

**THE WELSH OF THE UNITED STATES AND  
PLAID CYMRU 1925-1945**

**A study in the response of emigrants to nationalism in  
the home country**

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## SUMMARY

The history of contact between Plaid Cymru and Welsh expatriate communities has been a neglected narrative. This thesis goes part of the way to remedying that situation by focusing on the interaction that occurred between Welsh-Americans and Plaid Cymru from 1925 to 1945.

The party of 1925-1945 was not the same political entity as it is in 2015 and hence this study seeks to explore and understand Plaid's essence during the specified time period. The 'Welshness' of Welsh-America is also explored, in order to better understand the 'Welsh identity' that was in existence at the time.

The engagement between Plaid Cymru and Welsh-America occurred at an individual level, through personal correspondence, and also at an institutional level, through the Welsh-American press. That press, both English and Welsh medium, took a great interest in the party and played a part in Plaid's fund-raising strategy. By interpreting these levels of engagement we arrive at a fuller understanding of how Plaid Cymru and Welsh-America interacted during the years from 1925 to 1945.

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## INTRODUCTION

When the Sufi sailor Sheikh Abdullah Ali al-Hakimi<sup>1</sup> became one of the leaders of the nationalist political organization, the ‘Free Yemen Movement’, and founded the Arabic newspaper *Al-Salam*, he did so whilst serving as the Imam of the Butetown mosque in Cardiff during the 1930s and 1940s.<sup>2</sup> The mosque which was established by Sheikh Abdullah was the first in Wales, but of more significance in the context of this thesis is the fact that the newspaper which he produced and published was one of the first Arabic newspapers in Britain to voice dissent against Imamic rule.<sup>3</sup>

*Al-Salam* provided a channel in Britain for the ‘Free Yemen Movement’ to disseminate its opposition to the Imamic rule of the rulers of Yemen at the time, namely Imam Yayha and, later, Imam Amhad and the newspaper was an example of how Yemeni communities overseas, amongst which was the Cardiff Yemeni community, were supporting the cause of freedom in the home country.<sup>4</sup> Whilst the specific cause espoused by Sheikh Abdullah is inconsequential to this study the fact that he lived in Cardiff is highly relevant, as he is an example of an emigrant who had taken up residence in another country but who, nevertheless, was attempting to influence the political situation in his fatherland. The story of Sheikh Abdullah, and that of the other Yemenis in Wales who supported the ‘Free Yemen Movement’, may not be one that is well-known but the activities of these emigrants in the sphere of struggle for freedom in the Yemen contribute to a genre of study encompassing emigrants who involve themselves with the politics of their home countries and seek to instigate change.

The most well-documented relationship between émigrés and the political movements or parties in the country that they had left behind is that of Irish expatriates and the national movement in Ireland. The attention which this interaction has received, specifically the involvement of Irish-Americans in the nationalist politics of Ireland, is unrivalled by any other emigrant group, be it in the USA<sup>5</sup> or elsewhere, and the volume of academic work on

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<sup>1</sup> Dick Lawless, ‘Sheikh Abdullah Ali al-Hakimi,’ accessed February 15, 2014, <http://www.al-bab.com/bys/articles/lawless93.htm>.

<sup>2</sup> Patricia Aithie, ‘From the roof of Arabia to the coal cellar,’ accessed February 16, 2014, <http://www.al-bab.com/bys/articles/aithie94.htm>.

<sup>3</sup> Patricia Aithie, ‘The Burning Ashes of Time,’ accessed February 16, 2014, <http://www.al-bab.com/bys/books/aithie06.htm>.

<sup>4</sup> Lawless, ‘Sheikh Abdullah Ali al-Hakimi.’

<sup>5</sup> ‘USA,’ ‘US,’ ‘United States’ and ‘America’ will be used as interchangeable names.

the subject is vast and impressive, especially when compared with academic output concerning the relationship of other emigrant nationalities with their home countries.<sup>6</sup>

The attention that has been given to the support that Irish-Americans provided for the nationalist politics of Ireland may be due to the fact that it was strong, consistent and effective. The huge numbers of Irish-Americans vociferously demanding freedom for the land of their forefathers and actively working to that end are an integral part of the history of Irish nationalism. Such was the strength of Irish-American backing for Irish nationalism and its aims that the Irish-American journalist, Patrick Ford,<sup>7</sup> wrote the following declaration to the Prime Minister of Britain in 1881:

All this force and fraud will fail, Mr Gladstone. You are now, unlike the past, dealing with two Irelands. The Greater Ireland is on this side of the Atlantic. This is the base of operations. We in America furnish the sinews of war. We in America render moral aid.<sup>8</sup>

The rhetoric was threatening, but the same type of pronouncement was made by Michael Davitt who had toured America in 1878, who had met members of Clan-na-Gael<sup>9</sup> and had called for Irish independence; he had called the Irish in America ‘the avenging Wolfhound of Irish Nationalism’.<sup>10</sup> This was a belligerence that could be harnessed and the potential for support for the Irish cause, which it implied, led the Irish nationalist leaders in Ireland to view Irish-Americans not only as purveyors of fine words but also as financial backers or, in the words of one commentator:

as an incalculable bankroll for political projects ranging from land reform to violent overthrow.<sup>11</sup>

Thus Irish-America was a power house of energy and aid, invigorating and sustaining the compatriots in the home country and providing a voice for the struggle that rang out across the New World and fired warning shots across the bows of the British Government.

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<sup>6</sup> For further reading see Seamus P. Metress, *The American Irish and Irish Nationalism: A Sociohistorical Introduction* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 1995); Paul Darby, *Gaelic games, Nationalism and the Irish Diaspora in the United States* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2009); Thomas N. Brown, *Irish-American Nationalism, 1870-1890* (Philadelphia, PA: JB Lippincott Company, 1996).

<sup>7</sup> Editor of the newspaper, *Irish World*, which became the principal paper of Irish-America and leader of ‘Irish World Land League’: Metress, *The American Irish and Irish Nationalism*, 6.

<sup>8</sup> Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Special Sorrows: The Diasporic Imagination of Irish, Polish and Jewish Immigrants in the United States* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 13.

<sup>9</sup> An organization founded in 1867, on the demise of the Fenian Brotherhood, which boasted local branches across the United States. Its aim was to work closely with conspirators in Ireland towards an armed Irish revolt: Jacobson, *Special Sorrows: The Diasporic Imagination of Irish, Polish and Jewish Immigrants in the United States*, 27.

<sup>10</sup> John Lawrence McCaffrey, *The Irish Diaspora in America* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1976), 130.

<sup>11</sup> Jacobson, *Special Sorrows: The Diasporic Imagination of Irish, Polish and Jewish Immigrants in the United States*, 22.

Irish-American involvement in the politics of the home country began at least as early as the 1840s with Daniel O’Connell’s Repeal Movement and continued until the realisation of Irish nationalist aims. The Repeal Movement, which aimed to sever the union between Ireland and Britain, enlisted vast numbers of Irish-Americans thereby raising millions of dollars for the cause and providing the means to exert pressure on American politicians to declare their support. Consequently many prominent politicians, either out of sympathy with the aim or to garner votes, declared for the Movement. This was an early example of Irish emigrant activity on behalf of the home country that was to recur many times until Ireland gained its freedom: Irish-American involvement again became evident during the time of the Great Famine between 1845 and 1852 when funds were raised to enable ‘Young Ireland’<sup>12</sup> to purchase weapons. Charles Stuart Parnell<sup>13</sup> also gained funding as a result of his visit to America and the money raised enabled his party to become one of the most effective in Parliament. Roger Casement, who was furnished with \$10,000 by Clan-na-Gael,<sup>14</sup> is another example where Irish-Americans were providing financial support to further Irish matters in the home country, as was the aid that De Valera received on his visit in 1919, which was specifically made with the intention of raising ‘funds and gather[ing] more support for the struggle against Britain’.<sup>15</sup>

Irish-American involvement in the fight of their compatriots at home also engendered organizations which were founded in support of the nationalist cause. The Fenian Brotherhood, for example, was formed in 1858 and was a movement consisting of two groups, one that advocated military measures and the other that saw its work in terms of providing practical aid, but, possibly, the above-mentioned Clan-na-Gael was the most famous of Irish-American organisations that worked towards the goal of Irish independence.

Thus, in the Irish nationalist struggle for freedom, the Irish-American element was of paramount importance. It was active on two essential fronts, namely in the sphere of fund-raising and in the American political scenario, where it brought pressure to bear in favour of nationalist Irish policies. So influential has been the narrative of Irish-American support for the struggles of Irish patriots in the homeland that it has informed mainstream culture, finding

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<sup>12</sup> See Chapter One.

<sup>13</sup> On his American tour in 1880 he had raised \$300,000 for famine relief and had cultivated Irish-American sympathy which would be a reservoir from which future Irish leaders could draw: Ely M. Janis, ‘Anointing the “Uncrowned King of Ireland”’: Charles Stuart Parnell’s 1880 American Tour and the Creation of a Transatlantic Land League Movement,’ accessed January 17, 2014, [http://www.ghidc.org/files/publications/bu\\_supp/supp5/supp5\\_023.pdf](http://www.ghidc.org/files/publications/bu_supp/supp5/supp5_023.pdf).

<sup>14</sup> Clan-na-Gael’s financial resources was ‘the one feature’ that gave the Irish Republican Brotherhood in Ireland ‘any continuing significance’: Robert Kee, *The Bold Fenian Men* (London: Quartet Books, 1976), 145.

<sup>15</sup> Metress, *The American Irish and Irish Nationalism*, 11.

itself the subject of Hollywood films such as *The Devil's Own* (1997) and, to a lesser extent, as an aside in *The Gangs of New York* (2002). Most recently it has surfaced in the televised drama series, *Boardwalk Empire* (2010-), and it is not too much of an exaggeration to suggest that it has morphed into a saga imbued with romantic heroism.

Apart from the relationship-story in the Irish context, the involvement of expatriates with the politics of their homeland is not familiar terrain for political historians. And yet, even though their activities may be less familiar, there is ample evidence to indicate that other diasporic groups which emigrated to the United States became involved with the nationalist politics of the home countries which they had left behind. Polish-Americans offer one such example. In the first half of the nineteenth century Russian rule, with its colonial mentality of suppressing all elements of the subjugated country's unique ethnic characteristics, had sparked revolution and uprisings in Poland and had also spurred emigration to America. Yet, although they had left, they could not accept the situation in their home country so that the one factor that was a constant in the life of Polish-Americans was their concern for their fatherland, their 'Ojczyzna.' They wanted to see reinstated their national traditions and language and they wanted to see their home country regain its freedom. This commitment to the 'Polish cause' was to continue throughout the years until the re-establishment of an independent Poland after World War I, and it was also evident during the period of Nazi and Soviet dominance between 1939 and 1989. It was to this end that nationalist groups and organizations, such as the Polish National Alliance (PNA) established in 1880, were formed in the United States to work for the liberation of the home country and to offer both financial and political support. The activity of the PNA raised thousands of dollars for nationalist coffers whilst also pursuing other means in the fight to remedy the situation in Poland, as it believed that the safeguarding of Polish culture and the propagation of the national idea were necessary and vital first steps towards liberating the fatherland. With many Polish Catholics being targeted in a bid to reduce the role of the Roman Catholic Church in the era of Bismarck's Kulturkampf, and with many emigrant Poles becoming denationalized and assimilated, the PNA organized lectures by nationalist speakers, they worked to erect American monuments to Polish heroes and sponsored essay contests on nationalist themes, they organized massive public observances and special days to mark such events as the January and November uprisings of 1863 and 1830-31 respectively, the birthday of Kosciuszko, the national hero, on 3 May, and the Battle of Grunewald. Thus they were attempting to bolster the struggle of their compatriots at home by ensuring that Polish patriotism was being consistently ignited in Polish-American immigrants so that the end



result would be vocal propaganda and activity in the political sphere, as well as practical and financial support.<sup>16</sup>

Another group of emigrants in America whose support for the struggle in their mother country was just as significant, but which again seems to have been far less well-documented than Irish-American involvement with the Irish nationalist cause, is the Basque-American group. The New York Basque delegation, for example, sought to influence the US Government as well as representatives of the Catholic Church to declare in favour of the Basque Autonomous Government, but even before this they had established the Committee Pro-Euzkadi in 1937 in order to compile and share information about the current war situation in the Basque Country and to engineer aid for refugees. The New York organisation and other Basque-American groups were constantly engaging in international affairs, highlighting the Spanish Civil War and the plight of refugees as well as fundraising for the government-in-exile. During General Franco's years of rule the US Basque community contributed funds which were sent to churches and families in the Basque Country.<sup>17</sup> In more recent times the Basque group, Anaiak Danok, which translates as 'Brothers All' and was formed in the 1970s in Boise, Idaho, raised money to help the families of Basque-separatist political prisoners. Also, several Basque-American families tried to influence American foreign policy through senators such as Frank Church of Idaho and Paul Laxalt of Nevada and through the governors of California, Nevada, Idaho and Oregon, where the majority of Basques live in the West.<sup>18</sup> The Basque-Americans, like many of the American emigrant communities who were actively working for nationalist causes in their home countries, were doing so not only to assist in the struggle for freedom and justice but also in the belief that they were supporting their non-emigrant compatriots in their fight to preserve their common heritage, and it was this latter reason, just as much as the desire for freedom, which inspired donations to organizations such as ETA.<sup>19</sup>

Even though, as previously mentioned, it has been the support of Irish-Americans for the cause at home that has gained the most attention from political historians yet the oral and written nationalist histories of such countries as the Basque Country and Poland have made mention of the relationship of émigrés with nationalist movements in their respective domains. Such has not been the case as far as nationalism in Wales is concerned. Whilst

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<sup>16</sup> James S. Pula, *Polish-Americans: An Ethnic Community* (New York, NY: Twayne, 1995), 1.

<sup>17</sup> Gloria P. Totoricagüena, *Identity, Culture and Politics in the Basque Diaspora* (Reno, NEV: University of Nevada Press, 2004) 86.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 87.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 86. ETA, 'Euzkadi Ta Askatasuna' (Basque Homeland and Freedom), is an armed Basque nationalist and separatist group founded in 1959.

both Plaid Cymru and Welsh emigration to the United States have, separately, received the attention of political and period historians there is a void in the field of study which would bring the two together, namely in the history of the relationship of Welsh-American immigrants and Welsh nationalism. Consequently, it appears that no specific work has been done on the subject of interaction between the political party and the emigrant communities, neither in studies dealing with Plaid Cymru's history nor in historical accounts of emigration from Wales to the United States. For example, both Richard Wyn Jones and Laura McAllister in their respective publications, *Rhoi Cymru'n Gyntaf: Syniadaeth Plaid Cymru*<sup>20</sup> and *Plaid Cymru: The Emergence of a Political Party*<sup>21</sup> have focused primarily on the ideology of Plaid Cymru and the same is true of Alan Sandry in his volume, *Plaid Cymru: An Ideological Analysis*.<sup>22</sup> D. Hywel Davies has provided a more encompassing work, focusing on party structure and policy between 1925 and 1945 in *The Welsh Nationalist Party, 1925-1945: A Call to Nationhood*,<sup>23</sup> but whilst he does refer to the preference of James J. Davis, the United States Senator, for Home Rule rather than Dominion Status for Wales, he does not pursue a line of inquiry which would further inform on the relationship of the Welsh in the US and the party in Wales. Dafydd Williams's *Story of Plaid Cymru: The Party of Wales*<sup>24</sup> and *Cymru'n Deffro: Hanes y Blaid Genedlaethol 1925-75*,<sup>25</sup> edited by John Davies, do not mention any connection between the party and America and neither is there any reference to this matter in other works concerning the nationalist cause in Wales which provide a detailed account of the period 1925-1945, such as Arwel Vittle's *Valentine*<sup>26</sup> and J. E. Jones's memoirs, *J.E. a'r Blaid*.<sup>27</sup>

Furthermore, those studies that have been made with regard to Welsh emigration to the United States have focused on periods of movement from Wales before 1925 and therefore, for obvious reasons, a relationship between Plaid Cymru and Welsh émigrés does not feature. For example, Bill Jones's work *Wales in America: Scranton and the Welsh, 1860-1920*<sup>28</sup> focuses, as the title suggests, on a time period before the party had been formed and works such as Edward Hartmann's *Americans from Wales*<sup>29</sup> are limited to an overview of Welsh

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<sup>20</sup> Richard Wyn Jones, *Rhoi Cymru'n Gyntaf* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 2007).

<sup>21</sup> Laura McAllister, *Plaid Cymru: The Emergence of a Political Party* (Bridgend: Seren, 2001).

<sup>22</sup> Alan Sandry, *Plaid Cymru: An Ideological Analysis* (Cardiff: Welsh Academic Press, 2011).

<sup>23</sup> D. Hywel Davies, *The Welsh Nationalist Party 1925-1945* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1983).

<sup>24</sup> Dafydd Williams, *The Story of Plaid Cymru, the Party of Wales* (Aberystwyth: Plaid Cymru, 1990).

<sup>25</sup> John Davies, ed., *Cymru'n Deffro; Hanes y Blaid Genedlaethol 1925-75* (Talybont: Y Lolfa, 1981).

<sup>26</sup> Arwel Vittle, *Valentine* (Talybont: Y Lolfa, 2006).

<sup>27</sup> J. E. Jones, *Tros Gymru, J.E. a'r Blaid* (Abertawe: Gwasg John Penry, 1970).

<sup>28</sup> William D. Jones, *Wales in America: Scranton and the Welsh* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1993).

<sup>29</sup> H. E. G. Hartmann, *Americans from Wales* (New York: Octagon Books, 1983).

emigration to the United States. Anne Kelly Knowles's publication, *Calvinists Incorporated*,<sup>30</sup> is a geographically specific work focusing on Welsh emigration to Ohio in the nineteenth century and Alan Conway's *The Welsh in America: Letters from the Immigrants*<sup>31</sup> deals with personal emigrant experience. Hywel M. Davies's *Transatlantic Brethren*<sup>32</sup> is confined to a period well before the advent of Plaid Cymru and Ronald Lewis's *Welsh Americans: A History of Assimilation in the Coalfields*<sup>33</sup> has focused on the industrial aspect to Welsh emigration to the United States. However, in Bill Jones and Aled Jones's study of the Welsh-American newspaper, *Y Drych*, entitled *Welsh Reflections: 'Y Drych' and America 1851-2001*,<sup>34</sup> reference is made to the fact that the above-named Welsh-medium newspaper was supportive of Plaid Cymru; yet it was not the intention of the study to expand further on that relationship.

Thus, taking into account the void that existed regarding the history of the relationship between Plaid Cymru and the Welsh diaspora in the United States, it became my hope that the study in this thesis would be able to furnish the relevant material and proffer valid information on the subject. Whilst one may have concluded that the absence of such a study might point to the inconsequentiality of the 'American' connection in relation to Plaid Cymru, it is my belief that the story of Welsh nationalism and its contact with Welsh emigrants must be told to fully realise the scope of the party's activities and horizons in a certain period and understanding the Welsh emigrants' attitudes to the political scenario in Wales in a specific period in Welsh political history. It is the story of a relationship between a new political party and Welsh émigrés in the United States,<sup>35</sup> a story that focuses on the politics of nationalism, as expressed through Plaid Cymru, and the impact it made on Welsh-America between 1925 and 1945.

Whilst the title of this thesis suggests that it will be representative of 'The Welsh of the United States', it will of course provide information on that community's views only insofar

<sup>30</sup> Ann Kelly Knowles, *Calvinists Incorporated* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

<sup>31</sup> Alan Conway, ed., *The Welsh in America: Letters from the Immigrants* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1961).

<sup>32</sup> Hywel M. Davies, *Transatlantic Brethren, Rev. Samuel Jones (1735-1814) and His Friends: Baptists in Wales, Pennsylvania, and Beyond* (London: Associated University Presses, 1995) and "Transatlantic Brethren: a study of English, Welsh and American Baptists with particular reference to Morgan John Rhys (1760-1804) and his friends" (PhD diss., University of Wales, 1984).

<sup>33</sup> Ronald L. Lewis, *Welsh Americans: a History of Assimilation in the Coalfields* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2008).

<sup>34</sup> Aled Jones and Bill Jones, *Welsh Reflections: Y Drych and America 1851-2001* (Llandysul: Gomer, 2001).

<sup>35</sup> Due to the sheer number of Welsh-Americans mentioned in this thesis, and the lack of biographical information available, it was decided that it would be impractical to footnote each and every one simply to note that research avenues had yielded no information. Consequently, even where no biographical detail is included, web searches have been made, libraries such as the Library of Congress have been contacted, queries have been made of various Welsh-American societies and index searches of relevant publications have been consulted.

as the material available for research has permitted. It was decided that the Welsh-American newspapers, *Y Drych* and *The Druid*, would serve as primary source material. Naturally one realises that there are problems concerning the use of newspapers as primary sources; for example factual errors may occur and owner/editor bias is present. Even so, they provide relevant and important information about the community which they serve in a specific period, and in this context *Y Drych* and *The Druid* are both invaluable as they provide an insight into Welsh-American attitudes during the years on which this study is focused.

The primary source information on Plaid Cymru, in addition to the Plaid Cymru archives which are kept in the National Library of Wales, will be *Y Ddraig Goch* and *The Welsh Nationalist*.

The years of study for this thesis, 1925-1945, were carefully considered. Obviously it was not possible to begin the research period before the founding of Plaid Cymru, but there had to be a valid reason for choosing a date at which to end the study, and 1945 seemed to be the obvious choice. The years 1925-1945 can be classed as one unitary period in the history of the party, as the Plaid Cymru that emerged after World War II was characterised by many different variables in comparison with those that existed before the war; for example Saunders Lewis withdrew from active politics in that year and Gwynfor Evans became the new president. In the sphere of emigration it was necessary to decide whether the period 1925-1945 was feasible on account of the fact that the process had nearly come to a halt by the 1940s but, in the end, it was concluded that the Welsh communities in the United States were still sufficiently evident and identifiable to justify deciding on 1945 as the end date of the study.

This thesis could have been written to include the response to Plaid Cymru of the Welsh diaspora worldwide but, as the numbers of emigrants to the USA dwarfed the sum-total of migrants to other countries and world-regions, it was felt that focusing on the Welsh-Americans would provide a feasible canvas for study. It was also felt that the USA would provide an interesting scenario for the study of emigrant response to national aims in the homeland since independence movements, as has already been shown, were part of the fabric of many ethnic communities.

The thesis has been set out to portray the two factors in the study, namely Plaid Cymru on the one hand and Welsh-America on the other, and to analyse the interaction of the one with the other on the basis of written material.

Chapter One introduces the reader to the history of modern nationalism in Wales. Before the advent of Plaid Cymru there were other forces at work within Welsh society which sought

to see the Welsh nation flourish, both culturally and politically, and whilst not all of these 'nationalistic' forces aspired to the breakup of the United Kingdom they did seek some form of self-government for Wales which would ultimately enable the nation to steer the course of its own destiny. The narrative of Plaid Cymru between 1925 and 1945 is told and key elements of the party's policy during this period are presented.

In Chapter Two the history of Welsh emigration to the United States is explored. Although mass migration from Wales to America occurred primarily in the closing decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the history of Welsh emigration to the United States is much older. This chapter will demonstrate the continuous flow, although sometimes a trickle, of Welsh emigrants who left Wales from the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards to seek a better life in the USA and it will seek to explore the matter of their identity.

Chapter Three presents the individuals, the majority of whom were from within the Welsh-American communities, who attempted to engage with Plaid Cymru to further its cause in the United States. It will also introduce the societies formed by Welsh-Americans between 1925 and 1945 whose aim was to support Plaid Cymru from across the Atlantic.

In Chapter Four the financial appeals that were made by Plaid Cymru to the Welsh-Americans through the relevant newspaper-channels are discussed. Whilst the response of *Y Drych* and *The Druid* to Plaid Cymru is discussed in Chapters 5 and 6 it was felt that the newspaper coverage of the appeals, and further comments pertaining to them, should be discussed in a separate chapter so as to better gauge the response of Welsh-America to appeals for financial aid.

Chapters 5 and 6 seek to analyse the reaction of the Welsh-language newspaper, *Y Drych*, and the English-medium newspaper, *The Druid*, towards Plaid Cymru between 1925 and 1945. To that end the editorial comments regarding the new party are reported and discussed and any articles and correspondence in relation to the party are presented and interpreted.

The Conclusion aims to draw all the data together in order to present a composite representation of the interaction that occurred between Plaid Cymru and Welsh-America in the period 1925-1945.

## Chapter 1

### Plaid Cymru<sup>1</sup> and its immediate antecedents

It is the purpose of this chapter to explore how Welsh nationalism manifested itself between 1925 and 1945 through the newly established National Party, ‘Y Blaid Genedlaethol’.<sup>2</sup> The chapter will begin by seeking to identify the main strands of nationalist thought and influences in Wales in the era which preceded the National Party’s formation and thus, in presenting a general overview, many lesser influences which may have played their part in contributing to a body of Welsh nationalist ideology will, inevitably, not be discussed. The chapter will also seek to identify the type of ideology propounded by the party by establishing its main currents of thought between 1925 and 1945, and will seek to measure its success based on its reception by the Welsh public.

The founding of the National Party in Pwllheli in 1925 was one, specific expression of a Welsh consciousness which had become evident from at least the 1820s onward and which had led to the formation of societies such as the Cymreigyddion with their emphasis on the Welsh language and Welsh history, literature and traditions.<sup>3</sup> In the latter part of the nineteenth century this consciousness, coupled with the Welsh radical Liberal and Nonconformist anger at the privileged status of both Tory landowners and the Church of England in Wales, gave rise to the Cymru Fydd (Young Wales) movement<sup>4</sup> and to calls for Home Rule which were partly inspired by the Irish Home Rule agenda.

But even in the years prior to the advent of Cymru Fydd there were instances where this Welsh awareness had become more profound and had changed into something which appeared to be more politicised in nature as it sought to express itself in political terms. Two voices, especially, had been raised propounding an ideology which later generations would recognise as political nationalism.<sup>5</sup> One such voice was that of Michael Daniel Jones (1822–1898), a minister with the Independents, who later became Principal of Bala Independent

<sup>1</sup> Usage of this title only became common from 1943 onwards: Davies, *The Welsh Nationalist Party 1925-1945*, 259.

<sup>2</sup> The Welsh title is the one used by Saunders Lewis in his lecture in 1926 and the English title is taken from the translation of that lecture by Bruce Griffiths: Saunders Lewis, *Egwyddorion Cenedlaetholdeb, Principles of Nationalism* (Plaid Cymru, 1975), 3, 11, 17.

<sup>3</sup> E. Wyn James, ‘Michael D. Jones: Y Cyfnod Ffurfiannol Cynnar,’ in *Michael D. Jones a’i Wladfa Gymreig*, eds. E. Wyn James and Bill Jones (Llanrwst: Gwasg Carreg Gwalch, 2009), 42.

<sup>4</sup> It is entitled ‘Cymru Fydd (The Wales to Be)’ in John Davies, *A History of Wales* (Harmondsworth: Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 1993), 454. The nomenclature ‘Young Wales’ recalls ‘Young Italy’, founded in 1831 to work for a united republican Italian nation and ‘Young Ireland’, which began in the late 1830s and which advocated the study of Irish history and the revival of Gaelic as a means of developing Irish nationalism and achieving independence: ‘Young Italy,’ accessed 13 July, 2013, [www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/654054/YoungItaly](http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/654054/YoungItaly) and ‘Young Ireland,’ accessed July 13, 2013, [www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/654051/YoungIreland](http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/654051/YoungIreland).

<sup>5</sup> Kenneth O. Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 113.

College, but who is primarily remembered in connection with the founding of Y Wladfa, the Welsh settlement, in Patagonia. The other, whose nationalist ideology consisted of similar political implications, thereby setting him apart from the contingent of Welsh radicals who were in essence British Liberals,<sup>6</sup> was Robert Ambrose Jones, ‘Emrys ap Iwan’ (1848-1906), a minister with the Calvinistic Methodists.

It has been claimed that the Hungarian Revolt in 1848 and the Treachery of the Blue Books (Brad y Llyfrau Gleision) in 1847 led Michael D. Jones to nationalism.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand it has been suggested that Jones’s views were essentially nationalistic in outlook prior to those events, as he had probably been influenced by the surge in Welsh consciousness of which the cultural societies were an expression.<sup>8</sup> It may be that this latter suggestion is borne out by an effusive declaration written by him as early as 1849, when he was in America,<sup>9</sup> that a national awakening was afoot and that, soon, his countrymen would express their determination to survive as a nation and not to be destroyed by ‘y morfil Saesonaidd’ (the English whale.)<sup>10</sup> The perceptions expressed in the declaration seem to infer that Wales, its people and its relationship with its neighbour were not issues which had recently sprung to his mind but, rather, that they had long been matters of concern to him. There is no doubt, however, that the revolution in 1848 and the derogatory report on Welsh education by the English inspectors in the previous year would have been catalysts in transforming what must have been an acute patriotic awareness into full-blown political nationalism.

The accusations made by the school inspectors in 1847 and the subsequent mockery of Wales in the London papers<sup>11</sup> were to Jones’s mind glaring examples of the arrogance of that ‘great Babylon’,<sup>12</sup> imperialism, an ethos and practice against which he railed throughout his life and which he understood to be in direct contradiction to Divine ordinance.<sup>13</sup> He was fully aware of the strategies that imperialists adopted to eradicate any markers of identity in

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> D. Gwenallt Jones, ‘Nationalist Movements in Wales in the Nineteenth Century,’ in *The Historical Basis of Welsh Nationalism* ed. D. M. Lloyd (Cardiff: Plaid Cymru, 1950) 115; James, ‘Michael D. Jones: Y Cyfnod Ffurfiannol Cynnar,’ 48.

<sup>8</sup> James, ‘Michael D. Jones: Y Cyfnod Ffurfiannol Cynnar,’ 42.

<sup>9</sup> In the spring of 1848 Jones was on his way to America where his sister, who was married to the first cousin of William Bebb, Governor of Ohio had settled: R. Tudur Jones, ‘Michael D. Jones a Thynged y Genedl,’ in *Cof Cenedl*, ed. Geraint H. Jenkins (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1986), 97.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 103.

<sup>11</sup> Davies, *A History of Wales*, 391.

<sup>12</sup> R. Tudur Jones ‘Cwmni’r *Celt* a Dyfodol Cymru,’ in *Michael D. Jones a’i Wladfa Gymreig* eds. E. Wyn James and Bill Jones (Llanrwst: Gwasg Carreg Gwalch, 2009) 129.

