogan, *Education Policy-Making: A Study of Interest Groups and Parliament* (London: George Allen and Unwin 1975, 74–77).

[43] D. Shorrocks, et al., *ENCA1 Project: The Evaluation of National Curriculum Assessment at Key Stage 1* (School of Education: University of Leeds, 1992, 103). NFER/BGC Consortium, 'An Evaluation of the 1991 National Curriculum Assessment: The Working of the SAT' (Slough: NFER 1991).

[44] NFER (Swansea), 'Report on the 1992 Welsh KS3 Pilot' (Swansea: NFER 1992).

of whom were native speakers of Welsh) were fractionally higher than those for monolingual English speakers".[45]

There continues to be a common perception that Welsh-medium schools can generally offer a better standard of education than English-medium schools. Regardless of what is true or not, (and one must acknowledge that they generally do perform well academically), public perception can be very influential. As pointed out once many years ago, if people believe something to be real, then it *is* real in its consequences, in that they act upon it.[46] This, arguably, has been an essential contributing factor to the normative-re-educative process of gradual change in attitudes towards the Welsh-language over many decades.[47] Although such a process can be shown to have encapsulated many factors, including the demise of the secondary grammar school system of education in Wales, and a public perception of a deterioration in educational standards in English-medium education with the advent of comprehensivisation, as argued by Lewis, other factors have also played a part.[48] Sources of evidence of the success of Welsh-medium schools include favourable reports from Estyn, academic results in external examinations (including in English language), high performance in extra-curricular cultural activities, and even an element of elitism. However, there have also been strong motivational factors on the part of parents, related to regaining a sense of Welsh identity, as well as issues related to social mobilisation, vocational/professional aspirations, and economic advantages for their children, thus reflecting what Gardner and Lambert referred to as integrational and instrumental motivations, respectively.[49] Such a common perception of Welsh-medium schools as offering a range of advantages to

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[45] G. Thornton, *APU Language Testing 1979–1983: An Independent Appraisal of the Findings* (Welsh Office 1986).

[46] W. I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (Boston: Gorham Press 1918).

[47] R. Chin and K. Benne, *General Strategies for Effecting Changes in Human Systems*, in W. G. Bennis, K. D. Benne, R. Chin and K. E. Corey, eds., *The Planning of Change* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston 1976).

[48] H. G. Lewis, 'Astudiaeth o Dwf Addysg Ddwyieithog yng Nghymru hyd at 1988'. Unpublished PhD dissertation (Aberystwyth: University of Wales 1999, 566–567).

[49] R. C. Gardner and W. E. Lambert, *Attitudes and Motivation in Second Language Learning* (Rowley, MA: Newbury House 1972).

young people has led to a level of growth over the years which has resulted in the closure of English-medium schools in certain parts of anglicised Wales. This, inevitably, continues to make Welsh-medium education a 'political football' between opposing factions of parents who express conflicting rights, what Ruiz has referred to as diametrically-opposed political dimensions of 'language as a right versus language as a problem'.[50] Such conflict, it has been argued, has, to some extent, been perpetuated and fuelled by a certain reluctance on the part of the Welsh Government in the past to actively market the evidence-based and internationally-recognised cognitive benefits of bilingual education, which would enable all parents to see bilingualism as a beneficial resource and advantage to children, rather than a bone of contention.[51]

The linguistic aims of Welsh-medium schools

Welsh-medium schools currently, therefore, serve dual linguistic aims by:

- consolidating and enriching the language of L1 speakers (maintenance-enrichment education);
- establishing firm foundations for those from non-Welsh-speaking homes (immersion education).

The linguistic diversity emanating from this dual provision, however, has meant that 'Welsh-medium' education can signify different things to different groups.[52] As in the case of the Irish *naíonraí,*[53] such diversity of

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[50] R. Ruiz, 'Orientations in Language Planning', *NABE Journal* 8 (2), (1984, 15–34).

[51] Lewis, 'Astudiaeth o Dwf Addysg Ddwyieithog yng Nghymru hyd at 1988', 566–567.

[52] Lewis, *Welsh-Medium Primary Education: The Challenges and Opportunities of the Twenty-First Century*, 28.

[53] T. Hickey, 'Mixing Beginners and Native Speakers in Minority Language Immersion: Who is Immersing Whom?', *The Canadian Modern Language Review* 57 (3), (2001, 443–474); T. Hickey and P. Ó Cainín, 'First Language Maintenance and Second Language Acquisition of a Minority Language in Kindergarten'. Chapter from Transactions of Convention in Spain which appeared on a CD-Rom, (2001, 137–151).

linguistic (as well as socio-economic) background has resulted in some pedagogic challenges, where both provisions often take place in the same classroom.

> The mixing of native-speaker pupils with L2 learners in the immersion classroom presents both an opportunity and a challenge. While providing L2 speakers with an opportunity to interact with native-speaker peers, it provides a challenge to educators to support and enrich the L1 language skills of the native-speakers in a situation of language contact. The challenge is even greater when the target language is an endangered minority language (for example, Irish or Welsh) or a majority language spoken by a minority in danger of being assimilated (for example, French in Ontario) and when the speakers of that language are in contact with English-speaking peers who are acquiring the target language as L2.[54]

As Lewis mentions, Estyn[55] has drawn attention to the way many teachers in both North and West Wales have found it difficult to change the way they teach to meet the needs of these new groups of pupils.[56] Accommodating the needs of pupils from diverse linguistic backgrounds, inevitably, has pedagogical implications, including the need to maintain a balance of interaction between L1 and L2 speakers, and to ensure differentiation in one's teaching methodology, as well as in levels of academic work.

> In schools in the traditionally Welsh-speaking areas of North Wales and West Wales there are more pupils who come from non-Welsh-speaking homes … Many teachers in both North and West Wales are finding it difficult to change the way they teach to meet the needs of these new groups of pupils.[57]

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[54] Hickey, *Mixing Beginners and Native Speakers in Minority Language Immersion: Who is Immersing Whom?*, 444.

[55] Estyn, 'The Annual Report of Her Majesty's Inspector of Education and Training in Wales 2004–2005' (Cardiff: Estyn 2006, 46).

[56] Lewis, *Welsh-Medium Primary Education: The Challenges and Opportunities of the Twenty-First* Century, in W. G. Lewis and H. G. Ff. Roberts, *Welsh-Medium and Bilingual Education* (Bangor: University of Wales, Bangor School of Education 2006).

[57] Estyn, 'The Annual Report of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Education and Training in Wales 2004–2005' (Cardiff: Estyn 2006, 46).

Whereas this mixture of linguistic ability amongst pupils within the same classroom can also be seen in terms of both strengths and opportunities to raise the level of L2 speakers, some deterioration in the use of language amongst L1 pupils has occasionally been highlighted, which is characterised mainly by morphological and syntactical changes and a tendency to adopt errors made by their L2 peers.[58] According to Johnstone, this is a characteristic of both Welsh-medium and Scottish Gaelic-medium education, which is often interpreted, both positively and negatively, by language activists:

> In both cases 'new-age' Gaelic or Welsh provokes a range of re-action. Some view it as a sign of linguistic degradation and argue that steps have to be taken to ensure that proper Gaelic or Welsh is taught, learnt and used. Others prefer to consider the 'errors' that the new speakers produce to be a sign of sociolinguistic vitality as they create their own linguistic identity. [59]

Nevertheless, the demand from non-Welsh-speaking parents, which has led to a rapid growth in Welsh-medium/bilingual education in Wales at both primary and secondary levels during the last sixty years, has made a major contribution to the transmission of the language from one generation to the next, and has been 'a major plank in language revitalisation and language reversal'.[60]

The percentage of primary school pupils in classes where Welsh has been the main medium of education has increased in successive decades: for example, from 16% in 1991 to 17.9% in 2001, and 21.1% in 2010. A clear intended outcome was stipulated in the government's Welsh-medium Education Strategy of more seven-year-old children being taught through the medium of Welsh, with indicator targets set for the percentage of Year 2 pupils assessed in Welsh first language increasing from 21% in 2009 to

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[58] P. W. Thomas, 'Children in Welsh-Medium Education', in K. Herberts and C. Lauren, eds., *Papers from the Sixth Nordic Conference on Bilingualism* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1991, 53); Lewis, *Welsh-Medium Primary Education: The Challenges and Opportunities of the Twenty-First Century*, 24.