<sup>13</sup> Jones, ‘Michael D. Jones a Thynged y Genedl,’ 112.

their subjugated peoples and he perceived the education system in Wales to be a tool to that end. In 1870 he contributed the following to *Y Ddraig Goch*:<sup>14</sup>

[I believe in secular education in day schools and colleges; but those that we have now are geared towards making the Welsh forget their political rights. Their purpose is to raise the Welsh to become English and not to raise the Welsh as Welsh. Their aim is to snuff out the Welsh language and to make us, as a nation, more useful to English purposes.]<sup>15</sup>

The implication contained in the last sentence is that eradication of a language weakens a nation and makes it more pliable, and Jones had long regarded the loss of the language as the ultimate and most potent danger to the existence of the nation. It appears that during his time in America, he had become more and more aware that the language was pivotal to the survival of the essence of Welshness, and in a letter written on 4 October 1848,<sup>16</sup> in which he conveyed his anger regarding the Blue Books of 1847, he warned of the implications if the language were to die:

[Are not our language, our customs, our religion and our morals as a nation worth upholding? And does not the history of our nation this side of the Atlantic, as well as on the other side, prove that losing our language means losing the other three to a certain extent in nearly every circumstance; completely in many instances? I say boldly that it does.]<sup>17</sup>

The inference that is contained in the above quote is that the life-blood of the nation is the language, and Jones never deviated from that conviction, namely, that the demise of the language would lead to the death of the nation. This latter occurrence, Jones believed, was the aim of imperialist England<sup>18</sup> and it was this belief which was probably at the heart of his bitter hatred of all things English.<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless he had realised that the fate of the language was ultimately in the hands of the people and in reply to Gruffydd Rhisiart<sup>20</sup> who was content to affirm that the fate of the language was at the mercy of the free market, which itself was in the hands of God,<sup>21</sup> he had thundered that the death of the language

<sup>14</sup> A journal published in Bala between 1876 and 1877 for the Welsh in Patagonia: Huw Walters, 'Y Gymraeg a'r Wasg Gylchgronol,' in *Gwnewch Bopeth yn Gymraeg: Yr Iaith Gymraeg a'i Pheuoedd 1801-1911*, ed. Geraint H. Jenkins (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1999), 342.

<sup>15</sup> Jones, 'Michael D. Jones a Thynged y Genedl,' 113. All English texts within square brackets are translations of the original Welsh text. The Welsh source texts can be found in the Appendix.

<sup>16</sup> The first document of importance in the modern political history of Welsh nationalism according to Bobi Jones: James, 'Michael D. Jones: Y Cyfnod Ffurfiannol Cynnar,' 49.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> Jones, 'Michael D. Jones a Thynged y Genedl,' 113.

<sup>19</sup> Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation*, 113.

<sup>20</sup> Richard Roberts, writer and Independent preacher and brother of Samuel and John Roberts, Llanbryn-mair. In 1856 he emigrated with his family to Tennessee but, in 1872, returned to Conway: *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography down to 1940* (London: Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1959), 857.

<sup>21</sup> Jones, 'Michael D. Jones a Thynged y Genedl,' 105.



would not be an act of God but a deliberate choice on the part of Gruffydd Rhisiart and his ilk.<sup>22</sup> Even so he had also come to realise that a political framework was needed if the language was to survive. His answer was self-government, a goal which had been part of his thinking, at least since the Hungarian Revolt of 1848, when the words of the patriot Kossuth<sup>23</sup> that every nation had a right to self-government had seared themselves in his mind and to which he referred towards the end of his life:

[The world-renowned Hungarian patriot Kossuth, like a bright star in the European sky, had inspired many a soul with the undying philosophy of ‘the right of every nation to govern itself’, and between the great influences of 1848, and the education of Kossuth, the overrun nations of Europe have not been silent to this day, but they look forward hopefully to the jubilee of oppressed peoples and nations.]<sup>24</sup>

The Hungarian patriot’s declaration had only served to affirm what Jones already believed, that God willed justice for every nation under the sun and that the Welsh nation was no different. But after returning to Wales from America he became even more aware of the stark reality that Wales was enchained politically and was a mere region adjacent to England with no national freedom.<sup>25</sup> He had also seen all too clearly that oppressed and subject nations develop a servility which causes their peoples to consider it an honour to eradicate their uniqueness, and Wales and the Welsh were no different.<sup>26</sup> But it was not only the ingrained servility of his countrymen with which he had to contend; he had also to take into account the individualism of the age which ran counter to Jones’s emphasis on community and nation. Acknowledging this individualistic mindset, Jones, in one of his arguments for self-government, used it to strengthen his own case by averring how illogical it was to be supportive of personal freedom whilst opposing national freedom:

[There is no consistency in being for personal freedom, and fighting against independence and national freedom.]<sup>27</sup>

As the years went by his calls for self-government became more strident. He sought to make it the central issue in Welsh politics because he saw that such governance would not only preserve the language but enable his countrymen to make the changes that seemed to him to be so imperative. Writing in 1876, he said:

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 105-06.

<sup>23</sup> Kossuth, who had been influenced by the German philosopher, Herder, and his emphasis on the ‘nation’ and its attributes, of which one was the language, believed that nations should be free to govern themselves and had demanded a parliament for Hungary.

<sup>24</sup> Michael D. Jones, ‘Ymreolaeth,’ *Y Celt*, March 7, 1890, 4.

<sup>25</sup> Davies, *A History of Wales*, 417-18.

<sup>26</sup> Jones, ‘Michael D. Jones a Thynged y Genedl,’ 112-13.

<sup>27</sup> Davies, *A History of Wales*, 417.

[We, as a nation, need a movement to arouse the country from Holyhead to Cardiff to shout for a Welsh Parliament in Aberystwyth.]<sup>28</sup>

One of the changes which could be attained by self-government was the status of the workforce, and Jones's nationalist ideology included a social radicalism which meant that the good of the workforce, as opposed to that of the capitalists, was his *cri de coeur*. He believed that a Parliament in Aberystwyth would secure for the Welsh labourer his rightful due whereas the English government would never even consider such a prospect. And yet his vision of self-government was not one of separation but rather of one along federal lines and, in this, he must have been influenced by the system he had seen in America, which he had visited in his early years to see republicanism at home ('gweriniaeth gartref').<sup>29</sup>

Furthermore, although he was an avid devolutionist, his abhorrence of any centralisation of power was such that he even advocated that a Welsh Parliament should delegate much of its powers along regional lines. Thus, he was pleased by the introduction of County Councils and regarded them as the first step towards the formation of a self-governing Welsh national body.

For some time he had hoped that his vision of a self-governing Wales would be realised by the Welsh Liberals<sup>30</sup> and he was thus dismayed when they lost their appetite for change and made Disestablishment their chief goal. Michael D. Jones's frustration and disappointment is evident in the following response which he made in 1887:

[Self-government is the big thing which Wales and Scotland as well as Ireland need. Disestablishment for Wales is immaterial in comparison with Self-Government.]<sup>31</sup>

He went further, stating that Disestablishment would do nothing to improve the overall situation of Wales:

[For us as a nation Disestablishment would be no more than cutting the nails of a sick man, or washing his face, when he is calling for medicine to save him from a fatal illness.]<sup>32</sup>

He believed that nothing less than self-government would suffice to save the nation from extinction and to this end he called for an independent Welsh political party which would make the needs of Wales its focus.<sup>33</sup> But the majority of his countrymen were content with

<sup>28</sup> Jones, 'Michael D. Jones a Thynged y Genedl,' 116.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 98.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 80.

<sup>31</sup> Michael D. Jones, 'Y Blaid Rhyddfrydol – Cwrdd Rhyl,' *Y Celt* February 4, 1887: 4.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> Jones, 'Cwmni'r Celt a Dyfodol Cymru,' 131-32.

the promises of ‘Disestablishment’ and most of the Welsh Members of Parliament were too comfortable with the status quo to begin tinkering with the political system. Nevertheless, although his vision was not realised in his home country, Jones, in 1865, saw the fruition of his ideals in Patagonia where the community<sup>34</sup> of emigrants was, initially, free to establish political institutions which safeguarded and nurtured the Welsh language and its accompanying traditions. And yet he viewed the enterprise with some sadness, as he had not wished to encourage an exodus of Welsh people.<sup>35</sup> The enterprise has, however, been judged by later generations to be testimony to the fact that, in the middle of the nineteenth century in Wales, there was a profound desire not only to survive as a nation but also to exercise the right to live as a nation.<sup>36</sup>

Michael D. Jones has been called the father of contemporary Welsh nationalism<sup>37</sup> but some have also seen, in his efforts to widen his countrymen’s understanding of nationhood, a reflection of the aims of an earlier Welshman who has been proclaimed a Welsh nationalist:

[In Michael D. Jones there matured the intentional effort to maintain the existence of Wales as a nation, something which had not been seen since the days of Glyndŵr.]<sup>38</sup>

Similarly, Emrys ap Iwan has been hailed as the first Welsh politician since Glyndŵr and the Welsh Princes to try and halt the flow of Englishness, which he perceived to be permeating Wales at all levels, and to strive to kindle or re-kindle a national identity.<sup>39</sup> And it is significant that he himself, in an imaginary debate on self-government, conveyed his admiration for this military leader and statesman by averring that had there been more of his kind throughout the centuries Wales could have been a light to the nations (‘yn oleuni i’r cenedloedd’).<sup>40</sup>

Emrys ap Iwan, like Michael D. Jones, was very aware of the consequent state of Wales due to the centuries of English domination and, on returning from his sojourn in Europe,<sup>41</sup> this man of letters must have been struck by the fact that even the literature of his homeland

<sup>34</sup> His word for the act of gathering together of nationals was *ymgrynhoi*, e.g. ‘O na welwn y Cymry yn yr America wedi ymgrynhoi fel cenedl...’: Jones, ‘Michael D. Jones a Thynged y Genedl,’ 99.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 106. The ship ‘Mimosa’ set sail from Liverpool on May 28, with 163 Welsh emigrants on board, and landed in Porth Madryn on July 28. Between 1875 and 1876 500 emigrants left Wales for Patagonia: Davies, *A History of Wales*, 413-14.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 415.

<sup>37</sup> Glyn Williams, ‘Ail-Gloriannu Michael D. Jones,’ *Y Faner*, Medi 23, 1983.

<sup>38</sup> Gwynfor Evans, *Seiri Cenedl y Cymry* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1986) 233.

<sup>39</sup> W. Ambrose Bebb, ‘Emrys ap Iwan’, *Heddiw* 3, no. 8 (1938): 299.

<sup>40</sup> John L. Williams, ed., *Emrys ap Iwan, Cofiant Thomas Gwynn Jones* (Abertawe: Hughes a’i Fab, 1978), 100.

<sup>41</sup> He had held teaching posts in Lautry near Lausanne and in Greissen and Bonn in Germany: D. Myrddin Lloyd, *Emrys ap Iwan* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1979), 6.

was fast becoming just a pale shadow of the literature of the neighbouring imperialist power and was losing or had lost the European dimension which had once characterised it.<sup>42</sup>

Burning with indignation at the erosion of identity and at the subjugation which had reduced his countrymen to fawning servility, he used his literary skills to ridicule the self-important Englishman and to berate the malleable Welshman, thereby hoping to awaken in his compatriots a sense of pride in their nationality. Thus the patronising manner of Mr Bully, aka Mr Englishman, towards Emrys ap Iwan's countrymen is portrayed in the following sentences:

[Good man, Taffy. You spoke as a manservant should speak.]<sup>43</sup>

On the other hand, the Welshman's subservience was displayed by reproducing some of the stock phrases used to denigrate the Welsh speaker and his mother-tongue:

[it is meanness of spirit which causes a Welshman to speak Welsh rather than English...]<sup>44</sup>

As has been previously stated, Michael D. Jones had noted that imperialists and colonisers would always seek to eradicate markers of identity and, likewise, Emrys ap Iwan was acutely aware that derogatory remarks such as the one quoted above were part of a strategy towards integration by eliminating differences. He was also aware that not only was the strategy succeeding because of the Welshman's own lack of pride in his language and in his lineage but also because of his belief that English was the language of material success. Thus, in satirical guidelines to a contestant in an imaginary contest, he gave the following advice:

[Let him show that a Welshman would be wise were he to change his language... for three pounds a week instead of two.]<sup>45</sup>

Both Michael D. Jones and Emrys ap Iwan believed that the Welsh language was the very essence of Welsh identity and the latter explained what its loss would mean:

[For us, the Welsh language is the only rampart between us and extinction.]<sup>46</sup>

In the Anglicising climate of the late nineteenth century even Welsh Nonconformist denominations were competing to establish English causes, partly because they believed that their mother-tongue was in terminal decline and partly for financial buoyancy and

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<sup>42</sup> Gwyn A. Williams, *When Was Wales?* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1985), 210.

<sup>43</sup> D. Myrddin Lloyd, ed., *Detholiad o Erthyglau a Llythyrau Emrys ap Iwan I*, (Dinbych: Gwasg Gee, 1937), 7.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

denominational expansion and superiority, rather than out of necessity,<sup>47</sup> and the foothold of the language was becoming more and more precarious. Emrys ap Iwan knew that it would require more than satirical articles to safeguard the language, and thereby the nation. He, like Michael D. Jones, had realised that, ultimately, the preservation of the language was in the hands of the Welsh themselves, as the following statement shows:

[The fate of the Welsh language depends on the will of the Welsh people themselves.]<sup>48</sup>

But he had also realised that there needed to be some form of political strategy to help stem the demise of the language and the weakening of the nation. He acknowledged the vision of Michael D. Jones concerning Patagonia,<sup>49</sup> but was adamant that the language and nation should be made secure in the homeland. His answer was ‘Ymreolaeth’ (self-government), a word and a concept which he claimed to be particularly his,<sup>50</sup> and the meaning of which he elucidated by asserting the end aim:

[Self-government should be attained to keep the Welsh people a nation in emotion and trend of thought.]<sup>51</sup>

His proclamations concerning self-government for Wales were made against the backdrop of the campaign for self-government in Ireland, of which he and Michael D. Jones were avid supporters.<sup>52</sup> In 1881 Emrys ap Iwan published a letter addressed to Gladstone wherein he quoted the latter’s assertion, before he had taken public office, that the Irish had never received justice. His parting sentence to the Prime Minister was:

[Let go your grip on a country which is not yours, and let the representatives of the Irish meet to legislate for themselves, in their own country,...]<sup>53</sup>

Although the Irish campaign had given grist to his mill, his pronouncements on self-rule were based soundly on Christian principles. His antipathy towards imperialism stemmed from his belief that it was sinful in spirit and in practice<sup>54</sup> and his calls for self-rule for the Welsh nation, and by inference for all nations, were based on the belief that nations existed by the ordinance of God:

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<sup>47</sup> On account of his opposition to the ‘English causes’ Emrys ap Iwan was refused ordination until 1883: *Ibid.*, xii.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 90.

<sup>50</sup> Williams, *Emrys ap Iwan, Cofiant Thomas Gwynn Jones*, 151.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> Davies, *A History of Wales*, 454.

<sup>53</sup> Williams, *Emrys ap Iwan, Cofiant Thomas Gwynn Jones*, 97.

<sup>54</sup> Emrys ap Iwan, ‘At Etholwyr Rhydd ac Annibynol Bwrdeisdrefi Mon,’ *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, May 3, 1882.

[Remember... that you are a nation, through God's ordinance;...] <sup>55</sup>

The same note was struck in a discursive article suggesting that the Celtic countries, to break the Teutonic stranglehold, should form an alliance to fight for the divine right of governing themselves ([yr] hawl ddwyfol i'w llywodraethu eu hunain). <sup>56</sup>

The system of self-government that he envisaged was a replication of federalist systems such as the ones in Switzerland and the USA. <sup>57</sup> It appears that he did not go into further detail in this specific context, but in the article which he penned as an imaginary electoral address to the electors of Anglesey <sup>58</sup> he specified certain changes which he would press for were he to be elected the Member of Parliament for the boroughs. Although he, apparently, penned this letter with no intention of standing for Parliament, he was able to use the medium to bring to the readers' notice what he deemed to be the most obvious injustices in his homeland. He made the point that those who could not speak Welsh should not hold public office in Wales, <sup>59</sup> and condemned the education system for taking no account of the language of the people. He also addressed economic issues referring to the immoderate ('anghymmedrol') taxes which were imposed on the proletariat ('y werin') in Wales and called for legislation to safeguard farmers which could also be of benefit to labourers and merchants. His 'manifesto' also promised that the commons and other such strips of land which had once been open to the people would be returned to those who had the most right to them ('i'r rhai sydd ganddynt fwyaf o hawl ynddynt'). He brought his missive to an end by promising to press for measures which would be suitable for Wales whilst uniting with the opposition to harangue and bring down every government which turned a deaf ear to Welsh patriots.

Although he did not call, in this article, for the formation of a political party which would be a channel of energies to solve the problems of Wales it was his belief that only such a 'nationalist' party could work for the good of his homeland. He made it known that there should only be two political parties in Wales, a Welsh party and an anti-Welsh party, and in an article written in 1892 and addressed 'to the Welsh [who are conscious of being Welsh] amongst the Welsh' ('At y Cymry o'r Cymry') he made it clear what the goal should be regarding these two parties:

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<sup>55</sup> Williams, *Emrys ap Iwan, Cofiant Thomas Gwynn Jones*, [2-3].

<sup>56</sup> Lloyd, *Detholiad o Erthyglau a Llythyrau Emrys ap Iwan I*, 34.

<sup>57</sup> Lloyd, *Emrys ap Iwan*, 30.

<sup>58</sup> ap Iwan, 'At Etholwyr Rhydd ac Annibynol Bwrdeisdrefi Mon.'

<sup>59</sup> This issue came to the forefront in a court in Rhuthun in 1889 when it was stated that English was the medium and that Welsh was not understood by the officials concerned: Williams, *Emrys ap Iwan, Cofiant Thomas Gwynn Jones*, [2].

[Show... that there will really be only be two political parties in Wales from now on; a Welsh party and an anti-Welsh party; and that eradicating this latter party from the land will be your main work as politicians.]<sup>60</sup>

The expectancy that his hoped-for single party would materialise becomes evident in a sentence from an article penned in 1895 when he stated:

[the Welsh [who are conscious of being Welsh] have not yet united in a political party...]<sup>61</sup>

As he went on, in the same article, to explain the political affiliations of those he deemed to be the 'Cymry Cymreig', he stated that many of them had joined the movement called Cymru Fydd because they believed it to be less English than the old Whig party. Others, however, had remained with the Whigs because they were dubious of the movement's leaders, or as Emrys ap Iwan put it, they continued to be Whigs because they were afraid that the leaders of Cymru Fydd were more desirous of riding on Welsh consciousness than of nurturing it.<sup>62</sup>

Thus it becomes clear that Emrys ap Iwan had no high regard for the movement, even though its leaders were dubbed his and Michael D. Jones's disciples,<sup>63</sup> and was under no illusion that it would be a catalyst for change. His opinion is rendered scathingly in the following statement:

[The Young Wales member mocks the cry, 'Wales for the Welsh,' and seeks to satisfy the English without totally displeasing the Welsh by shouting, 'England for the English, and Wales for the Welsh and the English.' Even when the Young Wales member shouts, 'All Wales,' it is difficult to understand what he means...]<sup>64</sup>

In a similar vein the vagueness of the ideology of Cymru Fydd was referred to in the following century when it was stated that 'The leaders of Cymru Fydd had no definition of nationalism, nor of home rule,' and reference was made to Llewelyn Williams's<sup>65</sup> remark that Welsh Nationalism was a vague and general thing, a spirit moving through the land.<sup>66</sup> And yet it was Cymru Fydd which was, according to other twentieth-century commentators, the original Welsh nationalist movement:

The original Welsh nationalist movement may be defined as the Cymru Fydd movement, which began to press after 1886 for home rule along lines similar to those adopted by the Irish Home Rule movement.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>60</sup> W. Ambrose Bebb, 'Emrys ap Iwan,' *Heddiw*, 300.

<sup>61</sup> Lloyd, *Detholiad o Erthyglau Emrys ap Iwan I*, 30.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> Davies, *The Welsh Nationalist Party 1925-1945*, 7.

<sup>64</sup> Lloyd, *Detholiad o Erthyglau Emrys ap Iwan I*, 31.

<sup>65</sup> He supported the attempt to unite the Welsh Liberal organization with Cymru Fydd. He was, later, to become implacably opposed to Lloyd George: Davies, *A History of Wales*, 515.

<sup>66</sup> Jones, 'Nationalist Movements in Wales in the Nineteenth Century,' 128.

<sup>67</sup> Colin H. Williams, ed. *National Separatism* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1982), 147.

And it appears that Cymru Fydd and its adherents definitely thought of themselves as nationalists; for example the subtitle of the movement's journal was 'Cylchgrawn y Blaid Genedlaethol Gymreig' (The Magazine of the Welsh Nationalist Party). 'I solicit your suffrage as a Welsh Nationalist' was the opening gambit in the manifesto of one of the supporters of Cymru Fydd, David Rendell, when he stood for election as Liberal candidate in West Glamorgan in 1888,<sup>68</sup> and in *Y Goleuad*, the Calvinistic Methodist publication which supported Liberalism, a report of the proceedings of a meeting of Cymru Fydd referred to a motion that was passed:

[expressing the meeting's satisfaction in the progressive return of Welsh nationalist members to Parliament...]<sup>69</sup>

Furthermore 'Welsh nationalism' is the term used by *The Cambrian News* to describe the threatened revolt by Welsh Liberal radicals in Newtown in 1888 and, in looking forward to the next election, T. E. Ellis,<sup>70</sup> the prime instigator of Cymru Fydd, was adamant that the next quota of Liberal MPs should be ardent nationalists ('[c]enedlaetholwyr pybyr').<sup>71</sup>

Thus the derivatives of the word 'nation' were frequently used by Cymru Fydd and by commentators of the time to refer to a different emphasis, a novel attitude, or a new, robust vitality which had manifested itself in the ranks of the Welsh Liberal Party. For Cymru Fydd had sought to express the heightened sense of Welsh national identity within and through the confines of the Liberal Party, whereas both Michael D. Jones and Emrys ap Iwan had called for the formation of an independent political party to harness Welsh nationalist sentiment and to deliver the ultimate goal of home rule. And although, as the aforementioned statement by D. Gwenallt Jones shows, some commentators have been unwilling to concede that the phenomenon which manifested itself as Cymru Fydd was 'nationalism', others such as the historian John Davies have used the words 'cenedlaetholdeb' (nationalism) and 'cenedlaethol' (national) freely in connection with the Welsh Liberal Party during the years of Cymru Fydd.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Dewi Rowland Hughes, *Cymru Fydd* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru: 2006), 76.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 77.

<sup>70</sup> In 1886 Ellis told a friend that it was necessary to begin working for Wales and from this early conviction came the movement, Cymru Fydd, which aimed to harness the spirit of collectivism deemed to characterise the Welsh way of life. It would remain within the mainstream Liberal party whilst seeking to convince the Welsh Liberal MPs that their first duty was to Wales and that, when necessary, they should act independently. Ellis also stressed the need for a system whereby Wales should have the power to manage its own affairs in the same way as Ireland after it gained Home Rule.

<sup>71</sup> Hughes, *Cymru Fydd*, 92.

<sup>72</sup> Davies, *A History of Wales*, 465.



The accusation regarding the lack of clarity and definition of the term ‘nationalism’, as used by Cymru Fydd, was also made in relation to its use of the term ‘Home Rule’, as D. Gwenallt Jones’s aforementioned statement makes evident. And yet T. E. Ellis himself had outlined his definition when he called for a Welsh ‘national assembly, elected on a demographic suffrage, which shall form the highest embodiment of the national unity and the main instrument to fulfilling the national will and purpose of Wales.’<sup>73</sup> And in a broader context he had envisioned an Empire wherein Wales and its ‘collectivist culture’ played a full part.<sup>74</sup> Nevertheless, members of the movement must, themselves, have been aware that a fuller exposition was needed, for a pamphlet was published in 1888 entitled *Home Rule for Wales. What does it Mean?* It was produced by the London Cymru Fydd Society and its author, Robert Parry, after outlining the history of Celtic devolution sought to explain what was meant by ‘self-government’ when it was used in the context of Cymru Fydd. He not only described a system of government which was federal but he also suggested that the name ‘Cyngor Cymru’ (The Council of Wales) be adopted, as it was of long usage in Wales, and it could become ‘Cyngor y Cyngorau’ after local councils had been established in the following year.<sup>75</sup>

In May of the same year, namely 1888, an article was written by R. J. Derfel<sup>76</sup> entitled, ‘Ein Rhagolygon a’n Gwaith’ (Our Prospects and Work), wherein the author sought to portray the future Wales envisaged by Cymru Fydd. According to him it would be a Wales where all utilities such as the land, railways, mines and workplaces were nationalised and where houses were either nationalised or were personal property.<sup>77</sup> He was thus detailing some of the ‘real, permanent reform’ to which T. J. Hughes, the first editor of the publication *Cymru Fydd*, had referred.<sup>78</sup> Then in 1890 W. J. Parry, the leader of the quarrymen of Caernarvonshire had written an essay in *Y Traethodydd*, entitled ‘Hunan Reolaeth i Gymru’, and had described a federal Britain where the elected parliaments or elected federal councils had authority in specific fields such as taxation.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Davies, *The Welsh Nationalist Party, 1925-1945*, 7.

<sup>74</sup> Williams, *When Was Wales*, 227, 229.

<sup>75</sup> Hughes, *Cymru Fydd*, 33-34.

<sup>76</sup> Socialist, and one of the pioneers of the nationalist movement in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Author of *Traethodau ac Areithiau*, published in 1864, wherein he called for the establishment of a University of Wales, a Welsh daily paper, a National Library and village libraries, a National Museum, a School of Art and an Observatory: *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography down to 1940*, 168.

<sup>77</sup> Hughes, *Cymru Fydd*, 33.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 104-05.

Not only had individual authors recognised the need for more clarity and had striven to be more specific when explaining what Cymru Fydd meant by ‘self-government’ or ‘Home Rule’, but even the *Manifesto* of the movement, which was published in 1889, had acknowledged that complaints were being made regarding the lack of detail involved in the issue of self-government:

The *Manifesto*, without entering into the details of a Home Rule Scheme, meets, we hope, the complaint made by some people that our objects and aims were not sufficiently defined.<sup>80</sup>

Thus, although recognising the need to be more specific, the *Manifesto* did not engage with the requirement to provide the definition that was sought, thereby giving substance to contemporary and subsequent criticism. Yet even in the light of the paucity of details it is evident that, to Cymru Fydd, the term ‘self-government’ meant a federal body within the framework of the UK. That body, according to William George writing some half century later, was to have expressed the life of Wales through its own voice when dealing with matters pertaining to Wales.<sup>81</sup> But that governing body never materialised, and the reasons for the failure of Cymru Fydd to establish a measure of Home Rule are many and varied. One historian has suggested that the establishment of elected county councils in 1889<sup>82</sup> had sufficed to quell much of the fervour that had welled within the ranks of the Welsh Liberals, thus enabling the critic, D. Gwenallt Jones, to state that in reality what was sought all along was nothing more than some sort of local council:

it can be gathered that their goal was a parish council of a Parliament.<sup>83</sup>

It is true that the establishment of county councils meant that Wales was gaining a forum for some of its local issues and thereby dissipating some of the cries for more self-government. It is also true that the strong position of the Welsh Liberals in the Westminster government until 1895 meant that burning Welsh issues, pertaining mostly to the rural areas, were being given attention. Consequently the Tithe Act was passed in 1891 and the Land Commission was formed in 1893 and much of the fervour which had driven the Cymru Fydd nationalistic tide was abating. But it was the ties of the Welsh Liberals, and therefore Cymru Fydd, with Nonconformity which served to overshadow the Home Rule issue. The one over-riding concern of Nonconformity was Disestablishment. It

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 93.

<sup>81</sup> William George, *Cymru Fydd, Hanes y Mudiad Cenedlaethol Cyntaf* (Lerpwl: Gwasg y Brython, 1945), 10.

<sup>82</sup> Davies, *A History of Wales*, 457.

<sup>83</sup> Jones, ‘National Movements in Wales in the Nineteenth Century,’ 128.

became the focus of political energies and even though Lloyd George and some Scottish Home Rule enthusiasts had got the House of Commons to approve the principle of 'Home-Rule all round' in 1895<sup>84</sup> all serious demand for self-governance virtually vanished in the face of the cause for Disestablishment.<sup>85</sup>

It appears that the emphasis of Michael D. Jones and Emrys ap Iwan on the nation, with its national language, as a unit which deserved recognition through the establishment of a self-governing body did not figure in the ideology of Cymru Fydd. Ultimately their demand for Home Rule rode on the back of opposition to single and specific issues such as landlordism and the sway of the Anglican church over a Dissenting populace. When those issues were largely addressed their enthusiasm for Home Rule waned. Furthermore, the lack of unity between north and south Wales, as evidenced in the meeting at Newport in 1896 when Lloyd George sought to unify Wales in a Cymru Fydd National League and was howled down, splintered any support for a national movement for Home Rule under the banner of Cymru Fydd and within the ranks of the Welsh Liberal Party.

Since the early years of the twentieth century the dynamism of Welsh Liberalism appeared to be waning whilst, at the same time, a new force was appearing in Welsh politics. With the election of Keir Hardie in 1900, as Member of Parliament for Merthyr Tydfil, the Independent Labour Party was beginning its challenge to the Liberals who had assumed that they could always rely upon the loyalty of the Welsh working class. Furthermore, the Independent Labour Party challenged the declarations that Welsh Liberalism was the nationalist answer to Wales by declaring its own nationalist ideals. Keir Hardie campaigned for self-government, and his vision of a socialist Wales which recognised Welsh nationhood had appealed to a social reformer and fiery Nonconformist like Evan Pan Jones<sup>86</sup> in Flintshire and to radicals like R. J. Derfel. He even found favour with the Liberal D. A. Thomas, later Lord Rhondda, who had been a prime mover in

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<sup>84</sup> Davies, *A History of Wales*, 465.

<sup>85</sup> Williams, *When Was Wales?*, 231.

<sup>86</sup> Independent minister and editor of the radical and nationalistic weekly publication *Y Celt* and the monthly *Cwrs y Byd*. He was also a propaganda poet who identified the English and English rule as the causes of Welsh ills and who abhorred his countrymen's subservience to the 'impudent' (*haerllug*) English. He was an uncompromising nationalist who exhorted his fellow Welsh to rally and to seek freedom for their country. Although a friend of Michael D. Jones, he was unhappy with the call to emigrate preferring to urge his countrymen to create a better Wales in their homeland. During the general election of 1891 he warned against being hoodwinked by the Liberals and called for self-government to be put at the forefront of the fight as was being done in Ireland: E. G. Millward, 'Dieter Poeth y Doctor Pan,' in *Cof Cenedl IX*, ed. Geraint H. Jenkins (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1994).

launching the Cymru Fydd movement.<sup>87</sup> But Keir Hardie died in 1915 and although the ILP had attracted nationalist socialists like the Revd T. E. Nicholas (Niclas y Glais)<sup>88</sup> and although the South Wales Labour Federation and Labour Party had declared support for Home Rule for Wales, Scotland and Ireland it was never to become a major part of the programme for the ILP or for the Labour Party, which was becoming solidly British in its outlook.<sup>89</sup>

On the Liberal front there were still those who were expressing publicly their belief that Wales's problems could only be solved by some form of self-government. E. T. John,<sup>90</sup> the Liberal Member of Parliament for East Denbigh, who later joined the Labour Party, strove to resurrect the matter between 1910 and 1914 arguing that Wales had social and economic problems that could not be solved by a government in Westminster. In March 1914 he presented a Government of Wales Bill to the Commons which received the support of only eleven MPs, and further efforts by him were eclipsed by the advent of the First World War.<sup>91</sup> The Welsh-American newspaper, *Y Drych*, in the obituary that it published after John's death, acknowledged that one of the foremost figures of the old school of Welsh nationalists had been lost; one who had been active in arguing the case for self-government in the various Welsh periodicals.<sup>92</sup> After the War a small parliamentary group of Welsh Liberals sought to revitalise the Home Rule issue and, to that end, three conferences were held between 1918 and 1922. But, although there was some success, with motions being passed advocating self-government in 1918 and full local autonomy for Wales in 1919, the last conference in 1922, which ended with no resolution being put forward, merely emphasised the ineffectiveness of the Welsh Liberals on the Home Rule front.

However, even though the claims by both Liberal and Labour Parties that they were promoting Welsh nationalism were ringing hollow in light of their Britishness, there had been vigorous nationalistic fervour in some quarters of Wales during the second decade of the twentieth century. In Aberystwyth students such as D. J. Williams and Ambrose

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<sup>87</sup> Although he was one of the founders of 'Cymru Fydd' he, according to one historian, had no concept of the nature of Welsh nationalism: Davies, *A History of Wales*, 466.

<sup>88</sup> So called because he ministered to the Congregationalists in 'Y Glais' in the Tawe Valley. He was a friend of Keir Hardie: Meic Stephens, ed., *The Oxford Companion to the Literature of Wales* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 428-29.

<sup>89</sup> Davies, *The Welsh Nationalist Party 1925-1945*, 11.

<sup>90</sup> Founder of the Celtic Congress. He and George M. Ll. Davies 'shared many of Plaid Cymru's ideals but preferred to work independently of the new movement': J. Graham Jones, 'Forming Plaid Cymru: Searching for a policy, 1926-30', *NLW Journal* XXIII no. 2 (1983), 175.

<sup>91</sup> Davies, *A History of Wales*, 467.

<sup>92</sup> *Y Drych*, March 5, March 26, 1931.

Bebb<sup>93</sup> had been influenced by the struggle in Ireland, the avowals that the War was being fought for the rights of small nations and by T. Gwynn Jones's biography of Emrys ap Iwan. Consequently the student paper, *Y Wawr*, published articles reminiscent of the works of Michael D. Jones and Emrys ap Iwan in deriding the servile attitude of Wales to England. The articles also questioned the role of Wales in the British Empire, a role which had been accepted without question, and even fawningly, by Cymru Fydd. Bangor was another University town which, at the end of the War, experienced an upsurge in nationalist fervour and where returning servicemen such as Lewis Valentine<sup>94</sup> founded 'Y Gymdeithas Genedlaethol Gymreig'<sup>95</sup> (The Welsh National Society).

It was against this backdrop of nationalistic vigour in some quarters, of Welsh Liberal failure to deliver any measure of self-government, of a Labour Party gaining momentum and increasingly stressing its Britishness, and with the 1921 census showing a decline in the number of Welsh speakers,<sup>96</sup> that a new phenomenon emerged in the political field in Wales for, on 5 August 1925, during the National Eisteddfod at Pwllheli, a group of nationalists formed a party<sup>97</sup> which was completely independent of the other British political parties. It was a merger of two groups, the northern 'Plaid Genedlaethol Cymru' (The National Party of Wales),<sup>98</sup> which also comprised members of the 'Tair G' (Three Gs) society, and the southern 'Mudiad Cymreig' (The Welsh Movement).<sup>99</sup> The members of this new formation, 'Y Blaid Genedlaethol', were a motley crowd of admirers of Sinn Féin tactics, Home Rule and complete independence enthusiasts and Welsh language proponents, and most, but not all,<sup>100</sup> were men and women of letters. Its first president was

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<sup>93</sup> Both joined the National Party and D. J. Williams was one of the three connected with the arson attack in Penyborth in 1936. An author and teacher of English he was active for the Independent Labour Party in Pembrokeshire before the founding of Plaid Cymru: Emyr Hywel, *Y Cawr o Rydcymerau: Cofiant D. J. Williams* (Talybont: Y Lolfa, 2009), 10,12,15-17. Ambrose Bebb was an historian, prose writer and politician and a former member of the Liberal Party. He edited *Y Wawr*, studied and lectured in French universities, as well as Bangor University, and was an admirer of Charles Maurass, leader of the right wing L'Action Française: *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography 1941-1970* (London: Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 2001), 8.

<sup>94</sup> Later to become the first President of the National Party.

<sup>95</sup> Known as 'Cymdeithas y Tair G' (The Society of the three Gs) as the three words of the Welsh title all began with the letter G: 'Y Gymdeithas Genedlaethol Gymreig' (The Welsh National Society).

<sup>96</sup> Vittle, *Valentine*, 116; Davies *The Welsh Nationalist Party 1925-1945*, 73.

<sup>97</sup> Saunders Lewis in his lecture in 1926 proclaimed it to be a 'political movement' and a 'political Party': Saunders Lewis, *Principles of Nationalism*, (Plaid Cymru, 1975) 1.

<sup>98</sup> Formerly 'Byddin Ymreolwyr Cymru': Jones, *Rhoi Cymru'n Gyntaf*, 58.

<sup>99</sup> 'Y Tair G' had been formed in Bangor and its aim was to foster the spirit of patriotism in Wales. 'Y Mudiad Cymreig' had been formed in Penarth by Saunders Lewis, Ambrose Bebb, Griffith John Williams and his wife, Elizabeth, and it sought to keep itself a secret organisation until sufficient funds had been raised for it to operate effectively: Jones, *Tros Gymru, J.E. a'r Blaid*, 25, 27.

<sup>100</sup> H. R. Jones of Deiniolen and Evan Alwyn Owen, respectively secretary and treasurer of Byddin Ymreolwyr Cymru, were former quarrymen. The former was later to become the first secretary of the National Party: Vittle, *Valentine*, 117, 119, 126 and Jones, *Rhoi Cymru'n Gyntaf*, 58.

Lewis Valentine, who held the post for a year until he resigned at the Summer School in Machynlleth in 1926. The reason given was that he had no interest in economics but, in reality, he was eager for Saunders Lewis to fulfil the role.<sup>101</sup> Consequently Lewis was elected to the office and held the presidency from 1926 until 1939. He was the dominant force during those years and even after 1939 when J. E. Daniel<sup>102</sup> had taken over the presidency.<sup>103</sup>

Lewis had begun to establish and promote himself as a nationalist, especially from the summer of 1923,<sup>104</sup> but it was in the ‘classic and formative lecture on the Principles of Nationalism’<sup>105</sup> that he delivered in the first Summer School in Machynlleth in 1926 that he began to set his stamp on this party. One of his first assertions in that lecture must have struck a discordant note amongst the ‘independence’ enthusiasts, for he stated that loss of independence in early mediaeval times had done Wales no great harm. His next statement concerning the freedom that Wales had received when it was made part of England under the Tudors must also have confused many of the listeners who would probably have described the union with England as loss of freedom. But Lewis was, apparently, referring to the ‘freedom’ that was the result of refusing to acknowledge the moral authority of the Church, that is, the Catholic Church,<sup>106</sup> which had safeguarded the diverse cultures of Europe for centuries.<sup>107</sup> The result of this ‘freedom’ was nationalism and it was this nationalism, that had ‘destroyed the civilization of Wales and ruined Welsh culture, that [had] brought about the dire plight of Wales.’<sup>108</sup> This again was a strange statement to make to a gathering of nationalists. However, Lewis elucidated his comment by explaining that this type of nationalism was destructive, materialistic and pagan and, in the wake of the Great War, this reasoning would probably have struck a chord with all the listeners.

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<sup>101</sup> Vittle, *Valentine*, 133.

<sup>102</sup> One of the most able theologians of his day, a brilliant academic with a superb analytical mind. He was an ardent nationalist and, although not ordained, he was a preacher of broad culture and fiery conviction. The strength and richness of his oral and written Welsh was astounding: *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography 1941-1970*, 26-7. See also D. Densil Morgan, ed., ‘*Torri'r Seiliau Sicr*’: *Detholiad o Ysgrifau John Edward Daniel* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1993).

<sup>103</sup> It has been argued that ideologically there was no difference between J. E. Daniel and Saunders Lewis due to the latter’s influence over both Daniel and his wife Cathrin. So Lewis’s influence continued throughout this period until J. E. Daniel stood down in 1943: Jones, *Rhoi Cymru'n Gyntaf*, 56.

<sup>104</sup> D. Tecwyn Lloyd, *John Saunders Lewis, Cyfrol I* (Dinbych: Gwasg Gee, 1988), 218-41.

<sup>105</sup> Saunders Lewis, *Principles of Nationalism*, Foreword.

<sup>106</sup> Saunders Lewis joined the Roman Catholic Church in 1933: Jones, *Rhoi Cymru'n Gyntaf*, 76.

<sup>107</sup> This was a bold statement, made by the son of a Methodist minister at a time when Nonconformity and its antipathy towards Roman Catholicism was a tangible force in Wales.

<sup>108</sup> Saunders Lewis, *Principles of Nationalism*, 5.

He returned again to the word ‘nationalism’ but this time to explain that his nationalism,<sup>109</sup> and thus that of the party, would be spiritual rather than materialistic and would promote a fight for the civilization of Wales rather than for independence, a fight for freedom not for independence.<sup>110</sup> Three years previously, in a letter to Kate Roberts dated 18 March 1923, Lewis had averred that he disliked public speaking and that he would never promulgate nationalism nor the Welsh language if there were any other way to sustain a small Welsh elite who would safeguard literature and the arts:

[I would never say a word for the cause of nationalism nor the Welsh language were it possible to keep alive by other means a small aristocratic Welsh group which would safeguard literature and art without bothering for the commoner serfs. But as there are not enough of us, as yet, we must endanger our art and live as we can ‘*sous l’oeil des barbares*’.]<sup>111</sup>

Thus three years later it seems that Saunders Lewis had very reluctantly come to the conclusion that it was imperative to embrace nationalism publicly so as to promote freedom and to defend Welsh civilization, as there was no Welsh aristocracy as in mediaeval times to make sure that ‘Welsh civilization was safe, and the Welsh language and the special Welsh way of life and society.’<sup>112</sup> But freedom, as he pointed out, entailed taking responsibility for ‘civilization and social ways in our part of Europe.’<sup>113</sup> He continued by contrasting the content of the press in August 1926 to show that the civilizations of England and Wales were markedly different. Whereas the one dealt with economic and political issues, specifically the coal strike<sup>114</sup> and sports news, the other was concerned with the competitions and adjudications of the National Eisteddfod which had been held three weeks previously. The Eisteddfod, said Lewis, was ‘a fair symbol of the concept of Welsh civilization,’ a concept which needed the Welsh language for its success. Thus was the language portrayed as the essence of culture and, where it was lost, traditional Welsh civilization was lost<sup>115</sup> and replaced by the English language and way of

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<sup>109</sup> Lewis perceived his ‘nationalism’, which has been described as romantic conservatism in that it opposed modern trends such as centralised states and capitalism, to be a complete political ideology in opposition to Socialism and Liberalism, even though many of the National Party were former Labour and Liberal supporters: Richard Wyn Jones, *Rhoi Cymru’n Gyntaf*, 88.

<sup>110</sup> This use of ‘freedom’ seems to be in stark contrast to the way it was used earlier in the lecture in connection with the Tudors.

<sup>111</sup> Dafydd Ifans, ed., *Annwyl Kate, Annwyl Saunders, Gohebiaeth 1923-1983* (Aberystwyth: Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru, 1993), 4.

<sup>112</sup> Saunders Lewis, *Principles of Nationalism*, 6-7.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 11. This vision is enshrined in the well-known monologue beginning with ‘Gwinllan a roddwyd i’r m gofal...’: Saunders Lewis, *Buchedd Garmon* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1937), 48.

<sup>114</sup> The inference here, and in the issues of *Y Ddraig Goch* at the time of the strike, is that the events in south Wales were irrelevant to the programme of the National Party: Jones, *Rhoi Cymru’n Gyntaf*, 84.

<sup>115</sup> This claim had previously been made by both Michael D. Jones and Emrys ap Iwan.

life which was one of physical pursuits and, perhaps, of classes in economics.<sup>116</sup> Consequently safeguarding Welsh culture, that mark of civilization, ‘should be the main task of politics in Wales’<sup>117</sup> and the National Party, according to Lewis, had been formed primarily to enter the political field to address this issue. And, as the language was the mainstay of Welsh civilization, the immediate concern was to ensure that Welsh became the medium of all levels of public life in Wales. This could not be achieved without self-government, which had to be argued for using the ‘only worthwhile argument for self-government’<sup>118</sup> namely that it would uphold civilization.<sup>119</sup> Lewis had made the same stipulation three years previously in a letter published in the *Western Mail* in August 1923, that self-government should only be sought as a means of safeguarding civilization. But, in that specific correspondence, he had enlarged upon his statement declaring that any form of safeguard would satisfy him:

Now if these safeguards of civilisation be impossible without some form of self-government, we must have it, or we must try to win it. But whatever form will provide these safeguards satisfies me, even a ‘glorified county council’. What is any government but a glorified county council?<sup>120</sup>

Thus, the statement in the lecture was consistent with Lewis’s earlier, publicly expressed opinion that self-government, in whatever form, was only acceptable as it was a necessary support for civilization and, as many in the audience would most probably have followed his letters and articles in the press, his exposition on self-government in the lecture would, therefore, not have been unexpected.

Having stated that the aim of the National Party was to gain self-government so as to make a Welsh Wales and to uphold the ensuing civilization, Lewis had to challenge the accepted practice of sending Members of Parliament to London, which was and had been the focus of political life. He insisted that no representatives should be sent to the English Parliament and furthermore, in a break with the immediate past where nationalists had been members of the Liberal Party and some of Labour, no member of the National Party

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<sup>116</sup> It could be inferred that the remark concerning economics was derogatory but the gist of the message was in keeping with Saunders Lewis’s emphasis in the lecture on the ‘spiritual’ rather than the material.

<sup>117</sup> Lewis, *Principles of Nationalism*, 13.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>119</sup> Lewis stated that the order and calmness in south Wales during the miners’ strike was due to Welsh culture and the National Eisteddfod: Lewis, *Principles of Nationalism*, 17. His emphasis on Welsh culture has enabled some commentators to note that because he remained at the head of the party, virtually until 1945, Welsh political autonomy was of secondary concern to the protection of Welsh cultural traditions for the whole of the 1925-45 period: Carwyn Fowler, ‘A Durable Concept: Anthony Smith’s Concept of “National Identity” and the Case of Wales’ (Paper presented to the Political Studies Association 52nd Annual Conference, University of Aberdeen, Aberdeen, 5-7 April, 2002).

<sup>120</sup> Jones, *Rhoi Cymru’n Gyntaf*, 65.



was to join a British party. This stipulation, he averred, would be a stumbling block for many, but it is evident that the history of the Cymru Fydd Members of Parliament, whose loyalty to the British Party over-rode their Welsh nationalism, was uppermost in his mind for he stated that ‘the Liberal Party had done nothing for Welsh civilization, except corrupt the Welsh concept with English ideas and ambitions’.<sup>121</sup>

The ultimate prize for a self-governing Welsh and civilized Wales, he averred, would be a seat in the League of Nations, or ‘Society of Nations’, as Lewis preferred to call it, and one of the conditions of the future Act for self-government would be that England recognised Welsh civilization and the right of Wales to have a voice amongst the nations.

The lecture had defined the nationalism that the party was to embrace in terms of defending a way of life which had the language at its heart and it had acknowledged that self-government would be necessary to facilitate that defence, but it had not expounded on the practicalities of the concept.<sup>122</sup> In the following years, however, as the party began to establish itself, it became necessary to decide on the form of self-government which would best suit the national scenario which Lewis envisaged, and in a series of articles published in *Y Ddraig Goch*<sup>123</sup> the economist and former Labour Party member, D. J. Davies,<sup>124</sup> discussed the issue and concluded that Dominion Status after the pattern of the Irish Free State, rather than self-government, was the better option as it would offer freedom in policy making. In 1931, after the debacle of the General Election result of 1929 had forced a rethink on many issues,<sup>125</sup> Dominion Status was declared to be the aim and this resolution concurred with the monarchist loyalties of Lewis who could visualise Wales having a crown representative like other Dominions.

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<sup>121</sup> Lewis, *Principles of Nationalism*, 19.

<sup>122</sup> It has been said that, at first, Plaid Cymru was not formally committed to self-government as its stated aims were all concerned with protecting the language: Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation, Wales 1880-1980*, 207. Nevertheless Lewis’s words in the lecture were ‘we must have selfgovernment.’ Lewis, *Principles of Nationalism*, 15.

<sup>123</sup> The party’s Welsh-medium newspaper was first published in July 1926.

<sup>124</sup> Whilst incapacitated after a serious accident in 1919 he had used the time to study economics, politics and history. He was a founder member of the Labour Party in the Ammanford district but, in 1924, after attending the International People’s College in Elsinore and the Folk High School in Vestburk, both in Denmark, his opinion changed completely. He came to believe that true internationalism was based on co-operation between free nations, while the advancement of the Welsh working class could only be secured in a free Wales, and he was in favour of an economic policy of co-operation which placed ownership and control of the means of production in the hands of the workers themselves. He subsequently joined the Welsh National Party: *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography 1941-1970*, 31.

<sup>125</sup> Lewis Valentine, the Party’s candidate, gained just 609 votes. Consequently the Westminster boycott was lifted, the Welsh-only policy was removed from the list of aims and an English medium newspaper, *Welsh Nationalist*, was established.

It was not only self-government that had not been defined but, apart from the seemingly dismissive remark about economics, the lecture was totally bereft of any statements concerning the economy of Wales, and this at a time when the south Wales valleys were in turmoil.<sup>126</sup> Yet, although one commentator was to state in later years that the party ‘had no consistent social and economic platform for its nationalism’ until after 1945,<sup>127</sup> it did, in fact begin addressing the question of which economic system would best suit Wales in 1926, a month after the Machynlleth lecture. In an article contributed to *Y Ddraig Goch* Saunders Lewis, after discussing economic principles that would be compatible with the ideals of the National Party, concluded that the system which would best serve Wales had existed in the fourteenth century when the population comprised property-owning families who had upheld Welsh culture.<sup>128</sup> Adapting the system to his own era he envisaged the dispersal of capital amongst the greater part of the populace thereby creating a nation of small capitalists. Former MP George M. Ll. Davies<sup>129</sup> and D. J. Davies later expanded on Lewis’s work and proposed co-operative systems which would bring economic factors closer to the individual and, in 1932, a state based on official co-operation became the official economic policy. This policy was the work of D. J. Davies<sup>130</sup> (and, probably, of his wife, Noelle)<sup>131</sup> and was modelled, primarily, on the system in Denmark. It had been published as *The Economics of Welsh Government* in 1931<sup>132</sup> and had argued for establishing a Welsh state which would further the development of co-operative ventures within a mixed and modern economy. And, as has been stated above, in 1932 the National Party’s Summer School voted to commit the party to work for a Welsh state on the basis of co-operation, thereby suggesting that they were ready to adopt Davies’s plan.<sup>133</sup> Nevertheless, in the same year, Lewis had made a harrowing journey through the Rhondda

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<sup>126</sup> References to economic hardship had no place in a lecture which portrayed Lewis’s ideal Wales; yet the real Wales was losing thousands of its populace as a result of unemployment. During the 1920s, 13,000 left for America alone, whilst between 389,971 and 450,000 had emigrated between 1921 and 1939; many of them to England: Williams, *When Was Wales?*, 267-68; Davies, *The Welsh Nationalist Party 1925-1945*, 51, and Davies, *A History of Wales*, 579.

<sup>127</sup> McAllister, *Plaid Cymru: The Emergence of a Political Party*.

<sup>128</sup> This was ‘perchentyaeth’ (house ownership), an old principle contained in the Laws of Hywel Dda where ownership is coupled with responsibility to family, neighbourhood and nation: *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru, A Dictionary of the Welsh Language* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1998), 2769. See also Grahame Davies, *Sefyll yn y Bwlch: Cymru a’r Mudiad Gwrth-fodern: Astudiaeth o Waith R. S. Thomas, Saunders Lewis, T. S. Eliot a Simon Weil* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1999).

<sup>129</sup> Elected as Christian Pacifist Member of Parliament on behalf of the University of Wales in 1923 and joined the Labour Group in the House: *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography 1941-1970*, 35.

<sup>130</sup> See Chapter Four.

<sup>131</sup> Jones, *Rhoi Cymru’n Gyntaf*, 93.

<sup>132</sup> Owing to financial difficulties this was only the party’s second pamphlet and its first English-language pamphlet: Davies, *The Welsh Nationalist Party 1925-1945*, 121.

<sup>133</sup> Jones, *Rhoi Cymru’n Gyntaf*, 92-93.

Valley whereby he had become convinced that social reconstruction was urgently needed<sup>134</sup> and, although he had heaped praise on Davies's economic policy and had agreed with its emphasis on co-operation, he chose to virtually ignore the recommendations and to publish his own *Ten Points of Policy* in 1934 outlining the social vision which was his answer to the Depression.<sup>135</sup> He envisioned a country which was self-sufficient, where various co-operatives controlled the economic organisation of Welsh society, where ownership was widely distributed, where agriculture was the mainstay and south Wales de-industrialised. On these bases he called once again<sup>136</sup> for action from local authorities to set up co-operatives to address the dire unemployment levels, but there was little positive reaction. Thus although, as was stated above, assertions have been made about the absence of a consistent social and economic policy until 1945, the party, even in its early years, was offering original solutions to the weaknesses of the economic structure in Wales, even though they may have been impractical. D. J. Davies in *The Economics of Welsh Self-Government* had produced a viable economic policy which, according to political scholars, is still relevant today,<sup>137</sup> and even Saunders Lewis, although his abiding focus was on the cultural aspect of Welsh civilization, had sought to interact with local councils for the purpose of tackling the economic woes of Wales. Unfortunately his *Ten Points of Policy*,<sup>138</sup> which in his opinion enshrined both the party's economic and social policy as, according to one commentator, the two terms were interchangeable,<sup>139</sup> seemed to opine the dreams of a man who believed that the Wales of his era could be changed to accommodate the systems of the past.

But even though there was noticeable development in the party's policy and philosophy in the early 1930s there was no gain in its political fortunes, as was evidenced in 1931 when J. E. Daniel, who stood as candidate for Caernarfon in the General Election, only

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<sup>134</sup> He later launched the Thursday Dinner Clubs to give unemployed men one good meal a week and gave a tenth of his income to the fund. Other members contributed regular sixpences. The Dinner Clubs continued until the outbreak of war: Williams, *When Was Wales?*, 280-81.

<sup>135</sup> In December 1930 the eastern valleys of Rhymney and Tredegar registered unemployment at the rate of 27.5% of the adult population, Pontypridd and Rhondda at 30%, while the proportion in Newport was as high as 35%. By August 1932, when the Depression reached its lowest point, 42.8% of all Welsh insured working men were idle: D. Densil Morgan, "The Essence of Welshness"? Some Aspects of Christian Faith and National Identity in Wales, c. 1900-2000,' in *Religion and National Identity: Wales and Scotland c. 1700-2000*, ed. Robert Pope (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2001), 146.

<sup>136</sup> In 1933 he had called on local authorities to establish a Welsh National Development Council to instigate economic recovery in Wales but the authorities had taken no positive action.

<sup>137</sup> Jones, *Rhoi Cymru 'n Gyntaf*, 93.

<sup>138</sup> They are ill-thought-out and abstract and Lewis could have produced far better if he had so desired: *Ibid.*, 95.

<sup>139</sup> Davies, *The Welsh Nationalist Party 1925-1945*, 104.

garnered 3 percent of the vote, just 1.4 percent more than had Valentine in 1929.<sup>140</sup> Saunders Lewis had been concerned at the sluggish movement on the political front and had become increasingly certain that his early conviction, that constitutional methods alone would not deliver the party's aims, was being substantiated.<sup>141</sup> In this he was not alone, for many of the members since the party's inception had been pressing, albeit sporadically, for a campaign of civil disobedience. The first opportunity came in 1932 in the Tŵr yr Eryr (Eagle Tower) incident when, after the Ministry of Works had refused to fly the flag of Wales on St David's Day, either above or adjacent to the Union Jack, the Union banner was twice taken down from the tower of Caernarfon castle. The hoisting of the Red Dragon, although subsequently removed, was not only a declaration of Welsh nationhood but a symbolic rejection of English imperialism. The bold gesture of defiance resulted in the Establishment, in the person of Lloyd George himself, raising the Red Dragon on the Eagle Tower beside the Union flag in 1933. The response of the *Western Mail* to the event was in typically British mode, referring to the Union Jack as 'the national flag' and making no concession to the concept of Welsh nationhood; whilst Saunders Lewis could not contain his delight:

With one brilliant challenging blow on St David's Day 1932, four young men in Caernarfon gave notice to the world that a new spirit has arisen in Wales, and that it has a Welsh Nationalist Party that will not suffer insult to the banner of Wales nor the exaltation of the imperial banner of England on the special day of the Welsh nation.<sup>142</sup>

Thus was the incident proclaimed as the rightful act of a national party defending nationhood in the face of imperialist arrogance.

Another and far more controversial act of defiance occurred in 1936, the year which commemorated 400 years since the Act of Union and the year which Lewis had appointed as one which should be marked by some significant action to awaken the nation. The opportunity came in the wake of the Government's decision to site a bombing school on the Llŷn Peninsula in the middle of a Welsh-speaking area and on the ancient pilgrim path to Bardsey Island. Notwithstanding letters of protest<sup>143</sup> from the Caernarfon committee of the National Party to both the Prime Minister and the Armed Forces Minister, the Government refused to reconsider its decision, even though it had already succumbed on

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<sup>140</sup> Vittle, *Valentine*, 164.

<sup>141</sup> Davies, *The Welsh Nationalist Party 1925-1945*, 169 note 3.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, 152.

<sup>143</sup> Questions were also raised in the House asking the Government to reconsider the matter, and a request was made that Stanley Baldwin meet with a delegation of those who opposed the siting. It was refused: Vittle, *Valentine*, 185-86.

environmental and religious grounds to protests against sites in England. Consequently the National Party began its difficult campaign, for not only was it challenging the British Government it had also, in the early months, to contend with opposition from many in the local populace who either saw the siting as an answer to the unemployment in the area or who saw no point in fighting the central government.<sup>144</sup> The crux of the National Party's opposition to the bombing school in Penyberrth was that it would be a threat to the civilization of which Saunders Lewis had spoken in the 1926 Machynlleth lecture, and of which he had stated that its safeguarding was the *raison d'être* of the nationalism that he was espousing. And this core of opposition was further strengthened by the increasingly robust pacifist element which was pervading the party.

On 8 September 1936 Saunders Lewis, Lewis Valentine and D. J. Williams set fire to timber and to workmen's huts on the proposed site of the bombing school at Penyberrth on the Llŷn Peninsula and consequently spent some seven months in Wormwood Scrubs. On their release they were rapturously greeted by thousands of supporters, but the reaction of the *Western Mail* was slightly different:

Wales must be one of the few countries in the world in which about 12,000 people can be found to acclaim as heroes men found guilty of the crime of arson.<sup>145</sup>

Interestingly the newspaper does refer to Wales as a 'country', but its reaction is typical of the times in that, by inference, it exemplifies how the concept of Welsh nationhood, if it existed at all, was in many instances a poor second to the pervading consciousness of being British and of belonging to the Union. It is in realisation of the climate of the era that a later commentator was to declare that succeeding generations had difficulty in discerning the sheer audacious magnificence of the three perpetrators who had challenged an icon of the British establishment and a symbol of its imperialism:

[It is difficult for us, especially for the younger generation, to conceive the magnitude of the action. At that time, the British empire ruled a quarter of the world and the imperialistic mentality continued.]<sup>146</sup>

Albeit, the bravery and audacity of the three arsonists in taking active measures in response to the proposed building of a bombing school failed to translate into political success, either then or later, leaving the National Party with no lasting legacy and Saunders Lewis bitterly disappointed. Lewis had hoped that the venture at Penyberrth would have precipitated a great upsurge of nationalist sentiment and a steely resolve amongst party members to become more

<sup>144</sup> However, by July 1936, 5,300 of Llŷn's inhabitants had signed a petition calling on Baldwin to reconsider.

<sup>145</sup> *Western Mail*, September 13, 1937.

<sup>146</sup> Dafydd Wigley, introduction to Arwel Vittle, *Cythraul o Dân* (Talybont: Y Lolfa, 2011), 9.

politically active. But the resulting increase in nationalist sentiment was minimal and the resolve amongst party members was almost non-existent as the following comments opine:

The passion brought no massive advance in the fortunes of Plaid Genedlaethol Cymru... For Saunders Lewis, that was a matter of deep disappointment. In particular, he had hoped that the fire and the trial would inspire party members to make a determined attempt to win seats on local authorities. In the County Council elections of May 1937, however, Plaid Genedlaethol Cymru had a mere nine official candidates.<sup>147</sup>

The few years from the event at Penyberth to the outbreak of World War II were ones of growing pacifism within the party's ranks and of accusations of Fascism from without.<sup>148</sup> Even though Saunders Lewis had, in 1934, made clear his abhorrence of this specific ideology with its emphasis on the state and its expectation of allegiance to the central power, and had stressed that allegiance to nationhood was the antidote to Fascism, yet there were many who were ready to vilify him and the party, taunting them that they were Fascists. It is certain that much of this hostility was stirred by Nonconformists on account of Lewis's membership of the Roman Catholic church, and the seeming right-wing policies which he chose were likewise deemed to be inspired by Roman Catholicism.<sup>149</sup> But the other factor which sparked the claims of Fascism was the absence of any condemnation of Hitler in the party's newspapers<sup>150</sup> and the constant criticism of England and France and their imperialist systems, criticism which was justified on the grounds that the English press was giving a distorted view. During the years prior to the war, and throughout, the leadership was continually averring that there were no grounds for the hostilities<sup>151</sup> and was consistently calling on the British Government to bring about an armistice, but it is clear that there was much disquiet concerning this issue amongst party members and this became apparent at the outbreak of the war when so many of them disregarded the appeals to resist the 'call-up' to join the British military system.<sup>152</sup> Of those who did resist, most of them attributed their decision to pacifist rather than to nationalist ideals, much to the

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<sup>147</sup> Dafydd Jenkins, *A Nation on Trial, Penyberth 1936*, trans. Ann Corkett (Caernarfon: Welsh Academic Press, 1998), vii.

<sup>148</sup> Richard Wyn Jones has concluded thus: 'Plaid Cymru was never a Fascist Party, nor did it sympathise with Fascism': *The Fascist Party in Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2014), 48.

<sup>149</sup> In a vitriolic attack in 1942 the Revd Gwilym Davies dubbed the party 'Fascist' and warned that were the party to succeed Wales would become, amongst other things, fascist and Roman Catholic: Davies, *The Welsh Nationalist Party 1925-1945*, 236.

<sup>150</sup> The consequent unease felt by many party members was summed up by the secretary of the Ebbw Vale branch who said that there was too much written about the goodness of Hitler: *Ibid.*, 254.

<sup>151</sup> Ambrose Bebb was the exception; consequently he withdrew from party activities: *Ibid.*, 229.