[59] R. Johnstone, *Immersion in a Second or Additional Language at School: A Review of the International Research* (Stirling: Scottish CiLT 2002, Chapter 4).

[60] C. Baker, *The Welsh Journal of Education* 13 (1), editorial (2004, 13).

25% in 2015, and to 30% in 2020.[61] Local authorities are also expected to agree targets for Welsh-medium education provision, and, since 2011, for those targets to be submitted to the Welsh Government for annual monitoring as part of the Welsh in Education Strategic Plan of each local authority.

Historically, however, due to Wales' diglossic (as opposed to bilingual) constitution, the establishment of the designated model for providing Welsh-medium education, (described by Murgatroyd and Morgan as a 'niche school'),[62] can also be interpreted as 'a political solution to an educational problem'. This has enabled parents with varying or conflicting attitudes towards the language to choose either enrichment, or immersion, bilingual education for their children, or to avoid it, but, as mentioned earlier, without positively acknowledging bilingualism as a beneficial resource. The political convenience offered to policy-makers by this model was acknowledged even from its inception, as seen in a 1953 report on the linguistic situation in the schools of Wales:

> ... these schools are proving of great value, not only to the pupils who attend them, but also *in simplifying the linguistic problems of the other schools,* who now have to teach Welsh as a second language only, to homogeneous English-speaking groups.[63]

Use of Welsh amongst the younger generation

However, whereas the system of bilingual education in Wales has been seen as 'the basic instrument for revival and preservation of the Welsh language'[64] by creating a capacity of speakers amongst the younger generation, particularly those attending Welsh-medium schools, the lack of social use of the language, both inside and outside of school, seems to be a matter of concern. Welsh-medium education is currently producing twice as many speakers as the family; however, this capacity is not matched by

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[61] Welsh Assembly Government, 'Welsh-Medium Education Strategy' (Cardiff: Welsh Assembly Government 2010, 21).

[62] S. Murgatroyd and C. Morgan, *Total Quality Management and the School* (Buckingham: Open University Press 1993, 29–30).

[63] Central Advisory Council for Education (Wales), 'The Place of Welsh and English in Schools in Wales' (Cardiff: HMSO, 1953, 11). Italics added.

[64] Khleif, *Language, Ethnicity and Education in Wales*, 66.

the social use made of the language by young people outside the classroom.

The motivational factors which relate to pupils' propensity in some geographical areas to use English rather than Welsh for social communication with their peers have been the focus of current research. Whereas it could be argued that, in many cases, pupils are simply reverting to their mother tongue (English) rather than their second language, this is noticeably characteristic of children from Welsh-speaking homes, also in certain areas.

Many reasons, such as the effect of Anglo-American culture, are often offered in what might be considered a rather simplistic way of explaining a highly complicated and multi-faceted problem. From an educational perspective, however, a more concerning and often-debated reason being offered is that some pupils have not acquired a fully functional proficiency in the language, and, therefore, lack sufficient command in more social and non-academic domains outside school. Whilst it is not possible to discuss this highly complex issue within the confines of this paper, which, arguably, is also related to Wales' diglossic composition, as well as the hegemonic political context of the United Kingdom, yet it is safe to say that the causal relationship between linguistic proficiency, confidence, and usage is a sequential development to which attention must be paid in promoting any second language. It is for this reason that language-planning strategies recognise the need for students' bilingual education to be reinforced by their engagement in more socially-oriented events outside school, such as those organised by *Urdd Gobaith Cymru*, and by the *Mentrau Iaith* (Language Ventures), established throughout Wales for such purposes; an aspect of language reinforcement also emphasised by Jones as a means of 'going beyond the classroom'.[65]

A Welsh Language Board study, entitled *Young People's Social Network and Language Use,*[66] involved a sample of 24 young people, aged 13–17, in each of 12 study areas across Wales, between 2003–2005, linking social networks and language use in the following domains: home

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[65] B. M. Jones, 'A Bilingual Setting', in B. M. Jones and P. A. Singh Ghuman, eds., *Bilingualism, Education and Identity* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press 1995, 103–105).

[66] Welsh Language Board, 'Young People's Social Network and Language Use' (Cardiff: Welsh Language Board 2006).

and family; friends and contemporaries; the community; and social clubs and organizations.[67] The study highlighted significant issues relating to a decrease in language use with people the participants did not know well, even amongst fluent Welsh-speakers, as well as a link between confidence and ability in the language. There were, however, geographical variations in the use of Welsh within network configurations, the major determinant of language density within networks being language used at home, since 81% of those from Welsh-speaking homes had only, or mainly, Welsh-speaking friends; 92% of those from English-speaking homes had only, or mainly, English-speaking friends, and 67% of youngsters from bilingual (linguistically mixed) homes also engaged socially, mainly, with English-speaking friends. It was also seen that patterns of language use had been institutionalised at an early age, since those using only, or mostly, Welsh within a primary school peer group tended to be involved later in social networks using only, or mostly, Welsh. The same pattern of use was replicated in the use of English, with identical patterns being observed in the use of language during school breaks.[68]

Triangulation of the data indicated the impact of the network as a whole on the language use of the individual. 75% of those from Welsh-speaking families belonged to Welsh-speaking clubs, whereas 85% of those from English-speaking families belonged to English-speaking clubs. Reflecting the fact that youngsters from a mixed-language background tended to orientate more towards the use of English, approximately 66% of those also belonged to clubs where the main interaction was English.[69]

With regard to the ability of the Welsh language to maintain its vitality, the study indicated a continuum of linguistic assimilation, and the existence of a threefold typology of language communities based on the relationship of the two language groups:[70]

1. Assimilating communities in which bilingualism was being promoted within additive environments;

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[67] D. Morris, 'Young People and Their Use of the Welsh Language', in D. Morris, ed., *Welsh in the Twenty-First Century* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press 2010, 80–98).
[68] Morris, 'Young People and Their Use of the Welsh Language', 90.
[69] Morris, 'Young People and Their Use of the Welsh Language', 92.
[70] Morris, 'Young People and Their Use of the Welsh Language', 96–98.

2. Distinctive language groups characterised by diglossia within both additive and subtractive environments;

3. Assimilated communities characterised by language shift within subtractive environments.

Assimilating (as opposed to assimilated) communities, consciously or otherwise, exert considerable pressure on those who have not learned Welsh through family socialization to adopt and use the language. Such linguistic pressure tends to exist across a range of domains, including peer groups, community networks, and local cultural clubs and societies. "These are communities 'where the incidence of language competence [is] high' and which are not 'entirely engulfed by recent immigration'".[71] They also seem to be characterised by the existence of a single secondary school, where all pupils are assimilated linguistically, and where language use is carried over into the communities themselves, and seen as a necessary prerequisite for social 'survival'. The main traits of this type of community, therefore, may be summarised as both linguistic and cultural assimilation within an additive environment.