<sup>152</sup> The Annual Conference in Bangor in August 1939 stated its decision to oppose military obligation in respect of Wales and called on the English Government to acknowledge the nationalism of Wales as it acknowledged the nationalism of Northern Ireland: *Y Ddraig Goch*, September, 1939.

disappointment of the leadership whose rallying cry since the early years of the 1930s had been that no nationalist should join the British Government's military service as this would be a denial of Welsh nationhood. Even as late as July 1939, when the party was giving advice to conscientious objectors from amongst Plaid's ranks on how to fill a form to register and explain their objection, the expectation that they would cite nationalist principles was made very evident:

[As these directives are sent only to members of the National Party, it is taken for granted... that the entire answer will revolve within the national sphere...] <sup>153</sup>

The war years were ones of comparative inactivity but not of approbation as there was considerable antagonism towards the party. The National Party was, however, afforded an opportunity to assert itself as a result of the University of Wales parliamentary election which was held in January 1943. The party's candidate was Saunders Lewis and his main opponent was the candidate of the Liberal Party, W. J. Gruffydd,<sup>154</sup> who had briefly been a vice-president of the National Party and who had, earlier, crossed swords with Lewis on account of his Roman Catholicism. The assaults on Lewis from the ranks of the Welsh-British Establishment were vicious and, as they had the support of the English press, the election became a national talking point. Not unexpectedly Lewis lost to his Liberal counterpart but the National Party had gained vital oxygen as a result of the attention which it had received, even though that attention consisted mostly of extremely hostile and hysterical onslaughts, and the election served as an impetus to a party which would soon be entering a new era in its short existence under the presidency of Gwynfor Evans.

Even the most loyal of members would have had to admit that the impact of the National Party on the populace of Wales from 1925 to the beginning of the presidency of Gwynfor Evans in 1945 had been minimal. Saunders Lewis himself had questioned why better progress was not being made, especially in an era of unemployment. Furthermore, if one accepts Hroch's definition of the stages in the development of a nation,<sup>155</sup> there was another factor besides unemployment, which should have promoted the party, namely the fact that the first two stages had already been completed in Wales. But the Welsh

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<sup>153</sup> Ibid., July, 1939.

<sup>154</sup> Professor in the Welsh Department at the University College of Wales, Cardiff and editor of *Y Llenor* from 1922 to 1945: *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography 1941-1970*, 85-86. On the clash between him and Saunders Lewis see John Emyr, *Dadl Grefyddol Saunders Lewis ac W. J. Gruffydd* (Penybont: Llyfrgell Efynglaidd Cymru, 1986).

<sup>155</sup> The study was by Miroslav Hroch, a Czech historian and political analyst. According to Hroch, Step A is characterised by scholarly activity, Step B by an effort to spread national consciousness and Step C by the populace's embracing their national identity. These steps are applied to Wales in Jones, *Rhoi Cymru'n Gyntaf*, 28-32.

electorate was largely unresponsive. The reason for the lack of progress might be found in Hroch's explanation for the inability to move on to the third stage, namely the founding of a nation. He opined that it was the consequence of failing to marry the nationalist project with a credible economic programme. Thus, in the case of the National Party, this would mean that it had failed to make its nationalist vision relevant to the bread and butter problems of everyday life. It is tempting to query whether the response would have been different if the economic policy of D. J. Davies had been launched and Lewis's *Ten Points of Policy* had never been produced.

However strong the inference that failure to engage with everyday problems was the cause of the general spurning of nationalism in Wales, there were other potent and valid reasons for the lack of interest in the National Party's programme. First and foremost was the fact that its president's agenda was vastly unsuitable for the real Wales of the time and thus could never gain the support of the majority of the populace, even in the unlikely event of their understanding the gist of his message. Nevertheless, the loyalty that Saunders Lewis commanded ensured the continuation of his role as president. The main complaint made against him from within the party was that he was propounding conservative, right-wing ideals even though most of the members had come from the Labour or Liberal Parties. Prosser Rhys,<sup>156</sup> a member of the National Party and the editor of the weekly Welsh-medium newspaper, *Y Faner*, was bold enough to write publicly of this unease in the aforementioned paper in 1938:

[For the majority of Plaid's members – they are of plebeian and radical tendencies, they bring a leftist perspective if you like. Many of them came to Plaid from the Labour Party, many came from the Liberal Party, and the majority of the rest did not belong to any party, but they certainly were of radical tendencies. No one came to Plaid from amongst the disciples of Lord Rothermere and the *Daily Mail*, and yet to a certain extent the attitude of the *Daily Mail* is the attitude adopted in the papers of Plaid on numerous issues apart from those problems which affect Wales internally. The members of Plaid, many of them, are uneasy on this account, but are too loyal, and especially too loyal personally to Mr Saunders Lewis, to say or write much on the matter.]<sup>157</sup>

The loyalty of the members seemed to have over-ridden their antipathy to right-wing ideals, but the wider population would have had no such loyalty. The people of Wales, most of whom were firmly in the radical, left-wing tradition, were being offered policies which were at variance with their political beliefs:

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<sup>156</sup> Editor of *Baner ac Amserau Cymru* from 1928 until his death in 1945: Stephens, *The Oxford Companion to Welsh Literature*, 519-20.

<sup>157</sup> Davies, *The Welsh Nationalist Party 1925-1945*, 209.



[Saunders Lewis was an uncompromising right-wing thinker in a country with a radical left-wing political culture.]<sup>158</sup>

Consequently, as the leadership was refusing to temper the political agenda to appeal to the rank and file and accommodate the political leanings of the majority of the people of Wales a void was being created between the National Party and the electorate, and this at a time when the new Labour Party was consolidating its position in the industrial areas of the country. The charge of political naivety could be levelled against the leadership in that they were adhering to their ideals rather than tailoring their message to ensure electability, but conversely it could be said that they placed principles above popularity.

Furthermore, the emphasis on the Welsh language which Lewis and many in the party strove to maintain, would have placed a barrier between the party and large numbers of people, especially in the industrial south, where the language of most of the population was now English. Thus, although by emphasising the importance of Welsh the party was delineating a major difference between Wales and its imperialist neighbour, it was also stressing a major difference within Wales itself, as the following excerpt avers:

Wales has not had a Welsh-speaking majority in this century. The difficulty for the developing nationalist movement was that by stressing cultural differences between Wales and England, it was, also, by implication, emphasizing the internal differentiation of language within Wales.<sup>159</sup>

The 1921 census figures show that the proportion of peoples able to speak Welsh in Wales had fallen to around 40 percent;<sup>160</sup> thus Welsh-speaking Wales had contracted immeasurably and Welsh speakers were now in a minority in their own country. Consequently the party, even at the time of its inception, was prioritising a language which was not spoken by over half the population. In reality, the National Party was faced with an increasingly anglicized industrial Wales,<sup>161</sup> where the majority of the populace resided, and with a rapidly shrinking Welsh-speaking Wales, which it was seeking to reinstate.<sup>162</sup> This Welsh-speaking Wales, as

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<sup>158</sup> Richard Wyn Jones, 'Saunders Lewis a Phlaid Cymru,' in *Cof Cenedl XIV*, ed. Geraint Jenkins (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1999), 165.

<sup>159</sup> Williams, *National Separatism*, 157.

<sup>160</sup> Williams, *When Was Wales?*, 275.

<sup>161</sup> 'What happened in Wales during the last century is easy to describe statistically. A small population of about half a million in 1800, over eighty per cent of whom lived on the land, had become, by 1914, a people over five times that number, eighty per cent of whom lived in towns and cities': Dai Smith, *Wales! Wales?* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1984), 25.

<sup>162</sup> Another impression of the differences which were prevalent in Wales at the time is had by Alfred Zimmern who, speaking in 1921, said: 'The Wales of today is not a unity. There is not one Wales; there are three... There is Welsh Wales; there is industrial or, as I sometimes think of it, American Wales; and there is upper class or English Wales. These three represent different types and different traditions. They are moving in different

referred to by Raymond Williams, was ‘another idea of Wales: the more enclosed mainly rural, more Welsh-speaking west and north’.<sup>163</sup>

The party, which was seeking to differentiate between Wales and its civilization on the one hand and, on the other, its imperialist neighbour with its different values, as alluded to by Lewis in the Machynlleth lecture, faced an additional problem. It was the steady flow of peoples to England in the 1920s and 1930s. The ties which had bound Wales to England for centuries were being strengthened by this latest emigration across the border. As has been shown above, the interim period between the two World Wars, the period when Plaid Cymru was attempting to establish itself, witnessed a fifth of the Welsh population leave the Welsh homeland,<sup>164</sup> and the preferred destination for those fleeing from the Depression in the industrial valleys of south Wales was not America but England. Consequently the non-émigrés had relatives in Slough or Coventry rather than in the rural areas of Wales such as Cardiganshire whence many of their families had come originally. They were becoming integrated into the larger Britain and would, as a result, not have the same ties with their Welsh rural roots, as had been the case in the past.<sup>165</sup> Thus the even stronger bonds which were being created with the country over the border worked to the detriment of the National Party in its bid to loosen the neighbour’s grip. Creating familial ties with England was nothing short of a negative for Plaid Cymru, as it was England’s hegemonic dominance over Wales which the party was battling against.

Yet another reason which could have contributed to the failure of the National Party to make much headway, even in the Welsh heartland, was the unwillingness of members to become actively political, and even to contest seats at a local level. As has been stated, even after the event at Penyberrth members were reluctant to enter the political fray and, much to Saunders Lewis’s chagrin and disappointment, only nine stood as the party’s candidates in the local elections in 1937. This poor representation on the political scene was further compounded by the lack of finances which severely inhibited the party’s outreach.

Even though many commentators have declared that the National Party was not really a political party at all during the period under discussion, Saunders Lewis had declared it to be

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directions and, if they all three survive, they are not likely to re-unite’: Dai Smith, *Aneurin Bevan and the World of South Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1993), [i].

<sup>163</sup> Daniel Williams, ed., *Who Speaks for Wales? Nation, Culture, Identity* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2006), 3.

<sup>164</sup> Between 1921 and 1939 some 450,000 Welsh, mainly from the south, left Wales for the south-east of England and the Midlands: Philip Jenkins, *A History of Modern Wales 1536-1990* (London: Longman, 1991), 371.

<sup>165</sup> Neil Evans, ‘Gogs, Cardis and Hwntws: Regions, Nation and State in Wales 1840-1940,’ in *National Identity in the British Isles*, ed. Neil Evans (Harlech: Coleg Harlech, 1989), 69.

such a party in the lecture in 1926 and he had, subsequently, encouraged political action. But as the only measure of success for any political party must be electoral success through the ballot box, it has to be concluded that the National Party had been unsuccessful throughout the 1925-1945 period. Even though it had captured the imagination of many of Wales's ablest minds, ministers, teachers and authors amongst others, it had failed to strike a chord, in general, with the working man, the coal-miner, the slate-miner, the iron-worker. And yet the party had managed to awaken many to the realisation that Wales was not simply a part of England but a historic nation in its own right, with its own ancient and living language. Thus, if any success is to be attributed to the National Party between 1925 and 1945, it is to be found in the fact that it had continued to educate a people in the concept of nationhood, a work which had been begun by Michael D. Jones and Emrys ap Iwan but which had been subjugated to Nonconformist and British interests by the Liberal Party, and to socialist and British interests by the Labour Party, only to resurface again at the National Eisteddfod in Pwllheli in 1925.

## Chapter 2

### Emigration and the matter of Identity: the Welsh in the United States

#### A: Emigration

In the previous chapter references were made to two specific movements of peoples out of Wales. One was the comparatively small emigration to Patagonia which began in 1865, and which occurred primarily as a result of the desire to live freely as a community of Welsh nationals. The other, which occurred in the 1920s and 1930s, was the much larger outflow of peoples who were to seek work in England rather than cross the Atlantic to the United States. This latter migration would not only have had repercussions for the National Party, as was suggested in the previous chapter, but would also have impacted on the Welsh-American communities, depriving them of the fresh vitality needed for the continuation of vibrant Welsh consciousness and identity and probably hastening the process whereby a Welshman in America became merely an American of Welsh descent. Yet, how ‘Welsh’ were these communities even before the onset of the emigration drought?

In 1925 Plaid Cymru<sup>1</sup> had been founded in the home country in recognition of the fact that urgent steps were needed to preserve the language and culture which were the unique facets of Welshness in Wales. Had these specific aspects of Welsh life been successfully retained in the Welsh settlements in America? Had other aspects of Welshness been preserved or other means of emphasising identity been galvanized? This chapter will seek to introduce the Welsh communities of the United States before the founding of Plaid Cymru and briefly outline the reasons for their emigration. It will also try to decipher how they perceived ‘Welshness’ and whether it played any part in their lives whilst, in addition, it will seek to outline the essence of Welshness in America during the period 1925-1945.

It must be stressed at the outset that the history of Welsh emigration to the US cannot be viewed as a homogenous experience but rather as a patchwork of variants depending on the decade or century of emigration as well as on the occupation and religious affiliations of the emigrants. Furthermore, there was no single overriding catalyst in the history of Welsh emigration, as the famine of 1845 was to Irish emigration or the Highland clearances of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to Scottish emigration. The one common denominator in the episodes of emigration from Wales was the desire to attain what could not, in the émigrés’s perception, be achieved by staying in the homeland. This reason for leaving could be compared in some respects to the Italian experience where *Fare l’America*,

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<sup>1</sup> This title will be used from this chapter onwards.

meaning ‘to make it in America’, was the catalyst for nearly half of all Italian emigrants leaving their homeland. It is possibly most apt in respect of the Welsh industrialists who were drawn to America in search of economic gain and social mobility, but it is not irrelevant in respect of Ezekiel Hughes and the farmers of Llanbryn-mair who left Wales in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, not only on religious grounds but also because they were agricultural entrepreneurs. But for other Welsh emigrants, for those who had laboured on tenanted land, America would have offered freedom from the tyranny of landlords and all the consequent benefits, for the religious sects America would have offered a haven where they could worship without fear of repression or punishment, and for some it presented an opportunity to create a Wales outside the home country.

Whether myth or fact the earliest narrative of Welsh emigration to America tells of Prince Madog and his brother who left their homeland in the twelfth century to escape family feuding.<sup>2</sup> The story enshrines the concept that emigration to America was the expeditious response to unfavourable circumstances in the home country and raises the possibility that a Welsh community could be created away from that homeland. Although referred to intermittently over the centuries<sup>3</sup> it came into prominence at the end of the eighteenth century when disaffection with established systems and religious zeal made many Welshmen look longingly towards post-Revolution America where, maybe, there could already be a Welsh-American community.<sup>4</sup>

However, setting aside the tale of Madog, a more appropriate starting point for the history of Welsh emigration to the Americas would be the seventeenth century when, in 1617, Sir William Vaughan of Llangyndeyrn in Carmarthenshire<sup>5</sup> despatched colonists to his property in Newfoundland. It appears that his was a philanthropic act for in his volume, *The Golden Grove*, published in 1600, he had revealed his concern regarding the economic plight of Wales, and had noted how people were dying of starvation even as land went uncultivated and maritime opportunities ignored. Emigration was his response, and subsequent overseas

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<sup>2</sup> Stephens, *The Oxford Companion to the Literature of Wales*, 381-82.

<sup>3</sup> Especially so in the Tudor era to counteract Spain’s claim to the New World: Davies, *Transatlantic Brethren*, 19.

<sup>4</sup> Welsh-Americans, even in the period of this study, still took pride in the possibility that Madog could have discovered America; for example, the title of an address given to ‘Kymry Society of Chicago’ in 1928 was, ‘Prince Madoc of North Wales, First Discoverer of America’: *The Druid*, April 1, 1928.

<sup>5</sup> The second son of Walter Vaughan of Golden Grove in Carmarthenshire.

colonization, and although his philanthropic act was a failure<sup>6</sup> it stands as an early historical example of Welshmen responding to abject circumstances by leaving the homeland.

Before the end of the century another group of Welsh emigrants, fleeing from religious oppression and the threat of imprisonment, had set sail under the leadership of their pastor, John Miles,<sup>7</sup> who had been ejected from his living in Ilston<sup>8</sup> after the Restoration, and had settled in Swansea, Massachusetts.<sup>9</sup> Miles might have been a Welsh speaker as he was originally from the Welsh-speaking part of Herefordshire but his co-emigrants, coming from the Anglicized part of Gower, would probably have been English-speaking<sup>10</sup> and as such would probably not have existed for long as a distinct community amongst the Baptists, if they ever did.

The next groups of emigrants to leave Wales were the Quakers,<sup>11</sup> a sect that had been likened to a pestilence by John Miles<sup>12</sup> and which endured persecution because their strange behaviour<sup>13</sup> and mode of worship were considered a threat to the precarious stability of the seventeenth century. Between 1682 and 1700 two thousand Quakers fled from Wales to the ‘Welsh Tract’,<sup>14</sup> the barony in Pennsylvania offered to them by William Penn, hoping to benefit from more acreage and under the impression that they could establish an independent Welsh colony<sup>15</sup> where they would have full rights of self-government in order to protect their language and their institutions. In 1687 about sixty Welsh Quaker families from the counties

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<sup>6</sup> When Richard Whitbourne, the new governor, arrived in 1618 he found that they had not even built shelters for themselves and within a year they had departed: ‘Sir William Vaughan,’ accessed October 12, 2013, [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/vaughan\\_william\\_I.E.html](http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/vaughan_william_I.E.html); Hartmann, *Americans from Wales*, 39.

<sup>7</sup> ‘Miles’ not ‘Myles’ is the form used in *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography down to 1940*, 632-33.

<sup>8</sup> ‘the first properly organised distinct and visible church of Baptist believers in Wales’: ‘The Cromwell Association,’ accessed September 3, 2013, [www.olivercromwell.org/ilston.htm](http://www.olivercromwell.org/ilston.htm).

<sup>9</sup> Miles is said to have founded the town of Swansea, now called Swansea: Davies, ‘Transatlantic Brethren’, 11.

<sup>10</sup> Geraint H. Jenkins, Richard Suggett and Eryn M. White, ‘The Welsh Language in Early Modern Wales,’ in *The Welsh Language Before the Industrial Revolution*, ed. Geraint H. Jenkins (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997), 84.

<sup>11</sup> Quakerism in Wales had begun in July 1653 when John ap John of Ruabon, who had been sent by the Puritan Morgan Llwyd to speak with the Quaker leader George Fox in the north of England, had returned a convert and had begun to evangelise in Wrexham: Gwyn A. Williams, *When Was Wales?* 135; George Fox himself converted many to Quakerism in the counties of Montgomery and Merioneth and in southern Pembrokeshire: Davies, *A History of Wales*, 282.

<sup>12</sup> In 1656 he had written *Antidote Against the Infection of the Times* which was on the Quakers: *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography down to 1940*, 632-33.

<sup>13</sup> In the early years of their existence, in the 1650s, they had taken pleasure in boasting of their exploits in battle and in shocking people, e.g. James Nayler rode into Bristol on a donkey in 1656 declaring that he was the Messiah, Richard Davies of Cloddiau Cochion refused to remove his headgear for the magistrates of Welshpool and Peter Price was thrown into Presteigne gaol for withholding tithes: Geraint H. Jenkins, ‘Rhyfel yr Oen: Y Mudiad Heddwch yng Nghymru, 1653-1816,’ in *Cof Cenedl*, ed. Geraint H. Jenkins (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1986), 69, 70.

<sup>14</sup> Penn’s ‘Welsh Barony’ was about 40,000 square acres to the west of Philadelphia which had been bought by the first Welsh Quakers: Davies, *Transatlantic Brethren*, 24.

<sup>15</sup> Jenkins, Suggett and White, ‘The Welsh Language in Early Modern Wales,’ 71.

of Merioneth, Radnor and Pembroke settled in the area and most of them, apart from the Pembroke<sup>16</sup> members would probably have been Welsh speakers,<sup>17</sup> but as all the early Quaker leaders were bilingual<sup>18</sup> the emigrants from Wales fully expected that civil and legal matters within the Welsh Tract would be determined by officers and jurors ‘of our language’.<sup>19</sup> Unfortunately Penn was to renege on this agreement probably, as one commentator suggests, because he and his representatives feared the creation of a separate colony could create serious political differences.<sup>20</sup> Thus the first attempt at establishing a self-governing Welsh unit which would safeguard the language floundered because of wider political interests. However it was only very begrudgingly that the Welsh Quakers gave in to the new administrative arrangements in 1690;<sup>21</sup> their first concern might have been freedom of worship but a central role for the Welsh language was almost as important.

Nevertheless, it is likely that Welsh was not the language of their public worship, for one commentator has claimed that English had been the medium even in the home country and had continued to be so in the New World.<sup>22</sup> The following quotation, on the other hand, implies that the medium of worship was Welsh:

[they] made strenuous, but unavailing, efforts to maintain their linguistic exclusivity by worshipping in Welsh and publishing Welsh books...<sup>23</sup>

The inference being that, although they had worshipped in Welsh, the language had been lost to them. But, whether or not the language was a marker of their ethnicity in the sphere of public worship it would surely have been the medium of their personal devotions and of their family life, for their habit of marrying within their community to maintain their religious identity would also have been a means of safeguarding the language; of the second generation of Welsh Tract Quakers 71 per cent had ‘ethnic spouses,’ and 60 percent of their children had married spouses with similar Welsh backgrounds,<sup>24</sup> which seemed to augur well for the continuation of the language. The constant visits to Wales by individuals and the missions to

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<sup>16</sup> It appears that most, if not all, of the Pembrokeshire Quakers were from the English-speaking part of the county. The name of their settlement, ‘Haverford,’ reflected their regional origin: Davies, *Transatlantic Brethren*, 25.

<sup>17</sup> Jenkins, Suggett and White, ‘The Welsh Language in Early Modern Wales,’ 59.

<sup>18</sup> Davies, *Transatlantic Brethren*, 28.

<sup>19</sup> Jenkins, Suggett and White, ‘The Welsh Language in Early Modern Wales,’ 71.

<sup>20</sup> Hartmann, *Americans from Wales*, 45.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> English was the language of all monthly meetings in Merioneth even though all the members were Welsh-speaking: Davies, *Transatlantic Brethren*, 28.

<sup>23</sup> Jenkins, Suggett and White, ‘The Welsh Language in Early Modern Wales,’ 61.

<sup>24</sup> Davies, *Transatlantic Brethren*, 32.

Wales by their preachers might also have been another factor in keeping the mother-tongue invigorated.<sup>25</sup>

But the Welsh Quakers were eager to make their ethnicity visible and, seemingly deprived of doing so by way of the language in the administrative and public worship areas, they named their houses and their land after venues at home. Thus ‘Vaenor’ and ‘Nantmel Hall’ evoked memories of farms in Radnorshire for John Jones whilst Henry Lewis’s new abode in Pennsylvania was called ‘Maencoch’, a translation of ‘Redstone’, his former home near Narberth in Pembrokeshire,<sup>26</sup> and a public declaration of his ethnicity even though he might not have been Welsh-speaking. ‘Bryn Mawr’, of course, is the name that reverberates throughout the centuries.<sup>27</sup>

Thus it is evident that the Quakers had sought to maintain their ethnicity but their hopes of gaining a central role for the language had been dashed firstly by William Penn and then by their denomination, as English was probably the recognised language of public worship as the following sentence states:

With reference to the Welsh Tract Quakers of the townships of Haverford, Radnor, Merion, north-west of Philadelphia... those Quakers of Welsh origin lost their ethnicity due to their religious priorities.<sup>28</sup>

The language, the most tangible marker of their identity, was being sidelined in secular and religious life and, as new influxes from Wales were petering out,<sup>29</sup> the reinforcements needed to maintain their distinctiveness were not available. Thus their identity as Welsh Quakers was being eroded.<sup>30</sup>

Several years after John Miles of Ilston had settled in America other Baptist groups began arriving to escape the limitations imposed upon them.<sup>31</sup> One such group from Radnorshire established an English-medium church at Pennepek in 1688 and Abel Morgan<sup>32</sup> of Llanwenog and Blaenau Gwent subsequently became their pastor in 1712. Abel’s brother,

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<sup>25</sup> Hugh Roberts was one preacher who often visited Wales: Davies, *Transatlantic Brethren*, 29. His Welsh, and that of others who constantly returned to the homeland, would have been refreshed, thus rejuvenating that of family and friends.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 26

<sup>27</sup> Bryn Mawr is now a famous college in Pennsylvania but it was, formerly, the home of the Quaker leader, Rowland Ellis, who had named it after his home in Wales, namely Bryn Mawr, near Dolgellau: Stephens, *The Oxford Companion to the Literature of Wales*, 175.

<sup>28</sup> Davies, ‘Transatlantic Brethren,’ 17.

<sup>29</sup> There was growing hostility to emigration amongst the Quakers in Wales: Davies, *Transatlantic Brethren*, 32.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 33

<sup>31</sup> Amongst the Dissenters the Baptists, especially, were looked upon with suspicion because their denial of infant baptism was seen as a threat to the established order: Davies, *Transatlantic Brethren*, 43.

<sup>32</sup> Chiefly remembered for his Biblical concordance, *Cyd-gordiad Egwyddorawl o’r Scrythyrau*, published in 1730, after his death: *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography down to 1940*, 639.



Enoch, was by then pastor of the Welsh-medium church in the Welsh Tract<sup>33</sup> where, amongst his congregation were the monoglot Welsh who had emigrated with him from Rhydwylym in 1701.<sup>34</sup> Such was the vibrancy of the language in the Welsh Tract church that even the register or book of records, known as ‘The Welsh Tract Book’, was written in Welsh up until 1732. Thus the language of this group would have been an evident and significant marker of their identity. Nevertheless they, like the Quakers, belonged to a transatlantic alliance where English was the medium of the denomination’s organization and Abel Morgan had written to his former congregation at Blaenau Gwent as early as 1712 saying that ‘although many Welsh are in this country I fear but few are likely to keep up the Protestant religion<sup>35</sup> or their language. The English is swallowing up their language, though assisted by religion.’<sup>36</sup> Thus, the demands of the wider denomination, with the influxes of new emigrant Baptists meant that, whereas previously Welsh was the medium in the pulpit at Welsh Tract, the language was becoming more and more confined to family life and private religious practices. Relevant to this situation is the statement of one commentator who said that ‘In time the language was displaced by English since the growing membership became Americanized and consequently illiterate in the Old World language. By the mid eighteenth century Baptist affiliation was no longer associated with ethnic origin or identity.’<sup>37</sup> Thus did the Welsh-speaking Baptists bring to the New World their mode and language of worship only to gradually lose the latter, one of the main markers of their ethnicity.<sup>38</sup>

In the Delaware Valley there were also Welsh-speaking Anglicans and Presbyterians who made use of the language in their services of worship. It was the Revd Griffith Hughes, a Welsh-speaking clergyman from Tywyn who had come to the Valley in 1733, who observed that there were many thousands of Welsh speakers in Montgomery, in Radnor and in the

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<sup>33</sup> Gerald L. Priest, ‘The Abel Morgan Contribution to Baptist Ecclesiology in Colonial America,’ *Detroit Baptist Theological Seminary Journal* 8 (Fall 2003): 49-68, accessed November 17, 2013, <http://www.dbts.edu/journals/2003/Priest.pdf>.

<sup>34</sup> They had come from the three counties of Cardigan, Pembroke and Carmarthen and amongst them was Rhys ap Rhydderch of Llanwenog in Cardiganshire who had been an officer in the Cromwellian army but who now, at the age of eighty-one, had led his Baptist people over to the Delaware. They were all members at Rhydwylym, in Pembrokeshire, one of the oldest Baptist churches in Wales: Williams, *When Was Wales?* 137.

<sup>35</sup> This remark refers to the divisive practice of the laying on of hands at ordination.

<sup>36</sup> Horatio Gates Jones, ‘The Rev. Abel Morgan, Pastor of the United Baptist Churches of Pennepek and Philadelphia,’ *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 6 (1882): 306, accessed 24 May, 2013, <https://archive.org/details/jstor-2008456>.

<sup>37</sup> Priest, ‘The Abel Morgan Contribution to Baptist Ecclesiology in Colonial America,’ 48-68.

<sup>38</sup> In Joshua Thomas’s history of the Welsh Baptists it is the existence of the Welsh language which was portrayed as being the indicator of ethnicity and a symbol of the Welsh being a separate people: Davies, ‘Transatlantic Brethren,’ 28.

Conestoga Valley<sup>39</sup> who were entreating him for Welsh books.<sup>40</sup> Thus Welsh was still vitally important in private devotions and, even though the change of language from Welsh to English in 1732 in the Welsh Tract Baptists' book might have suggested that the language was in dire straits, the clergyman's observation tends to temper that idea. Yet, what it does suggest is that Welsh was declining rapidly as the medium in public religious life. In consequence the immigrants sought other ways to emphasise their Welshness publicly and, in 1729,<sup>41</sup> the Welsh Anglicans of the Delaware Valley founded the Welsh Society of Philadelphia to serve as a centre to maintain Welshness.<sup>42</sup> Thus were the Welsh settlers eager to confirm their roots and to foster ties of nationality even though they were having to let go of their language, the one exceptional marker of their ethnicity, in the face of denominational interests and, even though the Society in Philadelphia was established to enable members to acknowledge and preserve their ethnicity, it also served, along with later Welsh societies, as a means to acclimatise the immigrants to conditions in the New World.

The boatloads of early emigrant Quakers and Baptists were primarily religious exiles<sup>43</sup> who had left their homeland because of religious intolerance and persecution. However the historian, Alan Conway, sees that inherent in their decision to cross the Atlantic, was the search for Zion:

It is tempting to ascribe this emigration to religious persecution, but in part it may be an earlier example of a search for Zion.<sup>44</sup>

Whichever reason was the most potent, the fact remains that Wales, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was losing many of its sons and daughters to the New World where the Welsh language, the mother-tongue of so many who had left Wales, was being gradually lost. Consequently, the Welsh emigrants, conscious of losing the most noticeable sign of their identity were vigorously striving to exhibit alternative markers of identity.

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<sup>39</sup> There were 6,000 Welsh speakers living in Pennsylvania and other states by 1714: Jenkins, Suggett and White, 'The Welsh Language in Early Modern Wales,' 61.

<sup>40</sup> Most of the books would have been on religious themes - see Thomas Parry, *Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg hyd 1900* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1944), 188-99, 204-05 - and most of the potential readers were, most probably, first generation immigrants who were in the habit of acquainting themselves with such matters in their mother-tongue.

<sup>41</sup> At its inauguration, church members marched with leeks in their hats to Christ Church in Philadelphia to listen to a Welsh sermon: Jenkins, Suggett and White, 'The Welsh Language in Early Modern Wales,' 71.

<sup>42</sup> As well as to give financial aid to Welsh immigrants and those newly arrived from the homeland: Hartmann, *Americans from Wales*, 158.

<sup>43</sup> Although occurring a century and more later, the Mormon emigration from Wales was primarily for religious reasons 'although aided by the sorry state of economic conditions at home.' The Welsh Mormons were the first of the foreign language-speaking groups to join others of similar persuasion in Utah: Hartmann, *Americans from Wales*, 73.

<sup>44</sup> Conway, *The Welsh in America*, 7.

The erosion of the Welsh language in the Welsh settlements was remarked upon at the end of the eighteenth century by John Evans.<sup>45</sup> He visited the Welsh Tract in 1792 and discovered that although the aged people were still fluent Welsh speakers, their children were monolingual English.<sup>46</sup> Thus, it seems, that either the Welsh were choosing not to pass on their mother-tongue to the children, not even as the language of the home otherwise they would have been bilingual, or that the children were so hostile to the mother-tongue that they rebelled against learning it, as was the case in later instances which will be referred to further on in the chapter.<sup>47</sup> In the same context the Baptist Morgan John Rhys, who emigrated to ‘quit the bondage of Egyptian taskmasters’<sup>48</sup> and in the hope of joining his fellow-Welsh, the ‘Madogwys,’<sup>49</sup> arrived in New York in October 1794 and, as he travelled through the settlements on his preaching tours, became appalled by the declining numbers of Welsh speakers.<sup>50</sup> In this context it must be remembered that denominational claims over-rode language claims but, as this factor would have been taken into account by Rhys, the decline must have been significant. Was it because there had been minimal emigration from Wales from about 1712 to the last decade of the 1790s? Would that have spurred a weakening of identity and a hastening to fuller integration? Or were there other factors such as the desire to get on educationally and socially and thus the presumption that Welsh would not facilitate material success or more pertinently that it would be a hindrance? It was probably a combination of factors but the result was that the language, which had been a prime marker of ethnicity, was being supplanted and Rhys, as one commentator wrote, ‘learnt the hard lesson that sustaining the Welsh language in a foreign land was an enterprise doomed to failure.’<sup>51</sup>

Morgan John Rhys had voyaged across the Atlantic to establish a *gwladfa* (a Welsh settlement) where religion could be practised in its purity through the medium of Welsh and he duly arrived in Cambria County where he laid out the township of Beulah in 1796. The

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<sup>45</sup> John Evans was on a mission to evangelize the Madogwys: E. Wyn James, ‘Nodiadau II. Iolo Morganwg, Thomas William a Gwladgarwech y Methodistiaid,’ *Llên Cymru* 27, (2004), 173.

<sup>46</sup> Jenkins, Suggett and White, ‘The Welsh Language in Early Modern Wales,’ 61.

<sup>47</sup> Hostility to the mother-tongue was not confined to Welsh immigrants; one commentator originally from Mexico, whose mother tongue was Spanish, wrote thus, ‘I determined to learn English, initially, as a way of hurting my parents... One day I lost my accent... For generations this has been the pattern: immigrants have arrived in the city and the children of immigrant parents have gone off to school and come home speaking an American English’: Richard Rodriguez, ‘An American Writer,’ in *The Invention of Ethnicity*, ed. Werner Sollors (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 4.

<sup>48</sup> The words are those of William Jones of Llangadfan, the ‘Welsh Voltaire’: Gwyn A. Williams, *The Search for Beulah Land* (London: Croom Helm, 1980), 34.

<sup>49</sup> The ‘Madogwys’ were the reputed descendants of Madog: Davies, *A History of Wales*, 336; Williams, *The Search for Beulah Land*, 35. With Protestant fervour Rhys had intended to donate the profits of his journal, *Cylchgrawn Cymraeg*, to the Christianisation of the Welsh-Indian tribe: Davies, *A History of Wales*, 339.

<sup>50</sup> Jenkins, Suggett and White, ‘The Welsh Language in Early Modern Wales,’ 61-62.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 62.

Independents of Llanbryn-mair led by Ezekiel Hughes and Edward Bebb<sup>52</sup> followed him and settled temporarily in the Great Valley, west of Philadelphia, where the community was still intensely conscious of its Welsh roots. However the two leaders were soon to take their leave and move on to establish the nucleus of a Welsh settlement at Paddy's Run (now Shandon)<sup>53</sup> and Hughes began a campaign urging his fellow-Welsh to join him. He brought his wife Margaret Bebb to the US after their marriage in 1803 but, after her death, married Mary Ewing of Northern Ireland parentage,<sup>54</sup> so that the Welsh language would have been redundant in the home. Thus did Welsh speakers become more integrated into English-speaking American society and less a part of the ethnic groups where the language was still used.<sup>55</sup> Morgan John Rhys also would have been unable to use his mother-tongue in the home for he married from amongst English emigrants from Yorkshire<sup>56</sup> and, even in Beula, there were English-language services by 1813.<sup>57</sup>

The emigration of Morgan John Rhys and the men from Llanbryn-mair was strongly political in tone and Dissenter in character,<sup>58</sup> mirroring the ideology of the times in those areas but also coinciding with the decline of the cottage textile industry. And it was practical reasons, namely the fear of ensuing poverty should the threatened Parliamentary Enclosure Acts be passed, that drove a group of eighteen people from the Llŷn Peninsula to Oneida County, New York, in 1795, where they were soon followed by others who had lost their grazing land on the commons when the Acts were implemented, until seven per thousand people were leaving the area annually, until 1818. By 1802 they were making up one third of the inhabitants of Steuben, one of the townships in Oneida County, and so numerous had the Welsh become that by the mid-1830s Utica, another township in the county, had become the centre for Welsh-American publishing.<sup>59</sup> The vigour with which Welsh-language publications were being produced in Welsh-America was, according to one commentator, testimony to the importance of the mother-tongue in the lives of the immigrants:

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<sup>52</sup> The father of William Bebb, the governor of Ohio from 1846 to 1848: Hartmann, *Americans from Wales*, 67.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 63.

<sup>54</sup> 'Biographical Sketches: Ezekiel Hughes Esq.' accessed 24 May, 2009:

[www.llgc.org.uk/>People>EzekielHughes](http://www.llgc.org.uk/>People>EzekielHughes).

<sup>55</sup> In 1806 services were still held in Welsh in the Welsh meeting house of New York: Davies, *Transatlantic Brethren*, 245.

<sup>56</sup> Williams, *The Search for Beulah Land*, 123.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 182.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

<sup>59</sup> Knowles, *Calvinists Incorporated*, 17, 25. This was where *Y Drych* was published. Immigrants came each year from Snowdonia to Utica and in 1800 the Welsh formed the second largest contingent in the town whilst the state census of 1855 listed 860 who were Welsh born: David M. Ellis, 'The Welsh in Utica,' *The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1981): 127-29.

When one considers the paucity of their numbers in comparison to other ethnic groups that emigrated to America and their rather wide dispersion geographically, the record of the Welsh in the field of journalism is rather remarkable and indicative of the tremendously important hold which their native tongue had upon them.<sup>60</sup>

From 1832 into the early decades of the twentieth century a total of twenty-one newspapers served the communities and although the lifespan of the majority of these publications did not exceed more than a few years, their existence is not only witness to the immigrant's love for his language but it also emphasises the desire to nurture a specific identity by implementing the language understood only by the specific group to which it belonged. Its use created a sense of awareness of relationship even though ties with the home country might be weakening.

Emigration from Wales to the USA continued throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. The people left in small groups of friends and families from rural Wales and headed for rural America. Between 1835 and 1850 numbers of Calvinistic Methodists from north-central Cardiganshire emigrated to Jackson and Gallia counties, Ohio,<sup>61</sup> many probably influenced by descriptions of the bumper harvests in *Y Teithiwr Americanaidd*, penned by Revd Edward Jones, who came originally from near Aberystwyth. The Welsh in Jackson-Gallia worshipped in Welsh for as long or longer than other rural Welsh settlements with the members of Horeb chapel holding out against regular English-language worship until 1901 and hearing the last Welsh sermon preached between 1918 and 1922 when Welsh Calvinistic Methodists across the States were preparing to merge with the English-speaking Presbyterian Church of the USA.<sup>62</sup>

Then in the mid-1850s Llanbryn-mair once again witnessed an exodus to the USA. It was their harsh and unjust treatment at the hands of the landlord's stewards that had made Samuel Roberts (S.R.), a radical reformist, and his brother Gruffydd Rhisiart decide to leave their farm and sail for America, following in the footsteps of their father's brother who had emigrated over half a century earlier. Gruffydd Rhisiart led a group of emigrants to eastern Tennessee in 1856 and S.R. followed in 1857. Brynffynnon, their settlement, was far from other Welsh settlements and this, coupled with disputes about land titles and disappointment at the quality of the land itself, led many of the group to turn back to Ohio to their relations and friends or to other more settled parts.<sup>63</sup> In 1867 S.R. himself returned to Wales having

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<sup>60</sup> Hartmann, *Americans from Wales*, 127.

<sup>61</sup> Knowles, *Calvinists Incorporated*, 91.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 222-23.

<sup>63</sup> Glanmor Williams, *Samuel Roberts Llanbrynmair* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1950), 81.

suffered a grave illness and having endured vicious verbal attacks due to his refusal to justify the Civil War, not least those published in the Welsh-American newspaper, *Y Drych*, which were deceitful and slanderous but to which he was not given the opportunity to reply in print.<sup>64</sup> Gruffydd Rhisiart and his family returned to Wales in 1870.

From the seventeenth century until the middle years of the nineteenth century the outflow of Welsh peoples had been from mainly rural areas, but the 1850s onwards witnessed a constant emigration from the industrial areas to similar industrial centres. One historian has described the movement in the following words:

North Walians went to the slate quarries of Pennsylvania and New York State; South Walians went to the iron works and coal mines. The copper works of Baltimore were for almost a generation in the hands of workmen from Llanelly and Swansea. The McKinley tariff<sup>65</sup> caused many tin workers to emigrate.<sup>66</sup>

It was the failure to blow a furnace that instigated a flow of skilled industrial Welsh workers to the centre that became known as Scranton. By having to acquire the help of an ironworker from Danville, Pennsylvania, the Scranton family began a process whereby the area became a centre for Welsh immigration. Within a decade of the early 1840s when John F. Davies, originally of Tredegar, had succeeded to put a furnace in blast, there were 81 Welsh families with a total of 413 individuals in Scranton, in the Lackawanna Valley. There had already been a nucleus of Welsh people in the same valley since 1830 when Carbondale had been established due to the opening up of the anthracite mines, but by the 1850s it had been overtaken by Scranton as the largest Welsh settlement in the area with its Hyde Park area boasting Welsh street names along which Welsh-speaking postmen delivered the mail to Welsh businesses. The settlement continued to grow during the second half of the nineteenth century as the iron and coal industries drew industrial families from the south Wales industrial areas inspired by tales of success from family members or by the recruiting efforts of such people as Benjamin Hughes whose father had been a foreman in the Nantyglo Ironworks. In their wake came the tradesmen and the craftspeople and the domestic servants so that, during the second half of the nineteenth century, there was such a vibrant Welsh presence in Scranton that the *Scranton Republican* included 'Welsh Notes' in its columns.

The community in Scranton was overwhelmingly Welsh-speaking. They used the language in their daily lives and they used it on Sundays in their Welsh chapels, in contrast, it

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<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 91.

<sup>65</sup> Law enacted by US Congress in 1890 increasing tariffs on some imported goods, e.g. tinplate.

<sup>66</sup> David Williams, 'The Welsh in the United States: Their Contribution,' *The Welsh Outlook* 17, no. 8 (1930): 211-12.

appears, to the practice of many of the earlier Welsh settlers. It was the medium of competitions in their eisteddfodau and in their cultural activities and in societies such as the Welsh Philosophical Society which was established in 1857. Scranton was so firmly Welsh in character and in practice that in the 1860s and 1870s it was a major centre for the publication of Welsh-language newspapers and periodicals.<sup>67</sup> All was apparently well on the surface. The Welsh language was safe in the stronghold of its Nonconformist respectability and in the cultural activities that were acceptable within that domain. This was the Welshness that the Welsh-American elite portrayed as being of the essence of their nationality and that they deemed would be recognised as being beneficial to the wider, respectable American society, as is noted by the following comments:

It was of course the official or public side of Welshness which was embraced, those traits that leading members of the community, in America as in Wales, considered acceptable and therefore, by the logic of national projection, ‘natural.’ The Welshness they promoted was a judicious mixture of national antiquity and conventional morality. Thereby the Welsh emigrants to America could become worthy citizens of the New World by virtue of their inherited characteristics...<sup>68</sup>

Anything that deviated from that portrayal was considered to be outside the norm of ‘Welshness’; thus the Welsh-speaking drunkards and cock-fighters were not only on the periphery of respectable society, they were also not being allowed the ‘Welsh’ identity that was synonymous with religion and culture<sup>69</sup> and, consequently, they were amongst the first of the Scranton Welsh to become Americanized. But this was a process which was to be hastened throughout the whole of Welsh Scranton in the latter years of the nineteenth century which saw a rupture between the Welshman and mining due to a number of factors such as the lessening demand for skill in the mines, the influx of cheaper labour from Eastern Europe and Italy which could provide the needed strength rather than skill to work the thinner coal seams and the availability of alternative employment that facilitated social mobility. This was the period when scores of Welshmen in 1890 trooped home to Wales, ‘their American citizenship forgotten.’<sup>70</sup> The community that was left had lost its strongest bond and its distinctive identity and, furthermore, the influx of Italians, Poles and Slavs made the

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<sup>67</sup> Newspapers such as *Baner America*, *Tarian y Bobl* and *Baner y Gweithiwr* and periodicals such as *Y Ford Gron*, *Yr Ymwelydd*, *Y Pwys Cymraeg* and *Cyfaill yr Hen Wlad* were all published in Scranton in the 1860s and 1870s: William D. Jones, *Wales in America*, 88–90.

<sup>68</sup> Dai Smith, *Wales*, 24.

<sup>69</sup> Similarly middle-class Irish-Americans cultivated an air of respectability and gentility in order to distinguish themselves from the rowdiness and poverty of newly arrived immigrants and Irish-Americans still living in slums: Úna Ní Bhroiméil, *Building Irish Identity in America 1870-1915, The Gaelic Revival* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003), 9.

<sup>70</sup> Rowland Tappan Berthoff, *British Immigrants in Industrial America 1790-1950* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1953), 55.

Scranton-Welsh retire more deeply into the white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant community at the same time as they were choosing alternative jobs and merging into the wider Scrantonian economy.<sup>71</sup>

The result of the Americanization of the last two decades of the nineteenth century was the serious erosion of the Welsh language and its complementary culture amongst the respectable upper echelons in Scranton, but warning signs had already appeared in 1871 when a part of the congregation of the First Welsh Baptist Church had broken away to establish an English branch which the younger generation attended as they ‘did not enjoy the Welsh language’.<sup>72</sup> Soon other churches followed and before long there were many English-language Welsh chapels in the city. The October 1909 issue of *The Druid* published a memoir by Judge Henry M. Edwards where he compared the Hyde Park area of Scranton in 1864 and 1865 with the Hyde Park of the time of writing. Formerly the services were in Welsh and the congregations were larger whilst the eisteddfodau were mostly in Welsh, but a change had occurred during the last fifteen to twenty years and the language was used less and less. Consequently, said the Judge, he foresaw that it would rarely be spoken fifteen years hence. Thus was the decline of Welsh-speaking Scranton portrayed and the death of the language in that city foreseen; and Scranton was a mirror for all the Welsh settlements in the USA at the beginning of the twentieth century. Possibly the one time that the Welsh of Scranton would ever again feel that they were first and foremost a Welsh community was on 2 November 1923 when 15,000 of them gathered at Lackawanna station to welcome Lloyd George, his wife and daughter.

After 1910 Welsh emigration to America began faltering although there were still some departures to Scranton and to the USA in general after the end of World War I, albeit in decreasing strength of émigrés numbers.<sup>73</sup> Nevertheless, during the years of the Depression in the 1920s, when the earnings of the coal miners in Wales were the lowest of working-class wages,<sup>74</sup> 13,000 Welsh people left their homeland to follow familiar routes to the settlements in America.<sup>75</sup> However, the severe Depression in Wales and in America in the 1930s put an end to the outflow from Wales and when, after the Second World War, emigration did occur again it was, virtually, a trickle.

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<sup>71</sup> Jones, *Wales in America*, 84-85.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 106.

<sup>73</sup> Jones, *Wales in America*, 245.

<sup>74</sup> Davies, *A History of Wales*, 555.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 579.



Although the migrations of emigrants from Wales to America, especially those of the nineteenth century, have often been likened to waves, they were in reality only small gushes in comparison to the migrations of peoples from other countries. Using a different metaphor one commentator has described the difference in the following terms:

In comparison with these big battalions from the continent of Europe and from England itself, the Welsh formed little more than a corporal's guard.<sup>76</sup>

Nevertheless the 'corporal's guard', although minute in comparison, was quite substantial in terms of the population of a small country like Wales. However, to give even an estimate of the numbers of people who left their Welsh home country is almost impossible<sup>77</sup> as the US Immigration Service counted both Welsh and English immigrants as a single entity until 1875<sup>78</sup> and the Board of Trade in Britain did not differentiate between English and Welsh passengers aboard emigrant ships until 1908.<sup>79</sup> The census taken in 1900 by the United States Bureau of the Census recorded 267,160 inhabitants of Welsh stock of whom 93,744 were immigrants and 173,416 the children of Welsh immigrants<sup>80</sup> and yet, as the following quotation states, it did not take into account the descendants of earlier Welsh immigrants:

The 1900 census is a fairly accurate gauge for estimating the strength of the Welsh in America of the first and second generation. Its figures scarcely give a true picture of the full strength of the Welsh element in America even in 1900, however, for they do not include figures for the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of the early nineteenth century Welsh immigrants nor for the descendants of the colonial Welsh immigrants.<sup>81</sup>

But the census had noted the counties where the majority of the Welsh had settled and had also recorded their populations. Wilkes-Barre in Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, with 21,552 inhabitants had the biggest Welsh population, with the 19,358 in Scranton in Lackawanna, Pennsylvania a close second. The inhabitants of Pittsburgh in Alleghany, Pennsylvania, numbered 13,165, whilst there were 6,676 in Utica, Oneida County, New York. Pottsville in Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania, had 5,280 inhabitants.<sup>82</sup> How did these people class themselves? Were they Welsh immigrants in America or were they Americans of Welsh stock? Would the new nationalist movement that was about to be founded in Wales

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<sup>76</sup> Conway, *The Welsh in America*, 5.

<sup>77</sup> Berthoff has attempted to register, decade by decade, the numbers of Welsh immigrants who entered the industrial areas of the United States: Berthoff, *British Immigrants in Industrial America, 1790-1950*, 5.

<sup>78</sup> Williams, *The Search for Beulah Land*, 179.

<sup>79</sup> Knowles, *Calvinists Incorporated*, 5.

<sup>80</sup> Hartmann, *Americans from Wales*, 90.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 93.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 95.

be of interest to them, especially as it centred on the language which had been the main marker of identity of most of the newly arrived immigrants?

### **B: Identity**

In one commentator's opinion it was the lack of a substantial number of Welsh immigrants that had led to their swift integration and to the demise of their language, and consequently of their identity, in the USA,<sup>83</sup> but a study of the Welsh in Ohio found that it took three generations before an immigrant family lost the language in the family circle.<sup>84</sup> Likewise, intermarriage amongst the Quakers had kept the language alive in some households for a few generations. It does appear that most Welsh émigrés in the USA from the seventeenth century onwards had sought to preserve their identity,<sup>85</sup> firstly and foremostly by means of the language, but that various factors such as denominational uniformity and marriage outside the Welsh communities had relegated the language to non-primary status. However the most damaging factor must have been the one remarked upon by John Evans, namely that the younger generation was choosing to disregard the mother-tongue. And, as has been alluded to in the case of Richard Rodriguez, this was a phenomenon that was not limited to the Welsh groups but was common wherever the older generation sought to transfer the mother-tongue to their offspring, thus seeming to decisively refute the above suggestion that paucity of numbers was the main reason for the loss of Welsh and Welsh identity. In the case of Italian, for example, the concerted efforts of parents and associated newspapers failed to make the language the medium of communication in the home because the young people were unwilling to participate. It appears that this non-participatory factor was widespread in the context of language transferral:

The more immigrant parents insisted that Yiddish, Italian, Chinese or Spanish be spoken at home the more their children rebelled.<sup>86</sup>

And the same spurning of the mother-tongue was occurring in Scranton when young Welsh people were declaring their preference for English-medium religious observance, even before the language was weakening in the society which was upholding it. They deemed it to be

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<sup>83</sup> Cyril G. Williams, 'Religion and Welsh Nationality,' in *Religion and Ethnicity*, eds. Harold Coward and Leslie Kawamura (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1978), 159.

<sup>84</sup> Elwyn T. Ashton, *The Welsh in the United States* (Hove, Sussex: Caldera House Limited, 1984), 94.

<sup>85</sup> In the case of emigration to the coalfields it has been stated that the Welsh had not emigrated 'with the intention of preserving their Welsh identity but they did transplant much of their culture with them': Lewis, *Welsh Americans*, 307.

<sup>86</sup> Alan M. Kraut, *The Huddled Masses, The Immigrant in American Society, 1880-1921* (Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, 2001), 132.

inconsequential and, probably, a hindrance to advancement. Like other immigrant offspring they were of the view that English was the medium for socio-economic mobility.<sup>87</sup>

Would events have been different if the Welsh had emulated the Japanese-Americans who established their own schools where the mother-tongue was taught to the children<sup>88</sup> or the Danish-Americans who set up day schools which taught through the medium of Danish?<sup>89</sup> The reality, however, was that the most inherent and most evident marker of identity was ebbing away from Welsh-American life, so that in a report of the World Fair held in Chicago in 1893 not only were there complaints that there was too much English but it was also stated that finding a Welsh speaker was as difficult as finding a needle in a haystack.<sup>90</sup>

Michael D. Jones had believed that founding a colony of Welsh-speaking people would preserve the language which he had witnessed being eroded when he had visited the United States in the 1840s. He had declared that only by gathering together (*ymgrynhoi*) could the Welsh language be made secure, but Welsh immigrants long before his time had gathered together and settled in groups and had, apparently, been more eager to do so than had other immigrants:

Of the farmers only the Welsh chose to band together in their own communities... in the towns the Welsh similarly gravitated to a few wards of the city.<sup>91</sup>

Of course, banding together would not only have been an attempt to preserve their identity but a natural result of groups that shared the same skills emigrating together to the location where those skills could be implemented, such as the miners who were drawn to Scranton to use their mining skills. Nevertheless Welsh immigrants in the US gained a reputation for being 'the most clannishness' of all immigrants. The actual word, 'clan', was quoted by Senator James J. Davies in his autobiography when stressing the importance which Welsh emigrants placed, not only of kinship, but on a shared Welsh nationality:

Our little four-room company house in Sharon had its doors open to the wayfarer. There was always some newcomer from Wales, looking for a stake in America who had left his family in Wales. Usually he was a distant kinsman, but whether a blood relation or not, we regarded all Welshmen as belonging to our clan.<sup>92</sup>

This instinctive feeling of belonging together must have been the basic emotion that drove the Radnorshire Quakers and Baptists, in an earlier period, to uproot from their respective

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<sup>87</sup> Ibid., 131.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., 132.

<sup>89</sup> Cheryl A. Walley, *The Welsh in Iowa* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2009), 51.

<sup>90</sup> *Y Drych*, September 7, September 21, 1893.

<sup>91</sup> Ashton, *The Welsh in the United States*, 93.

<sup>92</sup> J. J. Davies, *The Iron Puddler* (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill, 1922), 73.

settlements and to relocate in Lower Dublin thus proving that ties of *bro*, or native haunt, could even over-ride denominational ties.<sup>93</sup> And *bro* appears to have played a major part in deciding the location of many Welsh settlers:

The Welsh preferred, if possible, to settle with Welsh from their own areas back home.<sup>94</sup>

Therefore *ymgrynhoi* seems to have been part of the Welsh immigrant's psyche and the advice that Michael D. Jones proffered had been implemented before his time. Even so, it might have been his insistence on founding settlements of Welsh speakers to save the language that had influenced *Y Drych* when it wrote that it was of the utmost importance that immigrants to the US settled in Welsh-speaking homelands to maintain a sense of identity.<sup>95</sup> But in spite of all efforts the language was losing ground and declining. The reaction of an immigrant who has to witness the gradual eradication of her mother-tongue has been vividly portrayed in the fictional *Off to Philadelphia in the Morning*, which was set at the end of the nineteenth century. Through the expressed thoughts of Joseph Parry's mother, Betty Parry, the author, Jack Jones, conveyed the pain felt when even the bastions of the Welsh language seemed to be crumbling:

If only the Welsh chapels of America, nearly four hundred all told, stood firm against time and space and the Irish and all the other foreigners who were coming from everywhere then the Welsh language would hold its ground... But the Welsh chapels were not standing firm, more was the pity. How many times had she protested against the growing Anglicanization of Welsh sermons in the Welsh chapels of America.<sup>96</sup>

It is true that other immigrants were coming in larger contingents and that the Welsh were, in comparison, only thinly-numbered groups but, as has been suggested, it was not numbers that determined the survival of the language but the will of the people. The formerly Welsh chapels were becoming English-medium places of worship because many of their members, and specifically the young, wanted to forgo the tradition of worshipping in Welsh. Betty Parry might have been vocalising the thoughts of many of her generation but her dream of

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<sup>93</sup> Davies, *Transatlantic Brethren*, 41-42.

<sup>94</sup> Ashton, *The Welsh in the United States*, 76-77. But it has been stated that 'it is a truism of immigration historiography that the masses of immigrants brought no sense of nationality to America with them, only local identities and allegiances': Kathleen Neils Conzen, David A. Gerber, Ewa Morawska, George E. Pozzetta, and Rudolph J. Vecoli, 'The Invention of Ethnicity: A Perspective from the USA,' *Journal of American Ethnic History* 12, no. 1 (1992): 9.

<sup>95</sup> Aled Jones and Bill Jones, 'Y Drych and American Welsh Identities, 1851-1951,' *North American Journal of Welsh Studies* 1 no. 1 (2001): 42.

<sup>96</sup> Jack Jones, *Off to Philadelphia in the Morning* (London: H. Hamilton, 1947), 217.

creating a microcosm of her homeland seemed doomed to failure as her husband, Daniel Parry, explained in the novel:

There amongst those I work with it is America and not Wales that is first... It is no good you or anyone else try to make a Wales that will live here in America. We, the Irish and English, the Germans and Swedes and all the rest came here to make America.<sup>97</sup>

The inference is that Wales and all that pertained to it belonged to a past that was destined not to be replicated in this New World as all emigrants were in the process of becoming ‘American’ and, consequently, foregoing their identity. But this was an oversimplification of the facts and did not take into account the disparate experiences of the new immigrant in America. The Irish, for example, because they were met with hostility and were vehemently vilified, mainly on account of native antipathy towards Roman Catholicism,<sup>98</sup> strongly adhered to their Irishness. Their high birth rate, and that of some other immigrant nationalities, was also a cause for concern amongst the native<sup>99</sup> population and was an additional factor in engendering hostility. In echoes of the later Aryan question, Robert de Courcy, a Professor at Harvard and one of the founders of the ‘Immigration Restriction League’, said in 1906 that Italians, Slavs and Jews would degrade the American Race and because of the numbers of their offspring he feared that they would overtake the native population and dilute the purity of the native stock.<sup>100</sup> The result of this and other fears was that immigrant groups were debarred from joining American society as happened in the case of the Boston Irish:

When the Irish arrived in Boston through-out the middle and late nineteenth century, the city’s Yankee-dominated political, economic, and social institutions were closed to them. Between 1850 and 1900 the Irish worked to establish as complete a society within a society as possible. The Boston Irish were so successful that they erected a society with institutions paralleling almost every aspect of the dominant society.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid., 218.

<sup>98</sup> ‘The American Protective Association’ set up in 1887 and supporting restrictions on immigration, whilst making naturalization more difficult, had 2.5 million members by 1896. The main concern of its leaders ‘was Catholicism’ and it sought to debar Catholics from public office: Samuel L. Baily, *Immigrants in the Lands of Promise. Italians in Buenos Aires and New York City 1870 to 1914* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), 84-85. Irish and German Catholic immigrants were the *bete noir* of the ‘Know Nothings,’ another nativist American movement which was active during the 1840s and 1850s.

<sup>99</sup> The term ‘native’ is used to refer to white, Anglo-Saxon and Protestant Americans.

<sup>100</sup> Jerome Kruse, Judith N. DeSena, eds. *Italian Americans in a Multicultural Society: Proceedings of the Symposium of the American Historical Association* (Stony Brook, NY: Forum Italicum, 1994), 5.

<sup>101</sup> John F. Stack, Jr., *International Conflict in an American City: Boston’s Irish, Italians, and Jews, 1935-1944* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979), 7.

It has been stated that ‘the construction of identities involve both the passive experience of “being made” by external forces and the active process by which a group makes itself’,<sup>102</sup> and this seems to be an apt explanation of how the Irish in America became such a strong ethnic group. Although, unlike the Welsh, they showed no commitment to preserving the Gaelic language by means of newspapers or periodicals, as English was the *lingua franca* of the Irish press whether in Brooklyn in such papers as the *Brooklyn Gael* or in Boston in the *Boston Gaelic Journal*,<sup>103</sup> they still managed to retain their otherness. Being prevented from even joining the native workforce and thus having to endure the ensuing poverty which came with unemployment, was the main catalyst and it not only made them strong ethnically but it also fuelled their vibrant Irish nationalism.

The Welsh met with no such resistance. Even though they embraced a language other than English, and nurtured it<sup>104</sup> as the main marker of their identity, they were painlessly integrated into mainstream society. The Welsh were white European and Protestant, and they brought with them agricultural and industrial skills which were sought after, and which were not only beneficial to the financial health of the host society but which also ensured that the Welsh themselves became economically successful. Consequently the need for interdependence and mutual support which was portrayed in *The Iron Puddler*, became a thing of the past and ethnic ties were weakened as the following comment has noted:

Economic success spurred the disintegration of Welsh community co-hesiveness, and a distinctive ethnic culture as prosperity reduced the need for mutual support and cooperation.<sup>105</sup>

In consequence prosperity not only caused the fragmentation of Welsh community ties but also aided assimilation which was unhindered by the wider population. Nevertheless, on some occasions it was deemed useful to portray the ‘otherness’ of even the Welsh, as in the case of Senator James J. Davies<sup>106</sup> who was described in the following manner by supporters of a rival candidate for a town clerkship:

They passed around the rumour that I was a wild Welshman from a land where the tribes lived in caves and wore leather skirts and wooden shoes, and that I had my first introduction to a pants-wearing people when I came to America. They said I

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<sup>102</sup> Sollors, *The Invention of Ethnicity*, 12.

<sup>103</sup> Deian Rhys Hopkin, ‘Migrants from Western Europe: Welsh,’ in *The Immigrant Labor Press in North America, 1840s-1970s, An Annotated Bibliography 3*, ed. Dirk Hoerder (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press Inc., 1987), 250.

<sup>104</sup> Apparently, in 1881, the editor of *The Los Angeles Daily Times* had mocked the Welsh for clinging on to their language which he deemed to be a ‘relic of a departed age’: *Y Drych*, February 4, 1932.

<sup>105</sup> Lewis, *Welsh Americans*, 311.