Diglossic communities, by definition, contain distinctive language-groups, including: (a) those from homes using Welsh (and even some from homes using only English) who belong to a social world involving a high level of use of Welsh similar to type 1: and (b) those from homes using English (and even some from homes using only Welsh) belonging to a social world involving a high level of use of English. Such communities are seemingly characterised by a process of two-way linguistic and cultural assimilation within both additive and subtractive environments.[72]

Assimilated communities are those where Welsh speakers are rapidly being assimilated into normative English language use. In which case, the school may well become the main, or only, domain of 'use' of the language, with very little use of Welsh amongst peer groups, even amongst those whose first language is Welsh, and even though communities and clubs continue to use the language. These communities tend to exist in subtractive environments, and in areas where there has been a high level of recent immigration.[73]

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[71] Morris, 'Young People and Their Use of the Welsh Language', 97.
[72] Morris, 'Young People and Their Use of the Welsh Language', 97.
[73] Morris, 'Young People and Their Use of the Welsh Language', 97–98.

Conclusion

The sociolinguistic context in which the Welsh language currently finds itself in the early part of the twenty-first century is characterised by conflicting forces. Whilst there are positive 'driving forces' intended to promote language revitalization which exist in the form of official government policies and strategies, they simultaneously face opposing 'restraining forces' in the wake of insurmountable demographic trends which undermine the vitality of the language. The current concern at United Kingdom level for maintaining 'Britishness', and a more culturally cohesive society in the face of immigration from other parts of the world, especially from the European Union, reflects an ethnocentric, English, perception of 'Britishness', i.e. Englishness, whilst Welshness, Scottishness, and Irishness, are seen as peripheral identities.

Osmond has expressed this in terms of the way the English perceive Englishness and Britishness as being synonymous:

> A clear duality of identity is felt in Wales and Scotland, – Welshness and Britishness, Scottishness and Britishness. … the English, then, rather than possessing a dual identity… have a fused identity which can be best described as Anglo-British.[74]

Despite the greater historical right, the Welsh, for example, have to call themselves British, the current political, cultural, and linguistic status of the nation, within the UK, is a bi-product of the legacy of the British Empire, and continues to be manifested in the form of 'internal colonialism' mentioned at the beginning. As Barnett states: '… to be English is to be English: to be British is to be English in the World'.[75] Therefore, whereas immigration into the UK (be it England or Britain) is considered a threat to 'national' (English) identity, and although such immigrants do assimilate with so-called 'British' values, (at least linguistically, if not totally culturally), English immigration into the traditionally Welsh-speaking heartland is simply perceived as the English moving within their own country, without any consideration being given to the erosion of the indigenous language and culture.

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[74] J. Osmond, *The Divided Kingdom* (London: Constable 1988), 26.
[75] A. Barnett, 'Interview with John Osmond, 1986', in J. Osmond, *The Divided Kingdom* (London: Constable 1988).

It could be argued that the lack of political power bestowed on Wales historically, even despite more recent devolution of governance, has psychologically damaged any resolve to challenge, in sufficient measure, its subordination to the political will of Westminster. The historical weight of the 'British' psyche, and the assimilative ideology by which it perpetuates its grip on Welsh politics, has, arguably, eradicated any general awareness of current colonial practices on the part of the central UK government. Political decisions in Wales have often seemed to reflect a desire not to be too out of step with policies over the border, or to create disunity by being seen as 'too Welsh', and not sufficiently 'British'. The promotion of issues directly related to core cultural identity, such as language, can, therefore, be substituted by a preference for identity traits which are more symbolic in nature. Such ambivalence is reflected in a reluctance to address the problems of immigration from England, which directly affects the linguistic vitality of communities in the Welsh-speaking heartland, as well as in a reluctance to stop teaching Welsh to the vast majority of school pupils by means of a widely recognised ineffective methodology which cannot be expected to produce proficient speakers; a policy which, ironically, undermines the Welsh Government's own political and linguistic vision of creating a 'bilingual' Wales. Despite the cognitive benefits, which, according to international research, bilingual education can provide by adopting effective teaching methodology, the government lacks the political will to grasp the nettle by opening up discussion in the public domain.

Lewis has shown how educational policies on the teaching of Welsh during the greater part of the twentieth-century were geared towards avoiding making it a compulsory subject. Even with the advent of the National Curriculum in 1988, and the eventual agreement for Welsh to be given core status as a subject (but only in Welsh-medium schools), this only ensured the satisfaction of the sectional interests of the Welsh-first-language minority pressure group, to the detriment of L2 provision. Although the introduction of the Foundation Phase for 3 to 7 year-olds in 2008, to replace Key Stage 1 in Wales, included Welsh Language Development as an Area of Learning in English-medium education, the continuation of a bi-partite linguistic provision has proved to be another missed opportunity to introduce an all-embracing, assimilative, linguistic curriculum for children from both Welsh-speaking, English-speaking, and

other, backgrounds. As previously mentioned, the commissioned review of
L2 teaching of Welsh by the group chaired by Professor Sioned Davies[76]
made a wide range of positive recommendations, including establishing a
common linguistic continuum of provision for L1 and L2 pupils, thus
aiming towards a more assimilative language policy which could be the
cornerstone of the government's own political and linguistic agenda of
creating a 'bilingual' Wales. At the time of writing, however, there has
been no clear evidence of any intended progress in this direction, despite
the recent opportunity provided by a fundamental review of the current
statutory school curriculum in Wales undertaken by Professor Donaldson.[77]

As seen previously in the quotation from the 2003 policy document
'Iaith Pawb: A National Action Plan for a Bilingual Wales'[78], such a 'tread
carefully', politically-correct, approach to achieving that alleged goal is
even reflected in the government's own definition of a 'bilingual' country,
which again seeks to maintain political equilibrium between both
linguistic factions by adopting an optional, non-compulsory method of
promotion. Within what is argued is a political context of 'internal
colonialism'[79], any attempt to maintain political equilibrium, and to avoid
social conflict by devising a programme of revitalisation not intended to
encompass the whole of the Welsh population, places politicians in a
difficult position, and can be counterproductive in seeking public support
in government elections.[80]

In an international context, Bourhis offers a typology of political
ideologies which can underpin the contextual vitality of languages,

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[76] Welsh Government, 'One Language for All. Review of Welsh Second Language
at Key Stages 3 and 4. Report and Recommendations' (Cardiff: Welsh
Government 2013).

[77] Welsh Government, 'Successful Futures: Independent Review of Curriculum
and Assessment Arrangements in Wales' (Cardiff: Welsh Government 2015).

[78] Welsh Assembly Government, '*Iaith Pawb*: A National Action Plan for a
Bilingual Wales' (Cardiff: Welsh Assembly Government 2003, 1).

[79] R. Blauner, 'Internal Colonialism and Ghetto Revolt', *Social Problems* 16
(Spring 1969, 396).

[80] Paulston, *Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Bilingual Education* (Clevedon:
Multilingual Matters 1992).

namely: pluralist, civic, assimilation, and ethnist.[81] Such ideologies can also be related to a possible range of orientations in the language policies of governments, as described by Wiley[82] for example, a promotion-oriented language policy can reflect a pluralist ideology, a tolerance-oriented policy a civic ideology, and an assimilative policy, an assimilation ideology. An ethnist ideology may well result in the adoption of repression-oriented language policies, as reflected, for example, in those historical deliberate attempts mentioned earlier to eradicate both the social and official use of Welsh.