<sup>106</sup> See Chapter Three.

had not yet learned to speak English, could not spell my name, and was unable to count above ten.<sup>107</sup>

But in general the Welsh-speaking immigrants were accepted into American society, in contrast to many of the immigrant peoples referred to above, who were viewed as unsuitable or inferior or as threats to the system. However, it has been said that ‘Assimilation is the foe of ethnicity’,<sup>108</sup> and one of the reasons for the gradual waning away of a Welsh identity in Welsh-America is that assimilation was made easy and was accelerated by the crumbling of the edifice that held ‘Welshness’ together, namely the Nonconformist Welsh-medium chapels and, in the case of centres like Scranton, the fabric of the society that underpinned the chapels. And yet, ironically, the Welsh chapels had encouraged the process of assimilation whilst, at the same time, emphasising that it need not dilute the Welsh identity that was embedded in the language and culture.<sup>109</sup> Thus assimilation was not, in reality, solely the consequence of being welcomed by the host society; it occurred because the Welsh people themselves desired to assimilate. Furthermore, they were eager ‘to establish themselves as full citizens in their new state’,<sup>110</sup> and one of the most prominent voices urging that process was the Welsh-medium American newspaper, *Y Drych*. In 1893 its editor advised that all Welsh people intending to reside in America should take the first opportunity that came their way to become citizens, so that they could vote and thereby influence society and politics. Taking this step, it was noted, did not lessen love for the Old Country nor its language and traditions.<sup>111</sup> By 1900 well over 90 per cent of Welsh immigrants had applied for US citizenship or had become naturalized, one of the highest rates amongst all foreign immigrant groups,<sup>112</sup> thus signalling the desire to become American. The censuses of 1920 and 1930 noted that 73 per cent of Welsh immigrants had become citizens of the US,<sup>113</sup> further proof that they were eager to be identified as Americans and, possibly, to become proactive American citizens.

It has been suggested that, maybe, if there had been a more vibrant sense of Welsh identity in the home country when communities in places such as Scranton were disintegrating, the Welsh-American could have strengthened his identity from that source and adapted his

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<sup>107</sup> Davies, *The Iron Puddler*, 216.

<sup>108</sup> Sollors, *The Invention of Ethnicity*, xiv.

<sup>109</sup> Hopkin, ‘Migrants from Western Europe: Welsh,’ 247.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>111</sup> Jones and Jones, ‘Y Drych and American Welsh Identities, 1851-1951,’ 53.

<sup>112</sup> Lewis, *Welsh Americans*, 309.

<sup>113</sup> David Williams, *Wales and America* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1946), 86.

Welshness or constructed a new form accordingly which, as is noted below, would be grounded in the real life situation in Wales whilst taking his own context into account:

Ethnicity is... a process of construction or invention which incorporates, adapts and amplifies pre-existing communal solidarities, cultural attributes and historical memories. That is, it is grounded in real life context and social experience.<sup>114</sup>

But Wales was experiencing its own crisis of identity. These were the years when Cymru Fydd had floundered in the face of Welsh Nonconformist zeal for Disestablishment on the one hand and British Liberalism on the other and when socialist consciousness was growing in strength and challenging the Liberal-Nonconformist Welsh-speaking image of Welsh identity. The result, as the comment below suggests, was that there was no clear template of a national Welsh identity even in Wales:

What may be of some significance when attempting to explain the rapid assimilation of the Welsh is that at the time when they reached the peak of their strength in the United States, Welsh nationalism and the desire to preserve the Welsh language in Wales were at their lowest ebb.<sup>115</sup>

The identity of the majority of the immigrant Welsh in America had been based on language and on culture mirroring, to a certain extent, the ethos of Welshness in the home country that they had left. Having a political party in Wales to channel that identity had been mooted at the end of the nineteenth century but had not been realised. However, change was in the air. In 1925 a new political party was to emerge that was to add a political dimension to Welsh identity, as defined by language and culture. Welsh-Americans were losing both, even though the old idea that identity was enshrined in the Welsh language still survived into the 1920s and 1930s, in the face of a number of factors that were militating against the otherness of the Welsh people in the New World.<sup>116</sup> Whether the people who continued to nurture that idea, and the others who were foregoing the idea, would embrace the political dimension to Welshness propagated by the new party is the crux of this thesis and will be discussed in later chapters.

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<sup>114</sup> Conzen, Gerber, Morawska, Pozzetta, and Vecoli, 'The Invention of Ethnicity: A Perspective from the USA,' 4-5.

<sup>115</sup> Conway, *The Welsh in America*, 321.

<sup>116</sup> In a St David's Day speech for Utica and the regions the solicitor William Hughes stated that he knew of no such citizens as Welsh-Americans but that he rejoiced 'in the fact that there are distinguished and illustrious Americans of Welsh descent and parentage': *Y Drych*, March 17, 1932.



### C: 1925-1945

It was evident that the Welsh language in Welsh-America was in retreat by the turn of the twentieth century. It was becoming redundant in the Nonconformist chapels, with which it had once been inextricably linked, and disappearing even from the streets of Scranton, a past stronghold of the language.<sup>117</sup> As has been suggested, eagerness to assimilate and the ease with which that process was accomplished had been the over-riding factor in its erosion. The main catalysts, in places such as Scranton, had been the disintegration of the mining society and the pressure on the chapels to change their language of public worship from Welsh to English to accommodate the young people. The challenge which arose within an emigrant group when the second generation came of age is described succinctly in the following statement:

Within the history of every immigrant group a critical moment arrived when the second generation came of age and challenged foreign-born parents for positions of leadership within the ethnic community.<sup>118</sup>

Thus Betty Parry and her generation were being outflanked by the young people who had no desire to shoulder the type of identity marked out by the older people. But it was not a swift transition from ethnic consciousness to disregard of the same and neither was the change without its tensions. On the one hand there were many who still held on to the language as a flag of Welshness, who deplored its loss as an eradication of Welsh identity and criticised those amongst their compatriots who disagreed. On the other hand there were those who viewed the language as, virtually, a useless appendage when compared with American-English<sup>119</sup> and were annoyed with the exhortations to adhere to Welsh. There were even those in this latter group who acclaimed the superseding of English as part of the Divine Plan.<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> Jones, *Wales in America*, 113.

<sup>118</sup> Conzen, Gerber, Morawska, Pozzetta and Vecoli, eds., 'The Invention of Ethnicity: A Perspective from the USA,' 13.

<sup>119</sup> Many had argued in *Y Drych* from the 1860s that American-English should be the main language of Welsh-Americans. *Y Drych*, however, was not in agreement: Jones and Jones, *Welsh Reflections: Y Drych and America 1851-2001*, 55.

<sup>120</sup> Rufus Jones wrote in *Y Drych* on January 18, 1900, that the growth of English was part of God's Divine plan and therefore it should hold precedence over Welsh in the chapels. In the same newspaper on 1 February, 1900, the comment is made that some languages have to disappear.

By the 1930s the ebb of the language was far advanced as is testified in the following comment by E. Cynolwyn Pugh of Chicago<sup>121</sup> on the language of public religious observance:

[Large parts of the State of Winsconsin, which were Welsh years ago, are today wholly English; that is, insofar as worshipping in Welsh is in question, and without the influence of the churches the Welsh language is dying and all other Welsh attributes.]<sup>122</sup>

Thus, in Pugh's estimation, the termination of worship through the medium of Welsh betokened the termination of the language and of Welsh identity. Furthermore he was aghast at the speed whereby the language was being relegated to oblivion:

[There are many families in Chicago who came here from different parts of Wales duiring the last twenty years whose children were born in Wales, but those children today – the first generation, remember, – *have lost their Welsh!*]<sup>123</sup>

He made a further comment that the only youngsters who conversed and played in Welsh in the church in Chicago where he ministered, were his children and those of a family newly arrived from Ystradgynlais less than a year before. Inherent in his statement is the factor, that had been raised at the end of the nineteenth century and that was to be raised many times on the pages of the two Welsh-American newspapers involved in this study, namely that the survival of the language, and all that pertained to it, depended on the will of the people.

Another who noted with alarm the ebb of the Welsh language was W. B. Jones, the treasurer and manager of *The Druid*. He stressed that, in 1934, there were ten times fewer Welsh speakers in the US than there had been thirty-five years previously and warned that the very essence of Welshness in America was on the threshold of becoming extinct:

Welsh America, of which we are individually and collectively a part, is at the cross roads. One way leads to the heights of co-ordinated endeavour, by which sons and daughters of Wales, and their descendants, may continue to pursue their course as a distinguishable unit in this great land. The other road ends in oblivion nearby, leaving nothing extant of Welsh-America other than a meagre historical mention of past contributions to America's development...<sup>124</sup>

In the same vein was the correspondence of T. Ellis Evans who sought to arouse his fellow Welsh-Americans to the imminent danger of losing their identity in the aftermath of losing the language. He, apparently accepting that the loss of the language in chapel circles was

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<sup>121</sup> He emigrated in 1928 and was at various times minister in Chicago and New York. His autobiography, *Ei Ffanffer ei Hun* won the Prose Medal in the National Eisteddfod at Ebbw Vale in 1958: E. Cynolwyn Pugh, *Ei Ffanffer ei Hun, sef Hunan-gofiant Cynolwyn* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1959).

<sup>122</sup> E. Cynolwyn Pugh, 'Y Gymraeg yn America' ('Welsh in America'), *Y Ford Gron* 1, no.9 (1931): 23.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> *The Druid*, February 24, 1934.

inevitable, proposed other areas whereby Welsh could be implemented to maintain ethnic identity, such as Welsh-language religious programmes on the radio, and Welsh historical societies.<sup>125</sup>

Evans's latter suggestion could very probably explain, to a great extent, the plethora of Welsh societies established during this period when Welsh was ebbing away. They betokened an attempt by some Welsh-Americans to clutch at their endangered ethnic identity. In 1925, for example, the Welsh of Seattle declared their intention to organise a Welsh historical society that would inform the Welsh people, in the city and the state, of Welsh affairs and events both in the home country and in the United States.<sup>126</sup> Again, in 1933 the Welsh Culture Club of Buffalo, New York, was founded with the following declared aim:

to promote Welsh culture with an especial effort to interest the young people in all matters relating to 'Yr Hen Wlad' ...<sup>127</sup>

The Welsh-Cambrian society of Summit County was formed in 1938 by the Welsh of Akron, Ohio<sup>128</sup> and the Welsh Society of Pittsburgh was formed in 1939, the latter with the aim of:  
cementing of Cymric ties in Greater Pittsburgh and Allegheny County...<sup>129</sup>

Thus the fear of ethnic extinction impelled some to gather together to proclaim their identity. Yet assimilation seemed to be even stronger than the urge to maintain ethnicity for, at the beginning of the 1930s, the editor of *Y Drych* professed that it was difficult to keep such societies going: interest in the affairs of the home country was lessening and leading to loss of interest in all things Welsh.<sup>130</sup> This was especially true, he averred, in the case of the young and those born in America.<sup>131</sup>

But the Welsh-American communities still clung to their annual St David's Day dinners,<sup>132</sup> which were well-attended affairs. Quite often there would be hundreds of guests, as there were in Washington DC in 1926<sup>133</sup> and in Utica in 1933.<sup>134</sup> The customary pattern at these events was the inclusion of a rousing speech given by someone of note and of Welsh

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<sup>125</sup> *Y Drych*, June 15, 1933.

<sup>126</sup> *Y Drych*, November 5, 1925.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, November 23, 1933.

<sup>128</sup> *The Druid*, May 1, 1938.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, January 1, 1939.

<sup>130</sup> Even *The Druid*, which was an English-medium Welsh-American newspaper, was progressively becoming redundant and ceased publication in 1939, thereby supporting the above claim that interest in Welsh matters was waning considerably.

<sup>131</sup> *Y Drych*, October 23, 1930.

<sup>132</sup> But an oath of allegiance to the American flag would be taken at the outset of proceedings: Ellis, 'The Welsh in Utica,' 134.

<sup>133</sup> *Y Drych*, March 18, 1926.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, March 2, 1933.

descent when, usually, the opportunity was taken to verbally assault England and the English.<sup>135</sup> In 1926, for example, under the heading ‘Dathlu Gwyl Dewi Sant yn y Brif Ddinas’ (Celebrating St David’s Day in the Capital City), *Y Drych* reported that the speaker had asked what Dewi Sant would say in reference to the present situation in Wales. The reply he gave was the following:

[I believe that he would never have inclined his mind and intention towards seeing Wales being sold in slavery to England.]<sup>136</sup>

At the 1931 St David’s Day banquet in Buffalo the speaker, Colonel H. B. Jones from a Christian social-services organization, ‘The American Rescue Mission’, declared that Wales had never been conquered and that it had been ‘tricked’ into becoming part of Great Britain.<sup>137</sup>

Yet even the St David’s Day dinners made evident the loss of the one, unique factor which had distinguished most Welsh-Americans. English had become the medium of the event: everything, said ‘Coslett’ writing in 1934, apart from eating, was conducted in English, a deplorable state of affairs and completely unacceptable on the patron saint’s day.<sup>138</sup>

The same grievance was expressed by the Revd J. H. Davies at the end of the decade. He lamented that Welsh-American societies were having to change the medium of proceedings from Welsh to English in order to prolong their existence by appealing to the Welsh-American youth:

The majority of our young people have become American in their mode of life; they know nothing of, nor care for, our traditions...<sup>139</sup>

Even the Eisteddfod was gradually being Anglicized. In 1856, in Utica, the Eisteddfod had presented an almost completely Welsh programme and had continued to do so until 1918. But by 1930 almost half of the programme was in English, and by 1948 it had completely replaced the Welsh language.<sup>140</sup>

*Y Drych* was not exempt from the pervading dominance of English to the detriment of Welsh. The paper was having to deal with declining numbers of subscriptions and in 1931 a correspondent, Mrs Eifion Jones formerly of Bethel, Caernarfon, used her column ‘Gair o

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<sup>135</sup> This was in direct contrast to speeches on St David’s Day in Canada, for example in Hamilton, where loyal toasts to the King and the Royal Family were proposed and the ‘English’ Anthem sung: *Y Drych*, March 19, 1931. In London, Ontario, at ‘Cymdeithas y Cymmrodorion’'s annual St David’s Day banquet a toast to the Empire was proposed: *Y Drych*, April 2, 1931.

<sup>136</sup> *Y Drych*, March 18, 1926.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, March 26, 1931.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, March 8, 1934.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, June 22, 1939.

<sup>140</sup> Ellis, ‘The Welsh in Utica,’ 131.

Lansford' ('A Word from Lansford') to advise that the paper should become an English-language newspaper if it was to survive.<sup>141</sup> However, testifying to the tensions which were being created by the loss of the language, was the stern response of 'Americanwr' a few weeks later. He totally disagreed with Mrs Eifion Jones and took the opportunity to criticise those parents who had not transferred the language to their offspring. Although he himself, he said, had been born in the USA, his parents had decided that he should learn the Welsh language, thereby equipping him with the means to write and speak Welsh. The transference of the language, he opined, made him no less an American; on the contrary it strengthened his allegiance.<sup>142</sup>

In another instance of tension 'Glyndwr', who had challenged Welsh parents not to send their children to English-medium churches, as this would further weaken its usage,<sup>143</sup> was met with a sharp retort from 'Ymdeithydd'. The latter chose to centre on the fact that no one language was more virtuous than the other in the province of worship. But his true attitude was revealed when he accused those who wished to preserve the language of illiberalism and intractability:

[Why don't they stay in Wales if they are not liberal enough to [respond to] the needs of society in a new country?]<sup>144</sup>

It seems that 'Ymdeithydd' believed that language loss was the natural precursor to assimilation.

Similarly 'Hen Gymro', a few years previously, had advised that the demise of the language was imminent and had seemed perfectly amenable to its passing:

[neither our language nor our nation will live for long! Let her sleep in peace!]<sup>145</sup>

Seemingly the demise of the language and even of the nation was the acceptable price for Americanization.

Apparently Sam Ellis,<sup>146</sup> also, was ready to forego the Welsh language in the interests of assimilation. He opined that parents who attempted to foist the language and Welshness onto their offspring were creating unnecessary hostility: the USA was as dear to the young people

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<sup>141</sup> *Y Drych*, February 5, 1931.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, March 12, 1931.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, February 19, 1931.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, April 1, 1926.

<sup>146</sup> Frequently referred to as 'Sam Ellis Utica' he was the author of *Ann y Foty yn Myn'd i'r Môr ac Ystraeon Eraill*, published in Utica, N.Y., in 1913. He won a prize in the National Eisteddfod of Wales in 1952: Ellis, 'The Welsh in Utica,' 127-35. He was one of the longest serving, most prolific, most respected and influential columnist in *Y Drych*. His prose was much admired by none other than that literary giant, Kate Roberts: Jones and Jones, *Welsh Reflections*, 111.

as Wales was to them, and if the Welsh people had any contribution to make to America then it would have to be through the medium of English. Yet assimilation and contribution to the host country seem to have been only a part of the reason for Ellis's easy acceptance of the demise of the language; he appears to be equating the Welsh language and ethnic identity with nationalism:

[I know of instances where the Welsh Circle is despised by the young because their parents are making a nuisance of their nationalism.]<sup>147</sup>

Thus the desire to prolong identity which was enshrined in language and culture was identified as 'nationalism' by the aforementioned writer, and it would seem that 'nationalism' was not to his liking.<sup>148</sup>

In view of the contrasting comments which appeared in the press of Welsh-America in the 1920s and 1930s it seems that the linguistic dynamics with their accompanying implications of identity on the one hand and assimilation on the other were ones of increasing polarisation.

In 1851 the then editor of *Y Drych*, John Morgan Jones, had stated that the Welsh language was the keeper of the past history of Wales and its people and it was the means by which that history was preserved. It was inextricably linked with the essence of being Welsh. This avowal would have been understood and accepted by Saunders Lewis but, by the time that he had founded Plaid Cymru, the language in Welsh-America was in terminal decline and, also, the Welshness that pertained to it. Would the new political party in Wales be able to reassert Welsh identity in Welsh-America by inserting a political dimension into the waning consciousness of ethnicity, or did assimilation demand a rebuttal of the language and culture which, it seems, many Welsh-Americans held so lightly by the time of the party's formation?

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<sup>147</sup> *Y Drych*, January 19, 1933.

<sup>148</sup> Ellis's reaction to the nationalism of Plaid Cymru will be referred to in Chapter Five.

### Chapter 3

#### Proactive expatriates: making contact with Plaid Cymru

Having established in the previous chapter that ‘Welshness’ was in decline in the Welsh-American communities and concluding in Chapter One that Plaid Cymru, which had emerged to defend ‘Welshness’, was a peripheral political force with nebulous ambitions, this chapter will seek to convey the response of the former to the latter. Initially, however, it will present the reaction of a small number of expatriates who were resident in countries other than the USA so as to place the emigrant’s response to Plaid Cymru in a wider context.

The first known Welsh expatriates to contact Plaid Cymru were two engineers, the one working in Egypt and the other in Bengal. E. Leigh Pierce who wrote on 18 June 1932, from Aswan, Egypt, must have been a civil engineer as the address given in the letter is that of a specific civil engineering firm whose managing director at one time was a Welshman.<sup>1</sup> The purpose of Pierce’s correspondence is made evident in the opening sentence of his letter:

[Is it possible for someone who spends most of his time in foreign countries to become a member of the National Party?... For us who live in foreign countries, it is also quite evident that only a few foreigners realise that there is any difference between a Welshman and an Englishman. I wish you every success with the work; carry on and more Welsh people will come to see, month by month, that the only hope for our country is to break free from the imperialist government of England.]<sup>2</sup>

It is apparent that this correspondent who, as he stated, lived abroad for most of the time, was made more aware of his identity by the fact that the vast majority of foreign people had no idea that the Welsh were different from the English. In consequence he was ready to join a political party that stressed the difference between the people of Wales and those of the neighbouring country. Furthermore his closing remarks, which equate hope for Wales with freedom from English imperialism, suggest that he was well acquainted with the rhetoric of the party although the source of his information was not disclosed.

His query was answered in the affirmative by the editor of *Y Ddraig Goch* who took the opportunity to claim that the correspondence from Egypt proved that Welshmen worldwide were watching events in Wales and wanted to assist in fostering the nation’s nationalism. He addressed the readers thus:

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<sup>1</sup> The address given is c/o Topham Jones & Railton, Aswan, Yr Aifft (Egypt). This was a civil engineering firm that was responsible for work for government departments or public undertakings at Gibraltar, Fishguard Harbour, Singapore, the Aswan Dam &c. Sir Evan David Jones, 1<sup>st</sup> Baronet of Pentower, Fishguard, became its managing director: *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography 1941-1970*, 124.

<sup>2</sup> *Y Ddraig Goch*, January 1932.

[We publish this interesting letter as an example of the way in which Welsh people across the world are carefully following the course of life in Wales, and are wishing to support the nationalism of our nation.]<sup>3</sup>

Unfortunately for Plaid Cymru, E. Leigh Pierce seems to have gone on to embrace another cause for in 1943 a person of the same name appears as one of the contributors to the 'Labour Monthly Guarantee Fund' in the *Labour Monthly*,<sup>4</sup> a magazine associated with the Communist Party of Great Britain.

In the year following the publication of Pierce's letter, Plaid Cymru was contacted by another engineer working under the British Government overseas, namely R. F. Evans, a twenty-five year old Welshman who lived in Bengal.<sup>5</sup> The purpose of his letter was to request the name of a young man who was committed to the party and who would be willing to correspond with him so that he could be kept closely informed of Plaid's progress. According to Evans some information would reach him from time to time, maybe by way of letters from home, but he did not feel that it was enough:

[Here it is impossible to keep as closely in touch with the movements of the National Party as to satisfy me.]<sup>6</sup>

The editor of *Y Ddraig Goch* responded, noting that the party's general organizer was always ready to arrange an exchange of letters and that, in fact, such exchanges were already happening between party members and two expatriates, the one who was serving in the Indian Army and who was corresponding with a Plaid Cymru member who lived in Cardiff and the other who was residing in Jamaica. Unfortunately neither correspondent is named and nothing further seems to have been recorded regarding the relationship between Evans and Plaid. However these contacts, although few in number, portray an eagerness amongst expatriates to become acquainted with a party that was challenging the *status quo* in Wales.

Bengal and Egypt may not have been at the forefront of countries that spring to mind in relation to Welsh expatriates, but interest had also been shown by individuals residing in places more obviously associated with Welsh settlements, such as Canada. A letter was received from Hamilton,<sup>7</sup> Canada, written by a person who signed himself, R.T.W.E., and

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> 'Labour Monthly Guarantee Fund,' *Labour Monthly*, August, 1943.

<sup>5</sup> He was probably attached to 'King George Vs Own Bengal Sappers and Miners', engineers who rendered valuable peacetime contributions: 'Bengal Engineer Groups' accessed November 6, 2013, [http://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bengal\\_Engineer\\_Group](http://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bengal_Engineer_Group).

<sup>6</sup> *Y Ddraig Goch*, March 1933.

<sup>7</sup> No mention is made of any Welsh settlement in Hamilton in the following works on the Welsh in Canada: M. E. Chamberlain, ed., *The Welsh in Canada* (Swansea: University of Wales Canadian Studies Group, 1986); Peter Thomas, *Strangers from a Secret Land: The Voyages of the Brig Albion and the Founding of the First*



whose support for Plaid Cymru becomes evident by way of criticism of other entities. The Welsh Society of Hamilton was condemned because of its intention to establish a branch of the Round Table, an organization with which Plaid Cymru had, apparently, crossed swords. Thus criticism, of both the Welsh Society and the Round Table, enable the writer's inferred support for Plaid to be recorded:

[The wisest thing for the [Round] Table, if it doesn't see eye to eye with Plaid, is to shut up.]<sup>8</sup>

The other object of his criticism was the populace of Wales whose support for Plaid Cymru was, in his view, so tepid compared with that of expatriates worldwide, and especially with that of the Hamilton Welsh. The latter who, based on the census of 1930 numbered 3,000-4,000 in a city of 155,000, were far better Welshmen and more patriotic than their compatriots at home. Their fervour, wrote R.T.W.E., was expressed in the tumultuous noise heard during the St David's Day banquet in 1932 when it was recounted that Plaid Cymru members had removed the Union Jack and had hoisted the Red Dragon on the Eagle Tower in Caernarfon.<sup>9</sup> But amidst his purported support there was no offer of aid from the correspondent, neither financial nor in the way of personal campaigning, and furthermore there is no record that the Hamilton Welsh offered assistance to Plaid Cymru. On the other hand, there is no evidence that the party made any overtures to this community, even though it would have been an ideal group with which Plaid Cymru could have forged links.

Two other letters from Canada were printed in *Y Ddraig Goch* at the end of the 1930s bearing the initials, R.W.<sup>10</sup> The correspondent's first letter in 1938<sup>11</sup> was written to acquaint readers of the party's publication with the news of an impending royal visit to Canada and the second letter, in 1939,<sup>12</sup> elaborated on the reason for the recent visit, which was, wrote R.W., an effort to quell disagreement and unrest from within Canada. According to the correspondent, 'England' had proposed establishing a bombing school in Canada which would be under the authority of the 'English' Air Force, to which the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr King, had responded with a demand that Canada should be allowed full-

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*Welsh Settlements in Canada* (Llandysul: Gomer Press, 1986); Carol Bennett, *In Search of the Red Dragon; the Welsh in Canada* (Boulder, CO: Juniper Books, 1985), but Hamilton Welsh Society is noted on the following web page, 'Welsh Societies Across the World,' accessed November 18, 2013, [www.walesbooks.com/societies1.php](http://www.walesbooks.com/societies1.php).

<sup>8</sup> *Y Ddraig Goch*, November 1932.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> This could be R. Wynne of Hamilton who wrote to *Y Drych* in support of the incident at Penyberth: see Chapter Five.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, December 1938.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, December 1939.

governance in return for allowing the school. Consequently, as R.W. stated, English imperialists reacted and, as they had done in Wales,<sup>13</sup> they arranged for the Royal Circus ('Syrcaas Brenhinol') to visit Canada in the spring. Thus, noted R.W., had the Crown been used as a tool by England's imperialists to quell disagreement, a ploy to which Wales was well used.

Plaid Cymru had also received two letters in 1937 from a correspondent using the pseudonym 'Canadiad', which naturally suggests that he was another Welsh-Canadian. His first letter, in January, was in response to hearing on the radio that Edward VIII had abdicated giving him the idea that the party should ask the royal personage whether he would come and live amongst the Welsh as their prince. He admitted that it was rather a fanciful notion but one that should be discussed as it could work:

[Here is a plan that suddenly struck me when listening, on the radio today, to the contents of the abdication document of the King. A very fanciful plan, certainly, but one to be discussed, and one that would work. Ask the former king, Edward VIII, whether he would come and live in Wales as your prince if you were to have self-government and legal permission in that context by the Government of England.]<sup>14</sup>

The correspondent seemed to believe that this move by Plaid Cymru would engender massive support:

[Would you not find every person from every party in Wales supporting you?]<sup>15</sup>

Dominion Status had been one of the party's main objectives since 1931 and the full declaration of the new policy before the General Election in that year expressed loyalty to the British Crown. In this context, as has been stated in Chapter One, it was anticipated that a self-governing Wales would have a Crown representative as did other Dominions, a goal which was in line with Saunders Lewis's monarchist sympathies.<sup>16</sup> Thus the suggestion made by 'Canadiad' was not utterly fanciful as it took into account both Plaid's policy regarding the type of self-government it envisaged and the popularity of the British Royal Family. Concerning the latter, even *Y Ddraig Goch* had been happy to include in its columns a translation of a statement made by Edward VIII, when he was Prince of Wales, referring to his regard for Wales:

<sup>13</sup> It is not clear to which royal visit he was referring.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., January 1937.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid. Edward VIII was extremely popular in Wales, especially after his tour of the depressed areas of the south in 1936 when he had said that something had to be done. A young nurse from Barry, who had seen him in Mountain Ash, wrote to him saying, 'I think you must have felt how sincerely the Welsh people love and admire you.' Another woman from Wales wrote to him in December 1936 saying, 'By your stooping to us... you have gained... the deepest love and trust... we down here in Wales are grateful': Susan Williams, *The People's King, The True Story of the Abdication* (London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 2003), 8, 9.

<sup>16</sup> Davies, *The Welsh Nationalist Party 1925-1945*, 83-84.

[I love the Basques. They are a proud and independent people... We, in Great Britain, have a country which reminds me of the Basque regions. That country is Wales.]<sup>17</sup>

But ‘Canadiad’ was wise enough to realise that not everyone, not even every member of Plaid although their leader had pronounced himself a monarchist, would be happy to welcome one of the British Royal Family as their Prince even though he had the blood of Owain Tudor in his veins (‘gwaed Owain Tudur yn ei wythiennau’). He thus warned that there would have to be pragmatism and a willingness to compromise before any measure of self-government could be obtained:

[One must give in to many trifles that we do not like before we will be given the smallest measure of self-government. Here is an opportunity. Get down to it at once]<sup>18</sup>

It seems that ‘Canadiad’ was unaware that powerful sections of the British Establishment had come to view the former King as ‘persona non grata’ and that they, more than any Welsh anti-monarchist, would make sure that Edward would never become a representative of the Crown in Wales.

A second letter arrived from ‘Canadiad’ in April 1937 in which he praised *Y Ddraig Goch* as being the liveliest political newspaper in Wales and declared that it was one that he enjoyed reading:

[Without doubt this is by far the liveliest political newspaper in Wales at the moment.]<sup>19</sup>

The letter was written in response to an article by Gwynfor Evans which had discussed the wretched impact of imperialism on the state of the world.<sup>20</sup> ‘Canadiad’ had come to the conclusion that in a world dominated by capitalist imperialism, Plaid Cymru would have to adopt a degree of some sort of socialism:

[The Party... must, however, swallow a measure of some sort of Socialism.]<sup>21</sup>

There was of course, as has been noted in Chapter One, a strong socialist element running through the party, even though its leader held conservative views, and the advice given by

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<sup>17</sup> *Y Ddraig Goch*, October 1934.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, January 1937.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, April 1937.

<sup>20</sup> The article was entitled, ‘Brwydr y Blaid yn erbyn Rhyfel, Awgrym o Bolisi’ (The battle of Plaid Cymru against War, a Policy Suggestion). It stated that the war that was looming would be the result of imperialist quarrels (‘cwerylon imperialaidd sydd wrth wraidd y drwg...’) and called on the Welsh people to resist fighting and to profess pacifism: *Ibid.*, January 1937.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, April 1937.

‘Canadiad’ would have struck a chord with many of the rank and file members. But it must be remembered that Plaid Cymru had already published a pamphlet by D. J. Davies and probably his wife Noelle (see Chapter One) in 1931 entitled *The Economics of Welsh Self-Government* which was based:

predominantly on decentralist socialist policies and including the large-scale nationalisation of key industries.<sup>22</sup>

and this work had been welcomed by Saunders Lewis,<sup>23</sup> although he himself was to publish his *Ten Points of Policy* in 1934 thus making the pamphlet’s recommendations inconsequential (see Chapter One). Whether ‘Canadiad’ knew of these publications or not, it is evident that he felt that the party was failing to expound socialist values as an antidote to the prevailing capitalism of the period.

A short note from a correspondent using the *nom de plume* ‘Canadian’ was included in *Y Ddraig Goch* in April 1940. Was this one and the same as ‘Canadiad’ whose letters had appeared in Welsh in previous issues of that newspaper? The brief sentence that ‘Canadian’ wrote to accompany a small donation to Plaid Cymru is reminiscent of the rhetoric of the imperialist powers to justify the Second World War and also the First World War. He wrote:

I enclose 1 dollar to help a small nation to get a square deal.<sup>24</sup>

Not only do the words chosen by ‘Canadian’ indicate that he was familiar with the political spiel of the period, and also with Plaid Cymru’s platform regarding the rights of small nations in respect of Wales, but they also seem to have inspired an article in the next issue of *Y Ddraig Goch*<sup>25</sup> entitled ‘Anghyfiawnder Lloegr at Gymru, “Ymladd dros Ryddid” gan Sathru ar Wlad Fechan’ (The Injustice of England towards Wales, ‘Fighting for Freedom’ and Trampling on a Small Country). Its author reminded readers of a sentence written in *The Times*, ‘the primary newspaper of the governors of England’ (prif bapur llywodraethwyr Lloegr’) on 31 August 1939, on the eve of war. It read:

If war should break out from the present dispute, it will be fought on the British, French and Polish side for the right of small countries to live their own lives, and for the maintenance of national and individual liberties in Europe.

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<sup>22</sup> McAllister, *Plaid Cymru: The Emergence of a Political Party*, 27.

<sup>23</sup> In 1929 Saunders Lewis had stated his hope that the co-operative type of decentralist socialism, which was later advocated by D. J. Davies and others, would never become such an autocracy in Wales that one could only buy from a society, a factory or a creamery. However, less than two years later he had been completely won over by the gospel of co-operation: T. Robin Chapman, *Un Bywyd O Blith Nifer* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 2006), 145.

<sup>24</sup> *Y Ddraig Goch*, April 1940.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, May 1940.

The author of the Welsh article, in which the above quote is included, maintained that numerous nations and peoples could testify to the hypocrisy and deceit of the above assertions and he declared that the oppressed nation that was nearest to England was Wales. Wales, he averred, had been consistently scorned by the Government of England and its national rights disregarded since the outbreak of the war. Thus it could be claimed that one sentence and a dollar from an expatriate in Canada had inspired the party to once again state their grievance against England, and to assert their conviction that the voice of Wales was the voice of a small nation that had a right to be heard separately from that of its neighbour.

Of the above correspondents only 'Canadiad' specifically mentions receiving one of Plaid Cymru's publications, namely *Y Ddraig Goch*, but a letter from Mr T. M. Salmon in Bermuda in 1932<sup>26</sup> asking for three Welsh Dragon Flags from a company in Caernarfon was the direct result of the correspondent reading an advert in *Y Ddraig Goch* and *The Welsh Nationalist*. Another letter from Bermuda in 1933 expressing the writer's reaction after a visit to Wales is clearly sympathetic to Plaid's aims:

[I saw on the one hand signs of life and dignity and hope – many Welsh convinced about the future of the Nation and the Language. On the other hand I saw a crowd of servile butlers that are not worthy of the name Welsh [people], satisfied for fashion's sake for their country to become a dung-heap. They must, before long, clash. We must call our people to battle.]<sup>27</sup>

Whilst these isolated letters testify to interest in the party amongst expatriates, they also indicate that the interest seemed to be confined to individuals, which was only what could be expected in such cases as Bengal and Egypt but, as there were thousands of Welsh expatriates in Canada, there was the possibility that a coordinated response might have been mobilised. Yet this was not the case. Furthermore, despite the obvious interest and the rhetorical support for the cause, no assistance, apart from one dollar, was offered by the correspondents at a time when Plaid Cymru was struggling both financially and politically. On the other hand it must be noted that the party does not seem to have taken advantage of the channels opened by these letters which could have, possibly, led to support-foci overseas. This is especially true in the case of the Canadian expatriate correspondents who could have created an access into Canada's Welsh community. And yet, although the openings presented by these letters did not develop into further relationship, the correspondence is not insignificant because it shows that, even when international communication was limited, news of this miniscule

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid., November 1932.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., June 1933.

political party operating on the periphery in Wales had reached such outposts of Empire as Egypt and Bengal.

The relationship between the aforementioned expatriates and Plaid Cymru appears to have been initiated by the individuals themselves, although the party was consequently very ready to publicise their interest, and it seems that the pattern was the same in the case of Welsh-Americans.<sup>28</sup> ‘Amerigo Cambrensis’, a New York Welshman, penned a letter that was published in *Y Ddraig Goch* in 1937<sup>29</sup> and that had been written in response to a newspaper article entitled ‘A Welsh Survey’, whose author used the *nom de plume* ‘Celt’.<sup>30</sup> ‘Celt’ had averred that very few of the Welsh immigrants in England were passing on the language to their children and ‘Amerigo Cambrensis’ wanted to stress that what he had experienced amongst Welsh immigrants in America was very different:

[Regarding the emigration of Welsh people to England, few, as ‘Celt’ says, are likely to teach their children Welsh. But I know Welsh people born here in New York, and even in California, who speak Welsh as fluently as if they had been born in Wales.]<sup>31</sup>

His assertion is in direct contrast to the majority of the comments made by Welsh emigrants in America, such as E. Cynolwyn Pugh, which were quoted in the previous chapter; yet there is no reason to dispute his assertion as there could well be clusters of Welsh speakers, such as the children that ap Rambler<sup>32</sup> referred to, who recited their verses in Welsh in a Los Angeles church.<sup>33</sup>

Portraying a Welsh-America that was safeguarding its linguistic heritage, the correspondent was also eager to note that the emigrant community was producing men of note:

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<sup>28</sup> But in February 1942, *Y Ddraig Goch*, under the heading ‘Cyfeillion a pherthnasau yn yr Amerig,’ carried the following message: ‘Gofyn y Parchg. Lewis Valentine, gohebydd Americanaidd y Blaid, am enwau a chyfeiriadau Cymry yn yr Amerig; a wna pawb sydd a pherthnasau neu gyfeillion yno anfon eu henwau a’u cyfeiriadau i’r Swyddfa, fel y gall Mr Valentine gyflwyno polisi’r Blaid i’w hystyriaeth?’ (The Revd Valentine, Plaid’s American correspondent, asks for names and addresses of Welsh people in America; will everyone who has relatives or friends there send their names and addresses to the Office so that Mr Valentine can introduce Plaid’s policy for their consideration?). There does not appear to be any record of a Plaid American correspondent prior to this.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, December 1937.

<sup>30</sup> ‘Celt’ was a *nom de plume* used by the journalist E. Morgan Humphreys, who wrote under that name for the *Liverpool Daily Post*: Jones, *Tros Gymru*, 256. The article had been sent to ‘Amerigo Cambrensis’ by a friend who was visiting Wales.

<sup>31</sup> *Y Ddraig Goch*, December 1937.

<sup>32</sup> John Morgan who was living in Garfield, Utah, in 1919: *Monmouth Guardian*, December 19, 1919.

<sup>33</sup> Ap Rambler, ‘Y Gymraeg yn America,’ in *Y Ford Gron* 1, no. 9 (1931): 23.

[Our Chief Justice, the highest solicitor in the land, Charles Evans Hughes,<sup>34</sup> is the son of a Welshman. John Llewelyn Lewis,<sup>35</sup> the aggressive Labour leader, is another Welshman.]<sup>36</sup>

Yet, whilst praising the Welsh expatriates, he introduced a political note into his letter not only by asserting that emigration was due to the economic situation in Wales but also by a thinly-veiled exhortation to the Welsh people to aspire for better:

[It surprises me that the Welsh Nation has endured these circumstances for so long and so patiently as it appears they have done.]<sup>37</sup>

In his view the answer to the economic plight of Wales was Home Rule, and his suggestion that the economic argument in the case of Welsh Home Rule should be presented to the people of Wales displays an awareness of Plaid Cymru's need to engage with fiscal matters:

[The economic facts should be impressed upon the people and they should be taught that they are fully able to pay for self-government. Northern Ireland could be taken as an example, a province whose population is less than that of Wales.]<sup>38</sup>

His friends, however, held a different view:

[When I discuss the problems of Wales with friends, of which only a few desire self-government for [the country], I am incensed to hear them arguing that Wales is not ready for self-government or that Wales can not afford self-government or that Wales is not yet experienced enough to have self-government.]<sup>39</sup>

The differing views of 'Amerigo Cambrensis' and his friends replicated the opposing views held by the populace of Wales, but Plaid Cymru would have been heartened by the fact that its aims were being discussed and argued over in Welsh-America.

The letter was written after the Penyberrth incident and expressed the view that D. J. Williams, Saunders Lewis and Lewis Valentine were the latter-day Tom Ellis and Ellis

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<sup>34</sup> No reference is made to his Welsh heritage by Columbia University: 'Charles Evans Hughes,' accessed August 21, 2013, [c250.columbia.edu/c250\\_celebrates/remarkable\\_columbians/charles\\_hughes.html](http://c250.columbia.edu/c250_celebrates/remarkable_columbians/charles_hughes.html). The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* states that his father was an immigrant from England: 'Charles Evans Hughes,' accessed August 21, 2013, [www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/274906/Charles-Evans-Hughes](http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/274906/Charles-Evans-Hughes). His father, however, was David Charles Hughes, a Welsh Baptist Minister who emigrated from Tredegar, Wales: Ashton, *The Welsh in the United States*, 13, and W. Arvon Roberts, *150 Famous Welsh Americans* (Llwyndyrys: Llygad Gwalch, 2008), 85.

<sup>35</sup> The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* lists Lewis as being the son of Welsh immigrants: 'John L. Lewis,' accessed August 21, 2013, [www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/338179/John-L-Lewis](http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/338179/John-L-Lewis). He was born in a mining camp in Cleveland, Ohio. His mother was from Tredegar and his father from Hendy, Pontarddulais. He worked the Ohio mines before becoming president of the United Mineworkers and was responsible for creating the Committee for Industrial Organisations. Of him it was said that 'He had dramatic, successful and highly newsworthy confrontations with the mighty General Motors, the United States Steel Companies and other industrial giants': Ashton, *The Welsh in the United States*, 157; Roberts, *150 Famous Welsh Americans*, 138.

<sup>36</sup> *Y Ddraig Goch*, December 1937.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

Griffith,<sup>40</sup> two former Liberal politicians who, as Cambrensis wrote, had done something constructive for Wales rather than merely take home their wages. His expressed hope was that the three, whom he dubbed, ‘heroes’, would be elected to Parliament to follow in the footsteps of the abovementioned Liberals. Thus, although advocating Home Rule, he still thought in terms of Westminster.

There is no evidence that the two prominent Welsh-Americans named by Cambrensis ever contacted Plaid Cymru and neither, seemingly, did the Pennsylvanian Senator and previously named author of *The Iron Puddler*, James J. Davis<sup>41</sup> who was named in *The Welsh Nationalist* as ‘the latest recruit to the Welsh Home Rule movement.’<sup>42</sup> But, as was stated in the Introduction, Davis did make known his preference for Home Rule rather than Dominion Status through R. H. Davies (see Chapter Six) only to have his suggestion abruptly dismissed by J. E. Jones who asserted that Wales was a nation in its own right and thus completely different from England, and with a different point of view with regard to international affairs.<sup>43</sup> Davis had also expressed views that were compatible with Plaid Cymru’s ideology and that were subsequently reported in *The Welsh Nationalist*:

As a native son, I have no hesitation in saying that Wales is entitled to Home Rule and the inherent right to perpetuate its ancient language, foster its ideals, customs

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<sup>40</sup> Sir Ellis (Jones) Ellis-Griffith. In 1895 he was elected Liberal MP for Anglesey, where he had been brought up, but lost the seat to Labour in 1914. In 1912 he was elected chairman of the Welsh Parliamentary Committee to succeed Sir Alfred Thomas. He took a prominent part in steering the Disestablishment Bill through the Commons and in 1918, was created a baronet. He was elected again to Parliament in December 1923 as MP for Carmarthen District but resigned in 1924: *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography down to 1940*, 215.

<sup>41</sup> He had visited Wales in 1937 but there is nothing to suggest that he contacted Plaid Cymru: *The Druid*, December 1, 1937. His surname was changed from Davies to Davis on immigration but he still signed himself, ‘Davies’. He had emigrated with his parents to the United States in 1881 and, after securing employment in a tin-plate works in Elwood, Indiana, in 1893 he had entered public life and had been elected president of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers. This was but the start of his success for in 1907 he became director-general of the Loyal Order of Moose whose membership and financial assets blossomed under his leadership. In 1921 he was appointed American Secretary of Labour by President Warren Harding and was re-appointed by Presidents Calvin Coolidge and Herbert Hoover. He was elected US Senator for Pennsylvania, on the Republican ticket, in 1930 and remained in the Senate until 1945. ‘Davies, James John, (1873-1947),’ accessed September 17, 2013: <http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=d000111>. See also Bill Jones, ‘James John Davies 1873-1947’, in *Making It In America*, ed. Elliott Robert Barkan (Santa Barbara: ABC CLIO, 2001), 86-88. In 1912 he became one of the owners of the Welsh-American paper, *The Druid*. He was one of only three Archdruids ever elected to the American Gorsedd and he was also the president of the International Eisteddfod of Pittsburgh in 1913: Roberts, *150 Famous Welsh Americans*, 46. In *The Royal Blue Book* he is sometimes referred to by his bardic name ‘Cyfunydd’ and he is cited President of The Druid Publishing Company: Robert Humphrey Davies, *The Royal Blue Book* (Pittsburgh, PA: [The American Gorsedd], 1916), accessed February 18, 2012: <https://archive.org/details/royalbluebookpr00davigoog.195-96>. James Davis published his autobiography, *The Iron Puddler*, in 1922, three years before Plaid Cymru was founded. Naturally there is no mention of the party in the memoir but he does, at times, refer to Wales in nationalistic terms, e.g. ‘The Welsh are a small nation that has always had to fight against a big nation... The ancient invasions that poured across Britain were stopped in Wales, and they never could push the Welsh into the sea’: Davis, *The Iron Puddler*, 26.

<sup>42</sup> *The Welsh Nationalist*, March 1935.

<sup>43</sup> Davies, *The Welsh Nationalist Party 1925-1945*, 85, 120.



and aspirations, and to exercise that heaven-given gift of all free people – the opportunity to work out their own destiny...<sup>44</sup>

In linking Home Rule with the perpetuation of the language and all that related to it, and in using the term, ‘heaven-given gift’, Davis was repeating the sentiments, not only of Saunders Lewis, but also of Michael D. Jones and Emrys ap Iwan. Memories of the thunderings of the two latter patriots against England would also have been stirred by Davis’s portrayal of an imperialistic power denying Wales’s representatives ‘a respectful hearing in the House of Commons,’ and using oppressive measures to stifle the nation’s distinctiveness:

I am not condemning England because she is England, but merely pleading the just cause of Wales... England has not only appropriated territory that rightfully belonged to Wales, but polluted her ancient British church and made tyrannical efforts to exterminate the ancient Welsh language...

Furthermore, in a dinner held in his honour in Philadelphia in 1933, Davis had apparently declared his hope of seeing Welsh-Americans becoming as crucial to the cause of Welsh freedom as the Irish-Americans had been in the cause of Irish freedom.<sup>45</sup> Yet there is nothing to suggest that he ever took an active role in mobilising communities in support of Plaid Cymru. A man in his position, who played such a prominent role in Welsh-America, part-owning a Welsh-American newspaper, serving as an Archdruid and presiding over an International Eisteddfod in Pittsburgh, might have been able to influence the Welsh-American people in favour of the party, had he so wished.

Whilst Plaid Cymru does not seem to have received any direct communication from Davis the sentiments expressed by him suggest that the party was justified in claiming him as a supporter, but whether such was the case concerning Will Rogers the comedian and humourist and Myrna Loy the film-star is doubtful. Neither seems to have contacted the party but *The Welsh Nationalist* published reports from an American journalist<sup>46</sup> which declared that Rogers ‘was truly a friend of the Welsh people’. Apparently he was very aware of the important part that the Welsh people and their descendants had played ‘in the growth and progress of the United States’ and, as a result, the journalist had concluded thus:

We have a sneaking hunch that Mr Rogers was in sympathy with the cause of the Welsh Nationalists...<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> *The Welsh Nationalist*, March 1935.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, January 1934

<sup>46</sup> Wendell Goodwin who is discussed below.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, November 1935

Evidence for the ‘sneaking hunch’ was not disclosed and it is worth noting that, although he had Welsh ancestry, it was with his Cherokee forebearers that Rogers mainly identified.<sup>48</sup> In the same report Myrna Loy,<sup>49</sup> whose Welsh credentials were more evident than those of Rogers, was named as a party sympathiser,<sup>50</sup> but no information was offered to verify the claim. It is highly likely that the journalist was giving expression to his own hunches, or maybe reporting hearsay and burnishing half-truths, but the claims were valuable fodder for Plaid’s propaganda machine as they would give the impression that expatriates of note were rallying to the cause.

Wendell Goodwin, the journalist who provided the information, appears to have forged a connection with the party in that he contributed a few news items to *The Welsh Nationalist* over a two-year period. How he had become involved with Plaid is not clear as no private correspondence between him and any party officer or member seems to have survived but, in one of his reports, he mentioned *The Druid* as ‘a friend of the Welsh Nationalists’,<sup>51</sup> and it is very likely that he had come to know of the party through the writings of the editor, who supported the cause. ‘Pithy Paragraphs from America’ was the title of his first set of news items in *The Welsh Nationalist*.<sup>52</sup> They ranged from citing the intention of young men to form a unit in the USA and Canada to aid Wales in its fight for freedom to the potential support for the party in Lackawanna county and to his endeavours to acquaint America with news of the Welsh battle for freedom in the columns of various newspapers for which he wrote. The opening sentence of the first paragraph which stated how heartened they had been in America by the amazing gains that Plaid Cymru were making, must have taken readers of the party newspaper by surprise for this was at a time when Saunders Lewis was bemoaning the failure of the party to mount campaigns to gain representation both locally and

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<sup>48</sup> Ray Robinson, *American Original: A Life of Will Rogers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 6.

<sup>49</sup> Myrna Loy a successful Hollywood actress, whose surname was Williams before she chose to change it, had a Welsh father, David Franklin Williams, who was the son of Ann Morgan Davis of Glamorganshire and David Thomas Williams of Neath: Roberts, *Famous Welsh Americans*, 143. Loy was a personal friend of Eleanor Roosevelt: ‘Being and Becoming Myrna Loy,’ accessed February 4, 2014, <http://www.legacy.com/news/legends-and- legacies/being-and-becoming-myrna-loy/1758/>.

<sup>50</sup> *The Welsh Nationalist*, November 1935.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, July 1934.

<sup>52</sup> The first two of Goodwin’s reports were published in *The Welsh Nationalist* in the summer of 1934 and they contained the information that he resided in Carbondale, Pennsylvania, where he was Staff Correspondent of the Lubov Press Service, 162 South Terrace Street, Carbondale, but in a further contribution in 1935 he gave New York as his place of residence and referred to himself as ‘New York Correspondent c/o The New York Enquirer,’ 47 Walker Street, New York City, whilst in his last contribution in the same year, although still quoting New York, he gave c/o Billboard, 1564, Broadway as his postal box.

in the wider UK context.<sup>53</sup> Whether Goodwin was indeed under the impression that Plaid Cymru was surging ahead or whether the assertion was a mere journalistic ploy to gain the reader's attention, the same fervour was maintained throughout the first paragraph:

The news received here in America of the amazing gains that is [*sic*] being made by the Welsh Nationalists has heartened every Welshman and those that are of Welsh descent living in the States. With the slogan 'Mother Wales will yet be free' many young men are planning to form a unit here and in Canada to aid the Party to free Wales. We do hope that it will prove to be a success.<sup>54</sup>

Thus did Goodwin make very clear that he was entirely supportive of the aims of Plaid Cymru and, in addition, implied that he was amongst the band of young men of Welsh descent who intended to form an organization to aid the party.

In the following paragraph of his first contribution, which drew attention to the strong Welsh contingent residing in Lackawanna County, 'the Welsh Athens of America',<sup>55</sup> and which earmarked it as a source of potential support for Plaid Cymru, he reiterated the slogan of the opening paragraph and called on Welshmen worldwide to support the cause:

Lackawanna County in Pennsylvania has often been called the 'Welsh Athens of America.' With all the Welshmen and their descendants who reside there, it should have a strong unit of the Welsh Nationalists for the purpose of sending out information about the cause, and also raise money to aid the party. If we all pull together all over the world we will accomplish our purpose. Let us all use as our battle cry, 'Mother Wales will yet be free.'

This area of Pennsylvania with its significant populations of Welsh émigrés in Scranton and in Carbondale, where Goodwin resided, should have been fertile ground for Plaid Cymru, as he inferred, but it must be noted that he was talking only in terms of what 'should' be and not of what was already occurring and, in fact, it was in Ohio and not in Pennsylvania that a unit of Plaid was eventually formed (see below).

Amongst the slogans and hopes and intentions of the first two paragraphs the only fact included was the reference to the Welsh lineage of the residents of Lackawanna county, and the third paragraph likewise seems to have been optimistic rhetoric rather than reality. It did however rightly claim *The Druid* as a supporter of Plaid Cymru:

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<sup>53</sup> However, Lewis Hywel Davies did gain a seat under the Nationalist banner on Meirioneth County Council in 1934, and the enthusiastic claim would have pleased J. E. Jones who always sought to portray growth and progress even when it was not evident: Jones, *Tros Gymru*, 120, 187.

<sup>54</sup> *The Welsh Nationalist*, July 1934.

<sup>55</sup> The 1900 US Census revealed that 7,708 Wales-born residents lived in Lackawanna County. By 1910 the figure was circa 8,000 people of 'Welsh Stock' living in Lackawanna county. This estimate did not take into account the number of Welsh who lived in Scranton, the county's capital. Figures quoted from the 1910 census indicate that 4,317 Welsh were living in Scranton: Jones, *Wales in America*, 18, 19.

The 'Druid' which is published in Pittsburgh, and whose circulation is climbing steadier each day, has long been known as a friend of the Welsh Nationalists. With a splendid paper like that to aid us, we here in America should get busy.

Whether the claim of climbing circulation in regard to *The Druid* was factual or not, the one certainty to be gleaned is that Goodwin not only counted himself amongst the supporters of Plaid but that he was also ready to become active on its behalf.

The latter part of this first contribution to the *Welsh Nationalist* became more measured in tone as it supplied information concerning the anthracite miners in Carbondale, which suggests that Goodwin was aware that *The Welsh Nationalist* was intended specifically for the industrial south of Wales,<sup>56</sup> and made reference to the Communists who were making trouble, according to the journalist, for the party in Wales<sup>57</sup> just as they were doing in America. But the exuberance returned in the last paragraph where Goodwin announced that he was using his newspaper columns to proclaim the fight for Welsh freedom:

The writer who is a staff correspondent of a press service, has just started to pound away in the various papers his column appears in, the fact that there are a determined group of Welshmen who will not rest until Mother Wales is free.

Is there an inference in the wording that he had just begun work as a press correspondent, or is it suggested that he had only recently become aware of the fight in the homeland for Welsh liberty, or do the words, 'determined group of Welshmen,' refer to those who were intending to form the unit mentioned at the beginning of the contribution? The latter explanation seems the most likely and, as these were a group of young men and as Goodwin appears to have been one of them,<sup>58</sup> the enthusiasm and optimism which characterise his news items are understandable. He does not however name any of the newspapers for which he was a columnist and 'Goodwin's jottings from Carbondale', which regularly appeared in *The Druid*, do not once mention Plaid Cymru. His closing remarks are an invitation to members of the Welsh Nationalist Party to supply him with information about conditions in Wales.

The next of Goodwin's contributions, comprising of a few paragraphs and entitled, 'Letter from America', appeared in the following issue of *The Welsh Nationalist* when the starving unemployed in Wales and the US were mentioned and when Fascism, rather than the previously mentioned Communism, was the enemy against which the journalist now railed.

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<sup>56</sup> 'The *Welsh Nationalist* served more particularly as the medium for Saunders Lewis's bid to win the working class vote of industrial south-eastern Wales...': Davies, *The Welsh Nationalist Party 1925-1945*, 188.

<sup>57</sup> *The Welsh Nationalist* was also intended to be an antidote to the growing support for Communism in industrial Wales: see *ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> At the end of his communication to *The Welsh Nationalist* in October 1935 he asked for 'letters from young Welsh people', thus one can deduce that he also was young.

He had apparently read a warning to readers in the party's aforementioned newspaper that English Fascism was on the rise and he compared the situation to the one in America where the Fascist 'Silver Shirts' were aiming to establish a dictatorship but were being opposed by the 'Blue Shirts', amongst which were many 'young Welsh boys and girls.' The interesting thrust of this paragraph is that Goodwin labels the American Fascists, 'allies of English imperialism.'

The accusation allying American Fascism with English imperialism seems to explain the 'diabolical programme' which was betraying Wales and which was referred to in the opening paragraph:

The writer has been reading quite a few publications from Wales of late and he has come to this conclusion. Wales and the Welsh are being betrayed by the most subtle, adroit, pernicious, far-reaching, diabolical programme imaginable. The Welsh people must wake up, and they must WAKE UP before it is too late.<sup>59</sup>

The intention to set up a unit of the party is again mentioned, as is the writer's service to the cause in making the Americans aware of its activities with the result that readers were asking for information:

I have given the Welsh cause quite a lot of publicity in the various papers I write for, and have received numerous enquiries from readers. We hope soon to start a unit of the party here in America.

But there is more than optimistic intention in this second contribution for, according to Goodwin, he had been lending copies of *The Welsh Nationalist* to friends amongst the coal miners of Carbondale:

The writer has loaned some of the copies of 'The Welsh Nationalist' to friends here in the anthracite section.<sup>60</sup>

It is an interesting fact that Carbondale anthracite miners were perusing Plaid's newspaper whilst the rhetoric of Plaid Cymru in Wales, or more specifically that of its leader,<sup>61</sup> was viewed as not being conducive to building industrial relations.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> *The Welsh Nationalist*, August 1934.

<sup>60</sup> There had been Welsh anthracite miners in Carbondale since 1830 and in Scranton since the 1850s: Jones, *Wales in America*, 15.

<sup>61</sup> Saunders Lewis's desire to see the demise of capitalism also meant that he desired to see the end of industrialisation: Dafydd Glyn Jones, 'His Politics', in *Presenting Saunders Lewis*, eds. Alun R. Jones and Gwyn Thomas (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1983), 37. Plaid Cymru's aim was to de-proletarianize the Welsh 'gwerin'. In *Y Ddraig Goch* in September 1931, Lewis wrote that he wanted to: 'gwneud Cymru fel y bu hi gynt yn genedl o ddynion annibynnol a chryf eu cymeriad oblegid eu bod yn berchnogion eiddo, yn feistri arnynt eu hunain ac nid yn weision cyflog yn unig' (to make Wales as it had been, a nation of independent men of strong character because they were property-owners, masters of themselves rather than only employees). Saunders Lewis had written that agriculture should be Wales's main industry and the basis of its civilization: Saunders Lewis, *Canlyn Arthur: Ysgrifau Gwleidyddol* (Aberystwyth: Gwasg Aberystwyth, 1938), 16.

Goodwin's contributions to the party's English-medium newspaper then seem to have ceased only to resurface briefly in the following year, and the fact that New York was the address he gave in 1935 might infer that the move and the new post had left him little time to correspond with the party's newspaper. It might also be that moving from Pennsylvania had removed easy access to *The Druid*, which was published in Pittsburgh and which contained information about the party in Wales. However, a communication from him under the heading 'America helps the Nationalist cause' was printed in the October issue of *The Welsh Nationalist* in 1935 when he again inveighed against Communism and regaled readers with news of Communist plots and Communist attacks against American Welsh Nationalists:

'The Friends of the Welsh People' were holding a street meeting the other night at Columbus Circle, in which they were explaining to the people of New York City the principles of the Welsh Nationalists, when suddenly a gang of hoodlums and gangsters, who were later identified as being members of the Communist party, charged into the meeting and attempted to break it up. Police, however, dispersed them before they had a chance to carry on their dastardly plot.

It might seem strange that a small political group, utterly divorced from the American political system, had been the focus of aggression from members of the Communist party but it must be remembered that 'nationalism' in this period was held by many to be akin to Fascism, an ideology which the American Communist Party, as part of their political strategy to win popular support, had strongly denounced.<sup>63</sup> Thus an attack, in public, on a group of nationalists would have probably gained them some favourable publicity. In addition, this was the period when the Young Communist League was at the height of its popularity and influence in America and its members would probably have viewed a nationalist meeting at Columbus Circle, a prominent landmark in the city, as a challenge which had to be faced down publicly. But, Goodwin's report also revealed that Communists were also using a more

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<sup>62</sup> And yet, as Chapter One has pointed out, overtures were made to the Councils in south Wales and practical help in the way of Thursday meals was given to the unemployed. In addition, J. E. Jones noted in his memoir that Cassie Davies, one of the foremost members of Plaid Cymru, had made such an impression in Gilfach Goch that she had to promise to return a second time. She did, and a branch of Plaid was formed there. In Ferndale a crowd of 150 turned up to hear her speak about the party but Jones had to admit that such a large crowd was unusual and was probably the result of untiring publicisation by David Davies of Tylorstown: Jones, *Tros Gymru*, 102-03.

<sup>63</sup> The Communist Party of the USA (CUSPA) had embraced Roosevelt's New Deal thus impressing many Liberals who already supported them in their antifascist stance. So the anticommunists of the 1930s had to face an altered political landscape where Communism had managed to define itself as an antifascist movement. Thus those against Communism had to find a way of opposing it without seeming to support Hitler and without weakening the antifascist coalition against his aggression: Hanney Klehr and John Earl Haynes, *The Secret World of American Communism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press: 1996), 5-10, and Richard Gid Powers, *Not Without Honour: The History of American Anticommunism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 117.

devious ploy to destabilise the Welsh Nationalists in that they were infiltrating meetings of the 'Friends of the Welsh People' in New York:

Another plot of the Communists in New York against 'The Friends of the Welsh People' is that of sending Communists to join our group and then to start fights at every meeting they attend. Fortunately we have succeeded in getting rid of this element. But we are forced to come to the conclusion that Communism is a blood brother of Fascism, especially when they act as they do in New York.

It is evident that the above paragraph was an eye-witness account by Goodwin of the disturbances that had been caused at meetings and not only does it testify to his active participation in the group's activities for the cause of Plaid Cymru but it also emphasises the lengths to which the Communists went to try to silence the group. Nevertheless, his commentary on the harassment by the Communists gave him the opportunity to draw attention to his belief that Communism and Fascism, the latter which he had previously allied with English imperialism, were closely related. This supposition was being vigorously denied by the American Communists at this time and these denials were being believed by many, a fact which caused a great deal of consternation.

What would have been of immediate interest to Plaid Cymru officials and members in the homeland was the fact that a group of people called 'The Friends of the Welsh People'<sup>64</sup> had been formed in New York and that they were holding meetings and taking the message of Plaid Cymru out onto the streets. Furthermore, according to Goodwin's communication, they intended to prepare a pamphlet to explain to the people of America 'the aims and principles of the Welsh Nationalist Party' and to 'issue a monthly paper which will be known as "Wales Today."' The party in Wales must have dared to hope that Welsh-America had begun to offer Plaid Cymru an expatriate support-network which might grow to be similar to Irish-American support in the context of the Irish fight for freedom.