Currently, the Wales Government, officially, adopts a pluralist ideology, and a promotion-oriented policy with regard to the legal use of both Welsh and English in the public sector, as shown in the equal status given to both languages by the Welsh Language (Wales) Measure (2011), and the current introduction of legally-enforced linguistic Standards, to which public sector institutions and organisations will have to adhere in future. Yet, the limited current use of Welsh in the private sector, where it has no legal status, reflects a civic ideology and the adoption of tolerance-oriented policies on the part of private companies where language promotion is entirely dependent on either good will or being seen as commercially advantageous. Within a UK context, however, one could argue that, since the dominant political ideology is unconditionally assimilationist, current evidence of the government's reluctance to act on crucial issues in Wales shows that the long-term language policy orientation may well, unofficially, be assimilative, as reflected, for example, in an article by Stubbs, entitled 'Educational Language Planning in England and Wales: Multicultural Rhetoric and Assimilative Assumptions'.[83]

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[81] R. Y. Bourhis, 'Acculturation, Language Maintenance, and Language Shift', in J. Klatter-Folmer and P. Vanavermaet, eds., *Theories on Maintenance and Loss of Minority Languages* (Münster: Waxmann 2001, 11–12).

[82] T. G. Wiley, 'Accessing Language Rights in Education: A Brief History of the US Context', in J. W. Tollefson, ed., *Language Policies in Education: Critical Issues* (Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum 2002).

[83] M. Stubbs, 'Educational Language Planning in England and Wales: Multicultural Rhetoric and Assimilationist Assumptions', in F. Coulmas, ed., *A Language Policy for the European Community* (New York: Mouton de Gruyter 1991).

It is for this reason that, unlike the uncompromising decision-making related to language planning in Quebec,[84] for example, it seems valid to question whether or not the current level of political will and resolve required for successful language planning and revitalisation in Wales actually exists. In future years, and in hindsight, it might be debated whether any further attrition in the vitality of the Welsh language could be construed as an act of linguistic 'murder' on the part of a central UK hegemonic political power, paying little attention to the cultural needs of its constituent nations, or an act of linguistic 'suicide' by the Welsh themselves. As Fennell once stated, in relation to the death of Cornish:

> ... the lack of a will to stop shrinking is an intrinsic characteristic of a shrinking language minority. Consequently, any attempt to 'save' such a community must begin by arousing in them the will to save themselves.[85]

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[84] C. Laurin, *Quebec's Policy on the French Language* (Quebec: Government of Quebec, White Paper 1977).

[85] D. Fennell, 'Can a Shrinking Minority Language be Saved?', in E. Haugen, J. D. McLure and D. Thomson, eds., *Minority Languages Today* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press 1981, 38).

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CHAPTER SEVEN

A NEW PERSPECTIVE ON WELSH AND IRISH CONSONANT MUTATIONS

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This paper is a continuation of comprehensive studies on Welsh and Irish phonology, which was started in 2012, involving the universities of Leipzig and Szczecin as well as the former Department of Linguistics in the Max-Max-Institute of Evolutionary Anthropology. Resulting publications have shed light on the nature of, predominantly, the Welsh language system, e.g. its lexicon (cf. Asmus and Anderson 2015), and the length of vowels in Welsh monosyllables ending in simplex codas, as influenced by Irish (cf. Asmus and Grawunder 2017). During the course of investigation, desiderata concerning the analysis and interpretation of mutation patterns, as well as the nature of Welsh consonants, emerged. The aim of this article is, therefore, to tackle some of the issues involved in these problem areas, i.e. the notion of lenition and the contrast of aspiration/deaspiration vs. voicing/devoicing in Welsh consonants.

1. Defining lenition

It is assumed that both Welsh and Irish, although belonging to two different branches of the Insular Celtic languages, have similar linguistic mechanisms and structures at work. The resulting language properties of

p-Celtic Welsh and q-Celtic Irish clearly mark them as non-SAE languages.[1] One of them, the grammaticalised fortis-lenis distinction of consonants, is looked at, in detail, in the following.

In order to thoroughly investigate this feature, a working definition of lenition was established. The most commonly applied definitions of lenition in Welsh and Irish so far cover a wide range of phonological processes, and, at first glance, it seems to be difficult to reconcile Welsh and Irish lenition processes, including subsequent consonant mutation patterns.

As lenition is normally explained in the context of phonology, the term 'phonological process' needs to be defined first. This, in turn, requires distinguishing between phonetics and phonology. It is generally claimed that phonetics is a scientific study of human speech, focused on articulation together with auditory and acoustic aspects of utterances,[2] while phonology studies the way in which sounds create patterns and contrasts, resulting in the creation of coherent systems of sounds in languages.[3] Therefore, phonetics is more focused on a sound and its properties, i.e. the hardware of speech, whereas phonology deals with interrelations between sounds. As a result, phonological processes are here defined as changes in the way sounds influence each other, resulting in distinct phonetic forms. Such a process is usually phonetically motivated. If grammaticalised,[4] it may serve morphological or syntactic functions, as seen in Insular Celtic consonant mutations.

The first two definitions of lenition discussed here are very general. Trask[5] defines lenition as 'any phonological process in which a segment

[1] M. Haspelmath, 'How Young is Standard Average European?', in S. V. Steffensen, ed., *Language Sciences 20: 3* (Amsterdam: Elsevier 1998, 271–287).
[2] D. Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* (Oxford: Blackwell 2008), 127; P; Carr, *A Glossary of Phonology* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008, 363); R. L. Trask, *A Dictionary of Phonetics and Phonology* (Oxon: Routledge 1996, 275).
[3] Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*, 365; Carr, *A Glossary of Phonology*, 130; Trask, *A Dictionary of Phonetics and Phonology*, 275.
[4] E. Ternes, 'Initial Mutations in Celtic and in West African Language: Synchrony and Diachrony', in *Afrika und Übersee 73* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag 1990, 13.
[5] Trask, *A Dictionary of Phonetics and Phonology*, 201. See also M. J. Ball, N. Müller, *Sonority and Initial Consonant Mutation in Modern Celtic* (forthcoming).

becomes either less strongly occluded, or more sonorous'. He adds that 'the term is extended to various other processes, such as loss of aspiration, shortening of long segments, and monophthongisation of diphthongs, which represent weakening in some intuitive sense'. This definition, (a) notes that various processes may be termed lenition, and (b) indicates that lenition is linked to raising sonority of a sound.

Carr[6] claims that there is a sonority scale which represents 'a hierarchy of classes of speech sound types, organised according to their degree of sonority. Two main factors determine how sonorous a sound is; the degree of obstruction of the vocal tract during the production of the sound, and whether the sound is voiced or not'. Based on these assumptions, phoneticians use the following universal sonority scale:[7]

(1) Least sonorant   voiceless stops eg. /p, t, k/
                            voiced stops eg. /b, d, g/
                            voiceless fricatives eg. /f, h, θ/
                            voiced fricatives eg. /v, ð/
                            nasals eg. /m, n/
                            liquids eg. /l, r/
                            glides eg. /w/
                            high vowels eg. /u/
(2) Most sonorant   low vowels eg. /æ/

Creating a scale of sonority on the basis of varying degrees of voicing seems to imply that voicing is considered a universal language feature in this notion.[8] This, however, is difficult to maintain, as Iosad or Kiparski

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M. J. Ball, N. Müller, 'Sonority and Initial Consonant Mutation in the Celtic Languages', in *Challenging Sonority Cross-Linguistic Evidence* (Sheffield: Equinox 2016, 276–294).

[6] Carr, *A Glossary of Phonology*, 160.

[7] M. Davenport, S. J. Hannahs, *Introducing Phonetics and Phonology* (Oxon: Routledge 2005, 75).

[8] This seems to be the basic assumption, for instance, in WALS, although it shows languages which lack that feature (I. Maddieson, 'Voicing in Plosives and Fricatives', in *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online* (Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology) (Available online at http://wals.info/chapter/4, Accessed on 2018-06-10). J. Greenberg allows for the possibility of both voicing and non-voicing languages (J. H. Greenberg, *Language*

already talk about voicing versus non-voicing languages.[9] Halvor Eifring and Rolf Thiel write, "it is common (though not universal) to divide obstruents into two groups, usually voiced and voiceless (based on phonation), but sometimes unaspirated and aspirated, or a combination of the two. The voiced-voiceless distinction also occurs in sonorants, but much less commonly. The universal tendency is for obstruents to be voiceless and sonorants to be voiced".[10]

In line with the above, Asmus and Grawunder[11] found out that, in Welsh, the fortis-lenis divide, based on the opposition of aspiration/deaspiration, is distinctive, not the devoiced-voiced one. However, the question arises whether voiced /b, d, g/ should be equalled with their lenis variants in the sonority scale. But Martin J. Ball and Nicole Müller[12] refuse this idea, and go as far as claiming that the sonority scale is not applicable to the Celtic language at all, as it fails to account for the morpheme-initial consonant mutations. As further explorations of that problem area are of less importance here, it is left for further research.

The definition of lenition by Carr[13] is not very different from that of Trask. He states that lenition is the opposite of fortition, and includes any phonological process in which a consonant becomes weaker. Definitions by Honeybone and Crystal are more detailed. Honeybone[14] claims that "'lenition' is now standardly assumed to be the same thing as phonological 'weakening', and that the concept groups together a smallish set of

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Universals: with Special Reference to Feature Hierarchies (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter 1996, 13–24.).

[9] P. Iosad, *Brythonic 'Second Lenition' Revisited (a Conference Paper)* (Moscow, 2006); P. Kiparsky, 'The Amphichronic Program vs. Evolutionary Phonology', in M. Krifka, ed., *Theoretical Linguistics 32* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter 2006, 217–236).

[10] H. B. Eifring, R. Theil, *Linguistics for Students of Asian and African Languages* (Oslo: Institutt for østeuropeiske og orientalske studier, 2004, 89).

[11] S. Asmus, S. Grawunder, *Vowel Length in Welsh Monosyllables, Its Interrelation with Irish and Related Problems* (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press 2017).

[12] M. J. Ball, N. Müller, *Sonority and Initial Consonant Mutation in Modern Celtic*; M. J. Ball, N. Müller, 'Sonority and Initial Consonant Mutation in the Celtic Languages', 276–294.

[13] Carr, *A Glossary of Phonology*, 88–89.

[14] P. Honeybone, 'Lenition, Weakening and Consonantal Strength: Tracing Concepts through the History of Phonology', in J. B. de Carvalho, T. Scheer, P. Segeral, eds., *Lenition and Fortition* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter 2008, 9–10).

processes: spirantisation, approximantisation, gliding, debuccalisation, voicing, and vocalisation". Crystal[15] defines lenition as a phonological process which typically "involves the change from a stop to a fricative, a fricative to an approximant, a voiceless sound to a voiced sound, or a sound being reduced to zero".

Considering the different concepts of lenition presented here, and adjusting them to our needs, the following working definition is given: Lenition is generally seen as a weakening process, as is claimed by Honeybone,[16] which is realised via several distinct phonological processes, i.e. frication, spirantisation, deaspiration, debuccalisation, and approximantisation. These are explained in the following.

The first two processes reflect the classical definition of lenition,[17] applied when stops change into fricatives. This is normally called frication, but the term spirantisation is often used synonymously.[18] However, in the case of Welsh and Irish, both may be differentiated. Frication is seen here as a change of lenis stops /b, d, g/ into lenis fricatives /β > v, ð, ɣ/, whereas spirantisation is defined as the change of fortis stops /p, t, k/ into fortis fricatives /f, θ, χ/, potentially accompanied by secondary aspiration attracted by the resultant spirants. Such a distinction for the Insular Celtic languages is diachronically motivated, as explained below.

Another lenition process, mentioned above, is deaspiration. In order to analyse it, aspiration has first to be defined. Carr[19] claims that aspiration may either refer to the pronunciation of a consonant with additional spreading of the vocal cords, or describe a delay in the onset of voicing after the release of a stop closure. He also links this process to the fortis-lenis distinction, stating that aspirated stops are also referred to as fortis stops. Therefore, losing this feature, referred to as deaspiration, is considered to be a lenition process. It is observed for example in the

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[15] Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*, 274.

[16] P. Honeybone, 'Lenition, Weakening and Consonantal Strength: Tracing Concepts through the History of Phonology', 9.

[17] K. Jaskuła, 'Celtic', in J. B. de Carvalho, T. Scheer, P. Segeral, eds., *Lenition and Fortition* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter 2008, 341).

[18] Carr, *A Glossary of Phonology*, 163; Trask, *A Dictionary of Phonetics and Phonology*, 332.

[19] Carr, *A Glossary of Phonology*, 16.

mutation of Welsh /b, d, g, ł, r̥ʰ/ into /p, t, k, l, r/. Trask[20] defines aspiration as a period of voiceless breathing after a given segment, and also stresses the link with lenition. Crystal[21] states that aspiration is an audible breath accompanying the articulation of a plosive consonant, and suggests a subdivision into pre-aspiration and post-aspiration. Languages which actively employ the difference between aspirated and deaspirated sounds are called aspiration languages.[22] Welsh and Irish constitute good examples of such languages.[23]

The next lenition process to be discussed is termed debuccalisation, during which the affected sound loses contact in the place of articulation, and is usually realised as the glottal fricative /h/.[24] As a result of this process, debuccalised sounds can disappear completely.

The last of the lenition processes listed above, and relevant for the languages under investigation, is approximantisation.[25] In this process, sounds change into homorganic approximants, which are here understood as 'frictionless continuants such as /w, j, r, l/'.[26] The change of Irish /m/ into /w/ is an example of approximantisation.

Important for all lenition processes mentioned here, is that the place of articulation does not change. Differences in the place of articulation between radical and lenited consonants within Welsh and Irish consonant mutation patterns result from multiple lenition processes and/or further additional diachronic sound changes.

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[20] Trask, *A Dictionary of Phonetics and Phonology*, 36.

[21] Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*, 39.

[22] G. K. Iverson, J. Salmons, 'Laryngeal Enhancement in Early Germanic', in C. J. Ewen, E. M. Kaisse, eds., *Phonology 20* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 46.

[23] Asmus, Grawunder, *Vowel Length in Welsh Monosyllables, Its Interrelation with Irish and Related Problems*, 76; C. Anderson, 'The Frequency of Irish Consonants *Bunreacht na hÉireann* as a Case Study', in *Monographs and Analyses 17* (Zamość, 2012, 16).

[24] Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*, 130.

[25] Honeybone, 'Lenition, Weakening and Consonantal Strength: Tracing Concepts through the History of Phonology', 9.

[26] Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*, 32.

2. Consonant mutations in Welsh and Irish

Grammaticalised word-initial consonant mutations are normally cross-linguistically referred to as initial consonant mutations (ICM). However, Asmus and Grawunder[27] highlighted problems linked to this term, and suggested the use of the term 'morpheme-initial consonant mutations' when referring to Insular Celtic languages where the initial consonants of morphemes change. Such mutations are defined here as systematic and grammaticalised changes that affect morpheme-initial phonemes, yielding those that are phonetically different.[28] They are usually triggered by a specific context which is normally morphological or syntactical. A common presentation of their paradigm in Irish and Welsh is found below.[29]

Table 1 Morpheme - initial consonant mutations in Irish

Radical	Lenition (Séimhiú)	Radical	Eclipsis (Úru)[30]
b /bˠ/, /bʲ/	bh /w/, /vʲ/	b /bˠ/, /bʲ/	mb /mˠ/, /mʲ/
c /k/, /c/	ch /x/, /ç/	c /k/, /c/	gc /g/, /ɟ/
d /d̪ˠ/, /dʲ/	dh /ɣ/, /j/	d /d̪ˠ/, /dʲ/	nd /n̪ˠ/, /nʲ/
f /fˠ/, /fʲ/	fh (silent)	f /fˠ/, /fʲ/	bhf /w/, /vʲ/
g /g/, /ɟ/	gh /ɣ/, /j/	g /g/, /ɟ/	ng /ŋ/, /ɲ/
m /mˠ/, /mʲ/	mh /w/, /vʲ/		
p /pˠ/, /pʲ/	ph /fˠ/, /fʲ/	p /pˠ/, /pʲ/	bp /bˠ/, /bʲ/
s /sˠ/, /ʃ/	sh /h/		
sc, sm, sp, and st do not mutate			
t /t̪ˠ/, /tʲ/	th /h/	t /t̪ˠ/, /tʲ/	dt /d̪ˠ/, /dʲ/

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[27] Asmus, Grawunder, *Vowel Length in Welsh Monosyllables, Its Interrelation with Irish and Related Problems*, 22.

[28] Asmus, Grawunder, *Vowel Length in Welsh Monosyllables, Its Interrelation with Irish and Related Problems*, 22.

[29] Asmus, Grawunder, *Vowel Length in Welsh Monosyllables, Its Interrelation with Irish and Related Problems*, 22.

[30] Changes based on nasalisation proper are not discussed in this study since the focus here is on lenition and its interplay with aspiration and deaspiration.

Table 2 Morpheme – initial consonant mutations in Welsh

Radical	Lenition	Nasalisation	Spirantisation
p /p⁽ʰ⁾/	b /b⁽ʰ⁾/	mh /m̥/	ph /f/
t /t⁽ʰ⁾/	d /d⁽ʰ⁾/	nh /n̥/	th /θ/
c /k⁽ʰ⁾/	g/g⁽ʰ⁾/	ngh /ŋ̥/	ch /χ/
b /b⁽ʰ⁾/	f /v/	m /m, m̥/	
d /d⁽ʰ⁾/	dd /ð/	n /n, n̥/	
g/g⁽ʰ⁾/	∅	ng /ŋ/	
m /m⁽ʰ⁾/	f /v/		
ll /ɬ/	l /l, l̥/		
rh /r̥/	r /r/		

Looking at the tables above, it is obvious that the terminology used in Welsh and Irish disguises phonological processes at work in the two tongues, to a certain degree. In order to elucidate them, a look at their diachrony with a focus on lenition is advocated. For Irish, it is important to note the difference between palatalised and velarised consonants, because they logically mutate differently.

3. The historical development of lenition in Welsh and Irish

The history of lenition in the Celtic languages starts, according to Jaskuła, in the Proto-Celtic period.[31] Blažek[32] dates Proto-Celtic to before the 11th Century BC, the date he considers marked the split into the Goidelic and Brittonic (also called Brythonic) branches, with Gaulish breaking off the Brittonic branch a century later. In Proto-Celtic, lenis plosives /b, d, g/ changed into lenis fricatives /β[33], ð, ɣ/, and nasal /m/

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[31] Jaskuła, 'Celtic', 341.
[32] V. Blažek, 'On the Position of Gaulish within Celtic from the Point of View of Glottochronology', in B. W. Fortson, G. Keydana, E. Rieken, P. Widmer, eds., *Indogermanische Forschungen* (Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter 2009, 267).
[33] R. Thurneysen, *A Grammar of Old Irish (*Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies 1946).

changed into /ṽ/ in intervocalic _VCV_ contexts, or between a vowel and a resonant _VCRV_, as seen in the examples below.[34]

(2)   _VCRV_   /widwa:/ > /wiðwa:/   'window'
       VCV /tegos/ > /teɣos/   'home'

Jaskuła dates the branching of Proto-Celtic into Continental and Insular Celtic (with the latter developing into all of the currently spoken p and q-Celtic languages) to the 7th and 5th Centuries BC. Whatever the truth, it is important that in this period lenition seemed to have continued in Insular Celtic,[35] but also in Gaulish. In the 1st Century AD, lenition is well spread on the European Continent. The change of /b, d, g/ into fricatives is accepted for Celtiberian and assumed for Gaulish. There is also evidence that lenition of /p, t, k/ into /b, d, g/ might have occurred in, at least, Gaulish. However, none of the Continental lenitions were phonemic.

The classical lenition mentioned above was accompanied by the strengthening of /r, l, n/ to /R, L, N/ in Insular Celtic, i.e. by fortition as well as by the lenition of /s/ into /h/. The latter also occurred on the Continent.[36] These fortition and lenition processes paved the way for further lenition processes, and their eventual grammaticalisation in Irish and Welsh in the 5th Century AD. Leniting contexts mentioned in the previous paragraph were here extended by adding sandhi, i.e. _V#CV_ and _V#CRV_, as is visible in the example below.[37]

(3)   _V#CRV_   /indi: druwiðos/ > /indi: ðruwiðos/
       'the druid'

In the Goidelic languages, the so-called First Irish Lenition took place around 5th century AD[38] and fortis plosives /t, k/ changed into /θ, χ/,

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[34] Jaskuła, 'Celtic', 342.

[35] Jaskuła, 'Celtic', 343; G. Broderick, *Consultations* (March-June 2018).

[36] K. McCone, *Towards a Relative Chronology of Ancient and Medieval Celtic Sound Change* (Maynooth: Department of Old Irish, St. Patrick's College 1996, 97.

[37] Jaskuła, 'Celtic', 343

[38] G. Broderick, *Goidelic Phonemic Inventories: An Overview* (*Teaching material,* Szczecin 2017, 6).

complementing the Proto-Celtic changes of /b, d, g, m/ into /β, ð, ɣ, ṽ/ and developing lenition into a grammatical feature.

(4)   /ehja teɣah/ > /eja θeɣa/   'his house
      /beret/ > /berəχ/   'bear 3 sg'

The fact that in Modern Irish /t/ mutates into /h/, and /d/ into broad /ɣ/ and slender /j/, is to be explained by further lenition processes that affected these sounds around the 13th century, i.e. in the Middle Irish period.[39] For reasons not yet clear, /p/ did not seem to have been a regular part of the Celtic phoneme inventory, perhaps since the Proto-Celtic period.[40] It became a regular part of the standard Irish phoneme inventory, through Latin loan words, later in the 5th century, and adjusted to the classical leniton of stops into fricatives, i.e. /p/ > /f/.[41]

The so-called First British Lenition in the Brittonic Celtic languages also took place around the 5th century,[42] and made grammatical mutations here as well. It changed fortis plosives /p[43], t, k/, via deaspiration, into the lenis plosives /b, d, g/. The contexts were the same as in the First Irish Lenition, i.e. …VCV…, …VCRV…, …V#CV…, …V#CRV… and _C#_ . See an example of the …V#CV… context, below.[44]

(5)   /ehja penna/ > /ehja benna/   'his head'

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[39] Broderick, *Goidelic Phonology (Jackson)* (*Teaching material,* Szczecin, 2012, 17).

[40] Jaskuła, 'Celtic', 345; J. Koch, *An Atlas for Celtic Studies: Archeology and Names in Ancient Europe and Early Medieval Ireland, Britain and Brittany* (Oxford: Oxbow Books 2007).

[41] Jaskuła, 'Celtic', 345.

[42] G. Broderick, *Chief Phonological Developments in British (Teaching material,* Szczecin, 2017, 7.

[43] In the case of Brittonic /p/ developed from /kʷ/ by dropping the /k/, /w/ > /b/ + fortition (K. Jaskuła, 'Celtic', 346).

[44] Jaskuła, 'Celtic', 346; G. Broderick, *Chief Phonological Developments in British* (*Teaching material,* Szczecin, 2017), 8; G. Broderick, *Rhydderch – Broderick?* (*Teaching material,* Szczecin 2017, 137); Asmus, Grawunder, *Vowel Length in Welsh Monosyllables, Its Interrelation with Irish and Related Problems*, 34–35.

Whereas Irish fortis stops underwent spirantisation to fortis fricatives in the First Lenition, the Welsh fortis stops were deaspirated, i.e. in the Irish First Lenition /t/ changes into /θ/, but in Welsh, /t/ deaspirates into /d/. The reason for the different development of fortis stops may be assumed in its genetic links to Gaulish and/or contact with Brittonic, as well as the interaction between Brittonic/archaic Welsh and Latin (see lenition on the Continent, above).

Contact with Welsh and British-Latin influence may have triggered deaspiration of /p, t, k/[45] into /b, d, g/[46] in Irish in the 6th century.

(6)   /kæntan/ >   /kændan/ >   /kɛ:dan/
      'hundred'
      Insular Celtic   Primitive Irish   Old Irish
      Translation

It seems that this change resulted from a coalescence of a fortis stop with a nasal consonant in a phonological context, described as _VNCV_ and _VN#CV_; hence the term 'eclipsis' in Irish, which would indicate nasalisation. Another lenition surfacing in Irish at this time is the change from /f/ to /v/.

The Second British Lenition took place in the 6th century.[47] It changed the remaining fortis stops /p, t, k/, which had developed from geminates or consonant clusters,[48] into fortis fricatives /f, θ, χ/ in similar contexts as with the First British lenition.[49]

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[45] For analogical treatment of the sounds, see example (5).
[46] Jaskuła, 'Celtic', 349.
[47] Broderick, *Chief Phonological Developments in British*, 9.
[48] Jaskuła, 'Celtic', 348.
[49] Jaskuła, 'Celtic', 348.

(7)   /bokka/ >   /bokə/ >   /boχ/
      'cheek'
      /brokk/ >   /brok/ >   /broχ/   'badger'[50]
      Insular Celtic   Primitive Welsh Middle Welsh
      Translation

The lenition of Welsh /g/ was initially /ɣ/, but it was further weakened, so that the synchronic mutation result is deletion. This process took place between the 6th and 9th centuries, and made /ɣ/ disappear from the phonological system of Welsh.[51] The lenition of fortis /ɫ, r̥ʰ/ to deaspirated /l, r/ took place somewhere in the transition period between Old and Middle Welsh.[52]

To sum up, the diachronic development of lenition processes in Celtic consists of separate phases, i.e. the two elements of the Proto-Celtic phase, the First Lention phase in Irish and Welsh, and further lenition. The table below summarises the major diachronic changes.

Phase
Proto-Celtic I
/b, d, g, m/ > / β, ð, ɣ, ṽ/ - FRICATION
…VCV…
…VCRV…
Proto-Celtic II
/b, d, g, m/ > / β, ð, ɣ, ṽ/ - FRICATION
/s/ > /h/ - DEBUCCALISATION
…V#CV…
…V#CRV…

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[50] R. J. Thomas, *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru. A Dictionary of the Welsh Language* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press 1950). This development affected a whole group of animal names in Welsh such as *hwch* 'pig', *soch* 'swine', *moch* 'swine' *or broch* 'badger'.

[51] Broderick, *Chief Phonological Developments in British,* 2.

[52] Broderick, *Chief Phonological Developments in British*, 8; D. Willis, 'Old and Middle Welsh', in M. J. Ball, N. Müller, eds., *The Celtic Languages* (London: Routledge 2010, 127). For details about resulting fortis and lenis /l, r/ see S. Jaworski, S. Asmus, 'An Acoustic Study of Welsh and Slavonic Rhotics', in *Celto-Slavica 9 (forthcoming)* and S. Asmus, S. Grawunder, *Vowel Length in Welsh Monosyllables, Its Interrelation with Irish and Related Problems.*

	Welsh	**Irish**
First Lenition	/p, t, k/ > /b, d, g/ - DEASPIRATION …VCV… …VCRV… …V#CV… …V#CRV… C#	/t, k/ > /θ, χ/ - SPIRANTISATION …VCV… …VCRV… …V#CV… …V#CRV… C#
Second Lenition	/p, t, k/ > /f, θ, χ/ - SPIRANTISATION …VCV… …VCRV… …V#CV… …V#CRV… C#	/p, t, k, f/ > /b, d, g, v/ - DEASPIRATION …VNCV… …VN#CV…
Later developments (10ᵗʰ-12ᵗʰ century AD)	/ɬ, r̥ʰ/ > /l, r/ - DEASPIRATION /ɣ/ deleted	/p/ > /f/ /f/ > silent DEBUCCALISATION[53] /θ/ > /h/ /ð/ > /ɣ, j/

In light of the diachronic developments described above, consonant mutations of Welsh and Irish were classified more adequately. The tables

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[53] The Irish /f/ is either a product of lenition of /p/ (in this context only possible from 5th century onwards), or it consititues a separate independent sound of Irish, undergoing its own mutation through debuccalisation /f/ -> silent. The predecessor of the latter was Primitive Irish /w/ found in non-leniting environments. The Primitive Irish /w/ in contact with a lenis consonant or a sonorant developed into /v/, underwent deletion in an intervocallic context (both changes are lenitions), but in non-leniting environments, it changed into /f/. After the aforementioned changes were lexicalised /f/, which replaced /w/, started following the existing grammaticalised pattern of lenition by debuccalisation, thus establishing the alternation from /f/ to silent. K. Jaskula, *Ancient Sound Changes and Old Irish Phonology* (Lublin: KUL University Press 2006, 53–57); K. McCone, *Towards a Relative Chronology of Ancient and Medieval Celtic Sound Change* (Maynooth: Department of Old Irish, St. Patrick's College 1996, 131).

below present modern morpheme-initial consonant mutations in the tongues under review, with a focus on lenition processes at work.

Table 3 Lenition in morpheme-initial consonant mutation in Irish

Traditional grammar label	Radical sound	Mutated Sound	Phonological label
Lenition	/p/	/f/	lenition by spirantisation
Lenition	/p'/	/f'/	lenition by spirantisation
Lenition	/t/ > [θ] >	/h/	lenition by spirantisation + further diachronic leniton (debuccalisation)
Lenition	/t'/ > [θ] >	/h/	lenition by spirantisation + further diachronic lenition (debuccalisation)
Lenition	/k/	/x/	lenition by spirantisation
Lenition **Lenition**	/k'/ /b/	/ç/ /w/	lenition by spirantisation lenition by approximantisation
Lenition	/b'/ > [β] >	/v/	lenition by frication + secondary change of place of articulation
Lenition	/d/ > [ð] >	/ɣ/	lenition by frication + secondary change of place of articulation
Lenition	/d'/ > [ð] >	/j/	lenition by frication + further diachronic lenition (approximantisation)

Lenition	/g/	/ɣ/	lenition by frication
Lenition	/g'/	/j/	lenition by approximantisation
Lenition	/m/	/w/	lenition by approximantisation
Lenition	/m'/ > [ṽ] >	/v/	lenition by frication + change of place of articulation
Leniton	/f/	silent	lenition by debuccalisation
Lenition	/f'/	silent	lenition by debuccalisation
Lenition	/s/	/h/	lenition by debuccalisation
Lenition	/ʃ/	/h/	lenition by debuccalisation
Eclipsis	/k/	/g/	lenition by deaspiration
Eclipsis	/k'/	/g'/	lenition by deaspiration
Eclipsis	/t/	/d/	lenition by deaspiration
Eclipsis	/t'/	/d'/	lenition by deaspiration
Eclipsis	/p/	/b/	lenition by deaspiration
Eclipsis	/p'/	/b'/	lenition by deaspiration
Eclipsis	/f/	/w/	lenition by approximantisation and change of place of articulation
Eclipsis	/f'/	/v'/	lenition by deaspiration

Table 4. Lenition in morpheme-initial consonant mutation patterns in Welsh

Traditional grammar label	Radical sound	Mutated Sound	Phonological label
Soft mutation	/p/	/b/	lenition by deaspiration
Soft mutation	/b/ > [β] >	/v/	lenition by frication
Soft mutation	/t/	/d/	lenition by deaspiration
Soft mutation	/d/	/ð/	lenition by frication
Soft mutation	/k/	/g/	lenition by deaspiration
Soft mutation	/g/ > [ɣ] >	silent	lenition by frication + debuccalisation
Soft mutation	/ɬ/	/l/	lenition by deaspiration
Soft mutation	/r̥ʰ/	/r/	lenition by deaspiration
Soft mutation	/m/ > [ṽ] >	/v/	lenition by frication
Spirant mutation	/p/	/f/	lenition by spirantisation
Spirant mutation	/t/	/θ/	lenition by spirantisation
Spirant mutation	/k/	/x/	lenition by spirantisation

4. Conclusions

According to the definition of lenition formulated here, the authors understand lenition, broadly, as a weakening process,[54] which may be caused by: (a) frication (changing lenis stops into lenis fricatives); (b) spirantisation (changing fortis stops into fortis fricatives which may later attract aspiration); (c) deaspiration (changing fortis stops into lenis stops); (d) debuccalisation (loss of place of articulation); and (e) approximantisation (changing a sound into an approximant).

When applying lenition as defined above, morpheme-initial consonant mutations of Irish become very regular, from a phonetic point of view.[55] The mutation traditionally termed *Séimhiú* is, in fact, historically: (a) the classical lenition of fortis plosives /p, t, k/ > /f, θ,[56] χ/, i.e. spirantisation; (b) the classical lenition of lenis plosives /b, d, g, m/ > /β, ð, ɣ, ṽ/, i.e. frication; (c) lenition by debuccalisation /s, ʃ, h/ > /h, h, ∅ /; and (d) lenition by approximantisation, e.g. /m/ > /w/. The mutation traditionally termed *úru* (eclipsis)[57] comprises; (a) lenition by deaspiration /p, t, k/ > /b, d, g/; and (b) approximantisation /f/ > /w/ (as well as nasalisation proper).

The morpheme-initial consonant mutation patterns of Welsh appear to present a different pattern, since the mutation usually referred to as lenition, or soft mutation, historically comprises both lenition of lenis plosives /b, d, g, m/ > /β, ð, ɣ, ṽ/, i.e. frication, and lenition by deaspiration /p, t, k/ > /b, d, g/. The spirant mutation is, in essence, the lenition of fortis plosives plus aspiration /p, t, k/ > /f, θ, χ/, which is kept separate in Welsh, singling out spirantisation, and marking clearly the character of Welsh as an aspiration language. /ɬ, r̥ʰ/ changing into deaspirated /l, r/, a pattern absent in Irish, is usually analysed as approximantisation. However, this kind of approximantisation, as well as deaspiration, spirantisation, and, at least partly, also classical lenition, reflects in essence on the absence or

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[54] E. Ternes, 'Konsonantische Anlautveränderungen in den Keltischen und Romanischen Sprachen', in F. Gernert, D. Jacob, D. Nelting, C. Schmitt, M. Selig, S. Zepp, eds., *Romanistisches Jahrbuch 28* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter 1977, 23).

[55] Ternes, 'Konsonantische Anlautveränderungen in den keltischen und romanischen Sprachen', 23.

[56] This undergoes further weakening to /h/.

[57] See also Ternes on the matter of terminology. E. Ternes, 'Konsonantische Anlautveränderungen in den Keltischen und Romanischen Sprachen', 23.

presence of aspiration as an essential feature of Welsh. This feature is stronger developed in Welsh than in Irish.

The dominance of the feature of aspiration/deaspiration was already indicated by Asmus and Grawunder (2017 and 2018), showing that /b, d, g/ seem to be devoiced and passively aspirated, but maintain the fortis-lenis distinction with /p, t, k/.

Indeed, when looking into detail, it becomes apparent that lenition processes dominate the Welsh and the Irish systems. Nasalisation seems to be absent in syntactic marking, making clear that the fortis-lenis divide forms a major constituent part of both languages. In addition, Asmus and Grawunder[58] discovered that the fortis-lenis divide is a phonologically active word, finally in simplex codas of monosyllables, here affecting lexical semantics. The fortis-lenis divide, therefore, is a phonological device in Welsh, which structures the language morphologically, syntactically, and semantically. Welsh, and the other similarly structured Insular Celtic mutation systems, are, consequently, fully phonological, and to be distinguished from phonetic surface phenomena, like lenition, for reasons of speech economy.

Having established the deaspiration/aspiration divide as a major device in the formation of the fortis-lenis contrast in Welsh, and identified the latter as fully language structuring, the feature devoiced/voiced is secondary, if not largely absent, from this tongue. As a result, contrary to what Grawunder, Asmus and Anderson[59] claimed in 2015, final devoicing, also referred to as contrast neutralisation of voiced/devoiced codas, is not a regular feature in Welsh (nor in Irish). On the contrary, the maintenance of fortis-lenis codas is needed to distinguish meaning in Welsh, and devoicing is largely absent in /b, d, g/.[60] Although Welsh lenition has a clear link with aspiration issues, the extent to which voicing may be a feature of Welsh, as well as its potential importance in the Welsh language system, will be the subject of a separate research project.

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[58] Asmus, Grawunder, *Vowel Length in Welsh Monosyllables, Its Interrelation with Irish and Related Problems*, 22.

[59] S. Grawunder, S. Asmus, C. Anderson, 'On the correlation of acoustic vowel and coda duration in modern Welsh C(C)VC monosyllables', in *Proceedings of the ICPhS* (Glasgow 2015).

[60] Asmus, Grawunder, *Vowel Length in Welsh Monosyllables, Its Interrelation with Irish and Related Problems*.

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