As Goodwin had previously seen great potential for the Welsh Nationalist Party in Lackawanna County, he now envisaged the same in New York city where there were over 5,000 Welsh people and even more of Welsh descent. The group called 'The Friends of the Welsh People' would be mobilising them all 'for the cause of the freedom of Mother Wales from the curse of the human race, English bureaucracy.' This, of course, was the 'English imperialism' which had been denounced previously by Goodwin and against which Plaid Cymru's newspapers were constantly railing.

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<sup>64</sup> The title was reminiscent of 'Friends of Irish Freedom,' a movement formed by the American-Irish organization 'Clan na Gael' after World War I: Metress, *The American Irish and Irish Nationalism*, 10.

Fascism came once again to the forefront in Goodwin's next and last correspondence to be printed in *The Welsh Nationalist*, in November 1935, when he warned that the time was coming when Americans would soon have to unite against its forces. It was thought that Oswald Mosley, the founder of the British Union of Fascists, would gain power in England, and Wales would thus be faced with two threats, Fascism and English imperialism. The only counter to the danger, claimed Goodwin, was Welsh Nationalism:

The only real united front that the Welsh can put up against oppressive England and Fascism is a strong Welsh Nationalist Party.

In the closing paragraph of this, his final contribution, he once again claimed that his newspaper columns were informing Americans of Plaid Cymru and that many papers were avidly seeking to publish his reports:

Leading American daily and Sunday newspapers have opened the columns of their papers to our New York correspondent, and they are eager to print news about the much feared Welsh Nationalist Party. Letters should be addressed to Wendell Goodwin, c/o Billboard 1546 Broadway, New York...

Whilst some of what was written by Goodwin about Plaid Cymru was unsubstantiated, notably the amazing gains and most probably the impact that it was having on the majority of Welsh-Americans, his contributions in *The Welsh Nationalist* were immensely valuable for he portrayed the cause as one which was not confined to Wales but which was relevant to Welsh people in America and worldwide. Thus Wales did not stand alone in its fight against English imperialism. In more practical terms he pinpointed two areas in the US which could and should have been targetted by Plaid Cymru, namely Lackawanna County and New York, where there were distinctive settlements of Welsh people. His alleged use of newspaper columns and his distribution of *The Welsh Nationalist* amongst the anthracite workers, together with his vision of forming a branch to raise money, were sound practice in political terms. And the activity of the group 'The Friends of the Welsh People', of which he must have been a member, which brought about the wrath of the Communists, proved that Welsh-America was indeed beginning to mobilise in aid of the freedom of the homeland. Unfortunately, after 1935, Goodwin seems to have disappeared and the activity in New York seems to have dissipated.

In September 1935, a month before Goodwin had written to *The Welsh Nationalist* informing its readers of the formation of 'The Friends of the Welsh People', the party's Welsh-medium newspaper printed the following news:



[In the capital city of the USA, in June, a society was formed called ‘Cyfeillion Cymru’ (friends of the Welsh people)<sup>65</sup> to support the nationalist movement in Wales...]<sup>66</sup>

Washington seems to have been a strange choice for the founding of this movement as the numbers of Welsh people in the American capital were not significant,<sup>67</sup> so it is probable that *Y Ddraig Goch* had misconstrued the original information and had mistakenly taken New York, America’s principal city, to be its capital. Lending support to this probability is the fact that New York was the location identified by Wendell Goodwin in his communications as the place where the group was formed and it was at Columbus Circle in New York that the attack against the Welsh Nationalists took place. Thus it is reasonable to assume that Washington had been mistakenly printed instead of New York. However, the interesting point to note is that the Welsh publication included the month when the group was formed, a detail which was not given by Goodwin, thereby implying that news from America was reaching the party in Wales from sources other than Goodwin’s communications.

Nevertheless, hopeful as Plaid must have been at the news of the formation of this group and vibrant though it appears to have been on the basis of Goodwin’s reports, there is no evidence that it succeeded in widening its network or in publishing leaflets or a monthly paper and this particular organization, ‘The Friends of the Welsh People’ or ‘Cyfeillion Cymru’ as it was called in *Y Ddraig Goch*, was not mentioned again in either of the party’s newspapers.

However, another movement by the same name seems to have become active in the United States towards the end of 1937.<sup>68</sup> This organization does not appear to have had any connection with the ‘Cyfeillion Cymru’ with which Wendell Goodwin was associated but, rather, seems to have grown out of ‘The Welsh American Society of Canton, Ohio,’<sup>69</sup> which

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<sup>65</sup> Translated correctly, ‘Cyfeillion Cymru’ is ‘Friends of Wales’.

<sup>66</sup> *Y Ddraig Goch*, September 1935.

<sup>67</sup> Elwyn T. Ashton’s discussion on the numbers of Welsh in each state in the US in 1900 contains no reference to Washington although he has a category for States which contained between 500 and 1,000 Welsh people, the lowest numbers amongst his State categorisation. The information is taken from the 1900 census which included Welsh immigrants and their children; Washington does not feature at all. Ashton, *The Welsh in the United States*, 103-04.

<sup>68</sup> The September 1938 issue of *Y Ddraig Goch* reported that ‘Cyfeillion Cymru’ was formed at the end of 1937 and was connected with the Welsh American Society of Canton, Ohio.

<sup>69</sup> The Welsh-American Society of Canton, Ohio, was formed in the first decade of the twentieth century ‘by a group of Welsh men, and the members have been active during all these years sponsoring the activities of the Welsh people in this community...’: *The Druid*, May 1, 1938. Canton was the first town to be laid out and settled in Stark County. It was named after a plantation in Baltimore called the ‘Canton Estate’ by its owner, the Irish merchant, Captain John O’Donnell; and so named because the first cargo to Baltimore had come from Canton, China: ‘How Baltimore met China – The Story of John O’Donnell, the China Trade & Baltimore’s Canton,’ accessed June 2, 2013: <http://www.chinarhyning.com/2013/05/19/how-baltimore-met-china-the-story->

was the title penned above a report, amongst J. E. Jones's papers,<sup>70</sup> of a meeting held on 15 January in Canton when 'Friends of the Welsh Nationalist party, Canton, Ohio,' was formed:

For your information... may we advise that a committee has been formed, with George E. Hopkins<sup>71</sup> as chairman, to formulate plans and to stimulate interest on behalf of this movement, and that everyone present at this meeting joined what we shall call for the present 'Friends of the Welsh Nationalist Party of Canton, O.' and paid their annual dues of \$1.00.<sup>72</sup>

This meeting and the formation of the 'Friends of the Welsh Nationalist Party of Canton, O.', which was an offshoot of the main Society, seems to have been the culmination of activity which had begun towards the latter half of the previous year when a letter sent by D. J. Williams to George Emrys Hopkins of Canton, Ohio had expressed the former's thanks for a financial gift to Plaid Cymru from the Welsh-American Society of Canton:

George Emrys Hopkins of Canton, O, is in receipt of a very appreciative letter from D. J. Williams of Fishguard, South Wales, one of the three heroes who were imprisoned for setting on fire the bombing school in North Wales. It will be recalled that the Welsh-American Society of Canton forwarded a donation to the Welsh Nationalist fund, and Mr Williams' letter was a graceful expression of its acceptance and extending thanks for a most acceptable gift.<sup>73</sup>

It is most probable that the donation was an appreciative response to the events at Penyberrth for towards the end of 1937 or at the beginning of 1938<sup>74</sup> this same Society had also passed a

[of-john-odonnell-the-china-trade-baltimores-canton/](#). In a survey taken of Welsh settlements in Ohio there is no mention of Canton whilst there is one reference to Stark County (p.: 109) R. D. Thomas (Iorthryn Gwynedd), *Hanes Cymry America* (Utica, NY: T. J. Griffiths, 1872), 96-128. Canton, Ohio, was well-known as a centre of radical politics: Jonathan M. Hansen, *The Lost Promise of Patriotism, Debating American Identity 1890-1920* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), xiii.

<sup>70</sup> J. E. Jones, 'Cyfeillion Cymru,' Plaid Cymru Archive, National Library of Wales, (Aberystwyth).

<sup>71</sup> George Emrys Hopkins had been born in Port Talbot but had emigrated with his parents when he was seven. He had served overseas with the US Sixth Engineers during the War and on return to civilian life had become a fireman in Canton, Ohio. In 1937 he was elected by the Ohio State Firefighters Association in Columbus to be vice-president for the Central District, and in October 1937 he was elected national president of the National Gymanfa Ganu Association. He died suddenly of influenza in 1939, at the age of 44, and the April issue of *The Druid* carried a notice of his death. His obituary stated that he was 'instrumental in forming the "Friends of Wales Society", to lend every possible assistance in securing autonomy for his native Wales, for he was a most loyal Cymro': *The Druid*, February 1, October 1, 1937; April 1, 1939. A note from the editor of *The Druid* to J. E. Jones speaks of the death of Hopkins as being 'quite a loss to the Welsh people': J. E. Jones letter to George E. Hopkins, March 1, 1939, Plaid Cymru Archive, National Library of Wales (Aberystwyth). The US Sixth Engineers were attached to the British Fifth Army. They had arrived in France in December 1917 and, although they were not trained combatants, they had fought with the British near Amiens: 'The Story of the American Expeditionary Forces,' accessed August 12, 2014: <http://www.worldwar1.com/dbc/somme.htm>.

<sup>72</sup> *The Druid*, February 1, 1938. The report was signed by R. H. Wasseem who was Mrs Roy Wasseem, one of the sisters of George E. Hopkins: *Ibid.*, August 1, 1937.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, November 1, 1937.

<sup>74</sup> *Y Ddraig Goch*, September 1938. But in a letter, presumably to J. E. Jones, catalogued under the heading 'Ionawr 10, 1938, The Welsh-American Society Canton, Ohio,' January 8 is cited as the date of 'the unanimous passage of a resolution endorsing the activities of the Nationalist Organization in Wales': Plaid Cymru Archive January 10, 1938, National Library of Wales (Aberystwyth).

resolution proclaiming its endorsement of Plaid on the basis of the party's opposition to the bombing school. The resolution must have heartened the party's officials and they must have deemed it to be such a valuable exhibition of support that they published it in *Y Ddraig Goch* under the heading 'Negesau Gwyl Ddewi':

Welsh-American Society  
Canton, Ohio

The following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Whereas: The Welsh Nationalist Party has seen fit to organise in an effort to maintain the Welsh ideals in Wales and in protest to the building of a bombing school at Llyn, North Wales which is against the Welsh Christian principles and  
Whereas: The Welsh American society of Canton, Ohio is in full accord with these principles and believes that the vast number of Welsh-Americans in this country should lend their support, therefore be it

Resolved: That the Welsh-American society of Canton, Ohio hereby endorse the Welsh Nationalist Party and that a copy of this resolution be sent to Mr J. E. Jones organising secretary at Caernarfon<sup>75</sup> and to the *Druid* at Pittsburgh, Pa.<sup>76</sup>

The opening sentence of the resolution testifies to the impact that had been made on the members of this Society by the response of Plaid Cymru to the building of a bombing school in Llŷn and, repeating Plaid's main reasons for opposing the scheme, it was stated that the Society was in total accord with the stated objections. Thus, it is evident that the endorsement of the Welsh Nationalist Party was a gesture of support and of admiration for their stance regarding the situation in Llŷn, and so enthused had the members of the Welsh Canton Society been by that position that they were appealing to their fellow Welsh-Americans to follow suit and give support to Plaid Cymru. Therefore the courage of a few principled Welsh Nationalists in challenging the British Establishment had motivated a Welsh Society in Canton, Ohio, to send financial aid, to make public a supportive resolution and to form a branch of 'Friends' to support the Nationalist party in the homeland.

It is surprising that the only intended medium of publication which was named was *The Druid* and that no mention was made of the other Welsh-American newspaper, *Y Drych*, as the resolution appealed for the support of all Welsh-Americans. However, as has been stated and as will be discussed in Chapter Six, *The Druid* was a professed and overt supporter of the Welsh Nationalists<sup>77</sup> whilst *Y Drych* was more reticent, as will be made evident in Chapter Five, and it is certain that Hopkins and the other members would have been aware of this. There may also have been a personal reason why *The Druid* was the preferred choice, as

<sup>75</sup> This was J. E. Jones, secretary of Plaid Cymru from 1930 to 1962. See Chapter One.

<sup>76</sup> *Y Ddraig Goch*, March 1938

<sup>77</sup> 'The *Druid* is a loyal and enlightened supporter of Welsh Nationalism': *The Welsh Nationalist*, February 1934.

news of the Hopkins family had been contained in a previous issue,<sup>78</sup> suggesting that the paper was their Welsh-American news source. Nevertheless a report by H. Rhys Hughes of Caernarfon<sup>79</sup> telling of the establishing of ‘Cyfeillion Cymru’ did appear in *Y Drych* in the spring of 1938. Its author congratulated ‘The Welsh Society of Canton, Ohio’ for founding the organization which, it was stated, was affiliated to the Welsh Nationalist Party and directed those who wished to join to contact George E. Hopkins. Furthermore he gave the impression that many had already become members and expressed the hope that many more branches would be formed in America:

[Many have already joined Friends of Wales; our hope and appeal is that branches will be established in every town and area in America where Welsh people live because in those places there is a small piece of Wales. I would wish to see all the Welsh places afire for the freedom of Wales.]<sup>80</sup>

It is apparent that H. Rhys Hughes was enthused by the formation of this Welsh Nationalist branch which he probably hoped was the beginning of widespread Welsh-American support for Plaid Cymru and it is interesting to note how he appealed to the emigrant’s sense of identity by reminding him that wherever he and his compatriots resided there was a small piece of Wales.

This was the first and only reference to ‘Cyfeillion Cymru’ as being synonymous with ‘Friends of the Welsh Nationalist Party of Canton, O.’ until J. E. Jones used the title in a letter, dated 11 June 1938, to George E. Hopkins.<sup>81</sup> The letter, which was written in response to a request for membership cards and for copies of *The Welsh Nationalist* for all members of ‘Cyfeillion Cymru’, stated that 1,000 membership cards had been mailed and ‘a small parcel of some dozen copies of *The Welsh Nationalist* is also being sent’ with the promise that every member of ‘Cyfeillion Cymru’ would receive a copy of the newspaper for twelve months as soon as the duplicate portion of the membership card and the fixed fee had been received.

Although it might have appeared from the letter that ‘Cyfeillion Cymru’ of Canton, Ohio, was a thousand strong, further evidence shows that the cards were not only for the above named organization but that they were to be held by George E. Hopkins of Canton, Ohio, to be distributed to all Welsh-Americans who wished to become members:

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<sup>78</sup> ‘News of interest from City of Canton’ told of the fiftieth wedding anniversary of Mr and Mrs Edward Hopkins who ‘were married in Margam Abbey, Port Talbot, South Wales,’ but who had lived in the USA for forty years and in Canton for thirty years. All of their four children, Edward J., George E., Mrs Roy Wassem and Mrs Carl L. Roth lived in Canton. *The Druid*, August 1, 1937.

<sup>79</sup> See Chapter Five.

<sup>80</sup> *Y Drych*, April 21, 1938.

<sup>81</sup> J. E. Jones, letter to George E. Hopkins, June 11, 1938, Plaid Cymru Archive, National Library of Wales (Aberystwyth).

The organization committee has fixed the membership fee at one dollar. Membership cards have been printed by the parent organization in Wales, and these may be obtained from the chairman of the Canton (O.) branch – George E. Hopkins, 519 Case Place, N.W., Canton, Ohio.<sup>82</sup>

The number of members, however, must have exceeded a dozen<sup>83</sup> as a promise was made for further copies of *The Welsh Nationalist*, for all members, on receipt of the fee and the return of the specific portion of the membership card. The stipulation regarding receiving the fee before further copies of *The Welsh Nationalist* were sent might seem unduly insensitive but, most probably, it related to Plaid Cymru's lack of finances rather than to any fear of non-payment. What does, however, become evident from reading this letter is that Hopkins of 'Cyfeillion Cymru' had aspirations and plans to win many Welsh-American members for Plaid Cymru and that J. E. Jones had taken his request seriously enough to have sent a large number of cards. Furthermore, and emphasising the impact of Hopkins's hopes of claiming many Welsh-American members for Plaid, Jones in a later communication had commended 'Cyfeillion Cymru,' that is, 'Friends of the Welsh Nationalists, Canton, Ohio,' to the Welsh-Americans and had expressed the hope that their leaders would contact Hopkins for cards to enrol members so that Welsh Nationalist branches could be formed:

It is my hope that Welsh-Americans will rally to the support of this organization and that leaders from all centers will communicate at once with George E. Hopkins in order to obtain membership cards with a view to starting branches.<sup>84</sup>

Whether or not there had been correspondence at some time from Plaid Cymru to Hopkins asking him to begin working for the party is not known, but it is he who began the process of establishing a centre of support for Plaid amongst Welsh-Americans and it is he who was ready to act as co-ordinator for Plaid in Welsh-America. The importance of the formation of 'Cyfeillion Cymru, of which Hopkins was chairman, was acknowledged in the September 1938 issue of *Y Ddraig Goch*:

[Plaid in Foreign Countries

The Friends of Wales: The most important step was establishing 'Friends of Wales' in the United States. A decision was passed, at the end of 1937, by the Welsh American society of Canton, Ohio, commending the work of Plaid in fighting for Welsh ideals and opposing the bombing school in Llŷn, a committee was formed, with the Society's president, namely Mr George Emrys Hopkins, as chair, and the first branch of a movement to support the Nationalist Party was formed.

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<sup>82</sup> *The Druid*, July 1938.

<sup>83</sup> In the letter to J. E. Jones it is stated that 'the drive for members started immediately and the response was exceptionally pleasing': J. E. Jones, letter to George E. Hopkins, June 11, 1938, Plaid Cymru Archive, National Library of Wales (Aberystwyth).

<sup>84</sup> *The Druid*, July 1938.

By the beginning of July this year, the new movement 'Friends of Wales' had been announced in the newspapers of the Welsh in the United States – *The Druid* and *Y Drych*; and the membership cards had been sent to Mr George E. Hopkins. We expect this movement to spread rapidly and that branches of the 'Friends of Wales' be established throughout the world during the forthcoming year.]<sup>85</sup>

In nearly all of the correspondence concerned with this movement, 'Cyfeillion Cymru' (and with its parent body 'The Welsh-American Society of Canton, Ohio'), reference was made to the stand that Plaid Cymru had made against locating the bombing school on the Llŷn Peninsula and its reasons for taking that position. Thus it is quite evident that the response by Plaid was the catalyst which brought this organization into being and advanced its activity. Saunders Lewis had hoped that Penyberth would have catapulted Wales into action<sup>86</sup> but it was here, in Canton, Ohio, that a positive response was being seen. And it is obvious, from the report in *Y Ddraig Goch* that the formation of the organization had not only given heart to the party but had given it cause to hope that support could be gained worldwide. And it was not only in Canton that the event in Llŷn was reverberating;<sup>87</sup> other Welsh-Americans were also voicing their admiration and support as is made evident in a letter that Bob Owen, Croesor, received from Joseph E. Thomas, Chairman of the Welsh Men's Dining Club in Seattle, Washington, where it was said that Penyberth had been discussed amongst the members and the patriots had been applauded to the utmost. Furthermore, the following message was included by Thomas:

[It was unanimously passed that I, on behalf of the Club, should hail the brothers as Welsh patriots of the best kind, and tell them that they deserve our respect and love as a nation in every part of the world.]<sup>88</sup>

Although Thomas, writing on behalf of the Club in Seattle, had asked for the letter to receive publicity, he had made no mention of practical support. The organization in Canton, however, was actively developing its support for it appears that it was from this movement, 'Cyfeillion Cymru', namely the 'Friends of Wales' in Canton, Ohio, that the suggestion had come that Plaid Cymru should arrange for a prominent representative of the party to visit the

<sup>85</sup> *Y Ddraig Goch*, September 1938

<sup>86</sup> Davies, *The Welsh Nationalist Party 1925-1945*, 164.

<sup>87</sup> At Canton's Cymanfa Ganu held in the First Welsh Baptist Church in the summer of 1937, the inspired singing was hailed as a tribute to the Penyberth Three and the rendering of 'Hen Wlad Fy Nhadau' was dedicated to them: *The Druid*, July 1, 1937.

<sup>88</sup> It appears that the letter was written on November 15 but received by Plaid Cymru on December 4, 1936: Joseph E. Thomas, letter to Bob Owen, November 15, 1936, Plaid Cymru Archive, National Library of Wales (Aberystwyth).

United States<sup>89</sup> to explain the principles of Welsh Nationalism, with the aim of gaining support for their cause amongst the Welsh expatriates. Apparently the proposition was discussed at Plaid's annual conference, and in the *Liverpool Daily Post's* report of the proceedings reference was made to the party's intention of sending a representative to America in connection with 'Friends of Wales.' This was the newspaper report which had been read by a certain R. W. Maddocks of Birkenhead who subsequently wrote to J. E. Jones in the following terms:

[I see from the Daily Post's report on the Aberystwyth conference<sup>90</sup> that the National Party intends to send a representative to the United States concerning the movement 'Friends of Wales'.]<sup>91</sup>

Maddocks's purpose in contacting J. E. Jones was to acquaint the latter with the news that he was in a position to offer support in facilitating any such journey undertaken by a Plaid Cymru representative, as he was, he claimed, well acquainted with the Welsh communities of the US.

It seems however that a visit to the USA by a prominent Plaid member had been discussed at the beginning of 1938, a year before the correspondence from Maddocks, and that the matter was one of some friction between J. E. Jones and R. H. Davies, the editor of *The Druid*. Davies had written a letter to Jones<sup>92</sup> concerning the visit and, whilst referring to E. V. Stanley Jones<sup>93</sup> as the person who would be representing Plaid in the US, he took the opportunity to point out the necessity of having someone arrange the journey to the eastern centres, as Scranton and Pittsburgh were 400 miles apart and Canton 500 miles from Scranton. The Revd T. Teifion Richards of Scranton, Pa.,<sup>94</sup> according to Davies, would be the ideal person to undertake that task as he was so well known in Welsh circles. Albeit, after seemingly acquiescing to the plans of J. E. Jones, and in the same letter, Davies implied that the time had passed for a visit from a Plaid representative:

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<sup>89</sup> In a report in the January 1939 issue of *Y Ddraig Goch*, 'Cyfeillion Cymru', the 'Welsh Ladies Auxiliary of Canton, Ohio,' and an invitation to visit the US to lecture on Plaid Cymru were all mentioned as interconnected facets of one local organization.

<sup>90</sup> There is some confusion concerning the venue as the Conference of 1938 was in Swansea: *Y Ddraig Goch*, September 1938.

<sup>91</sup> R. W. Maddocks letter to J. E. Jones, January 4, 1939, Plaid Cymru Archive, National Library of Wales (Aberystwyth). This reference connecting the visit with 'Friends of Wales', in addition to the previously mentioned report in the January 1939 issue of *Y Ddraig Goch*, is proof that the organization in Canton was the source of the invitation to visit the US.

<sup>92</sup> R. H. Davies letter to J. E. Jones, February 4, 1938, Plaid Cymru Archive, National Library of Wales (Aberystwyth).

<sup>93</sup> A solicitor from Caernarfon who was chosen as Plaid's honorary solicitor: *Y Ddraig Goch*, September 1936.

<sup>94</sup> Born in 1877, he was a native of St Dogmaels in Pembrokeshire. He became minister of the First Baptist Church in Scranton: *The Cambrian* 32, (1912).

[when the trial of the three heroes was being held in London the newspapers of America were full of reports, and if one of the three had voyaged here at that time, when the enthusiasm was evident, it is certain that he would have been received warmly.]<sup>95</sup>

There is not only a hint of impatience in the words, suggesting that discussion of a visit by one of the three involved with the burning of the bombing school had taken place but that the visit had not materialised, but there is also an implication that the enthusiasm which had been generated by the actions of the three, which would have ensured a warm welcome for any one of them, had waned by the time of writing. Even so, in the month following the above rebuke, R. H. Davies included news in his newspaper of the impending visit, not of E. V. Stanley Jones as had been discussed in the letter to J. E. Jones, but of one of the Penyborth Three:

It is reported that one of the 'three Welsh heroes' that applied a torch to the bombing station in North Wales may visit this country next fall.<sup>96</sup>

There must have been more correspondence regarding this matter which appears not to have survived and so, unfortunately, one can only surmise that Stanley Jones was not the visitor that R. H. Davies would have wanted. Whatever subsequently transpired between him and J. E. Jones it becomes apparent that the US received no visitor on behalf of Plaid Cymru in 1938. Was the failure to comply with the request from 'Friends of Wales' Canton, that a visit should be made by a Plaid representative, due to the apparent disagreement concerning the personage who should visit, or was it because of lack of funds or failure to co-ordinate arrangements? It was probably a combination of the first two, above-mentioned factors which then impinged on a third, namely the ability to make arrangements. It is clear that J. E. Jones and R. H. Davies were not in agreement as to who should make the journey and, subsequently, Davies seemed to be placing further obstacles by querying the timing of the proposed visit, but probably, just as relevant to the failure would have been the dire financial situation of Plaid Cymru at the time.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> R. W. Maddocks, letter to J. E. Jones, January 4, 1939, Plaid Cymru Archive, National Library of Wales (Aberyswyth).

<sup>96</sup> *The Druid*, April 1, 1938.

<sup>97</sup> The 1938 St David's Day Fund collected only slightly over half the target sum and the party slipped into debt. By the end of 1938 the party was £690 in debt. The 1939 St David's Day Fund was also well below target. See Davies, *The Welsh Nationalist Party 1925-1945*, 207-09.



As the aforementioned excerpt from R. W. Maddock's letter shows, another attempt to arrange a visit was made in 1939,<sup>98</sup> and *The Druid* made reference to this proposed visit by including an article from J. E. Jones, under the heading, 'Emissary to visit America':

Welsh-Americans are rallying to the support of our movement... and the recently formed organization, the Friends of Wales, which is affiliated to our party, has begun its activities with success and is desirous that a prominent member of our movement should visit them and travel to various centres in the United States to lecture on Welsh Nationalism.<sup>99</sup>

It was further revealed that, in response to the request, a prominent member of the party had already been approached regarding a visit to the USA. And, according to J. E. Jones, who had penned the article, arrangements for the visit were almost finalised should this 'prominent member' respond positively. No names were mentioned but it was later revealed that the mysterious, unnamed person chosen to visit the Welsh-Americans on behalf of Plaid was E. V. Stanley Jones, the same person who had been named in correspondence between R. H. Davies and J. E. Jones a year previously. Some three weeks later the proposed visit was referred to by a correspondent named Llywelyn ap S. Hughes,<sup>100</sup> who wrote<sup>101</sup> to Jones expressing the hope that 'the proposed visit to America of a prominent member of the Plaid [would be] as successful as possible.' Thus it becomes apparent that, at the beginning of 1939, a visit to the USA by a prominent Plaid Member was again being discussed publicly and considered to be almost a certainty.

However, matters were to take a different course. Just as a letter<sup>102</sup> was being sent by J. E. Jones telling George Emrys Hopkins, of 'Friends of Wales' in Canton, that R. H. Davies was advising that a visit to the USA should be delayed and asking Hopkins's opinion on the advice, another letter<sup>103</sup> was on its way to Jones's office in Wales informing him of the sudden death of Hopkins. The words, 'Quite a loss to Welsh people,' which ended Davies's

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<sup>98</sup> As has been stated, it had been mentioned in *Y Ddraig Goch* in January 1939.

<sup>99</sup> *The Druid*, February 1, 1939.

<sup>100</sup> Not much biographical information is available on Llywelyn ap Silfanus Hughes. It is possible that he was born in Wales and that he had emigrated to the United States to pursue work opportunities. In a letter to Plaid Cymru he said that he had spent most of his working life in the United States and Canada – 'Treuliais y rhan fwyaf o'm cyfnod gwaith yn yr Unol Daleithiau a Chanada': *Y Ddraig Goch*, October 1934. He also signed himself Llywelyn ap Silfanus Hughes and Llywelyn ap Sylvanus Hughes; the form used in this thesis will be the form used in the related correspondence.

<sup>101</sup> Llywelyn ap Silfanus Hughes, letter to J. E. Jones, February 22, 1939: Plaid Cymru Archive, National Library of Wales (Aberystwyth).

<sup>102</sup> J. E. Jones, letter to George E. Hopkins, March 9, 1939, Plaid Cymru Archive, National Library of Wales (Aberystwyth). In the letter J. E. Jones informed Hopkins that R. H. Davies had said that more time would be needed to make arrangements and also that Welsh-Americans would not be at home in early summer as there were two world fairs, at New York and San Francisco.

<sup>103</sup> R. H. Davies, letter to J. E. Jones, March 1, 1939, Plaid Cymru Archive, National Library of Wales (Aberystwyth).

letter seem to be a veritable understatement as the death of Hopkins was a severe blow to the Welsh-American Society of Canton, to the ‘Friends of Wales’ in Canton, to the wider Welsh-American community and, especially, to Plaid Cymru. Seemingly he had been instrumental in initiating the donation to Plaid after Penyberth, he was probably the one who had motivated the ‘Welsh Society of Canton’ to pass a resolution endorsing Plaid’s objections to the bombing school and who had inspired Welsh-Americans from amongst the Welsh Society in Canton to form ‘Friends of Wales’, which was in reality a Plaid Cymru branch in Canton, Ohio.<sup>104</sup> And although the proposal of a visit, with which he was involved, came to nothing as neither E. V. Stanley Jones nor one of the Penyberth Three ever visited the USA, and the matter was never mentioned in correspondence again, Hopkins left Plaid Cymru a legacy apart from the organizations in Canton, for units of ‘Friends of Wales’ were formed in other areas.<sup>105</sup>

The aforementioned Llywelyn ap Silfanus Hughes, who wrote hoping that the visit to America would be successful, was another individual who was one of Plaid Cymru’s transatlantic correspondents during the 1930s. He began writing to the party in 1934 when a letter of his, referred to earlier in this chapter, was published in *Y Ddraig Goch*, the purpose of which was to make Plaid aware that there was great potential for support amongst the inhabitants of the Welsh-American settlements although he himself was not well acquainted with them:

[During the latter years I have been living in the vicinity of New York, and so I have not seen much of the Welsh settlements.]<sup>106</sup>

His anticipation that many supporters could be gained in the Welsh settlements was later to become a reality with the formation of the ‘Friends of Wales’, Canton, and, seemingly, with the formation of other units of ‘Friends of Wales’ which he mentioned in 1939 (see above).

Another suggestion that he made in this early correspondence was that Wales, if it wished to be victorious, should follow Ireland and South Africa’s example and be more vociferous in telling the world of the hardships that had been endured. Presumably he meant that Plaid should be making more use of the press, especially the American Press, as without coverage the party could never hope to gain support. The concept of ideas being disseminated and exchanged across the Atlantic was not a new one; there had been a constant two-way traffic

<sup>104</sup> The clause in the Constitution confining branches of Plaid Cymru to Wales alone was deleted in 1933: *Y Ddraig Goch*, September 1933.

<sup>105</sup> They were referred to by Llywelyn ap Silfanus Hughes but no locations were given. Llywelyn ap Silfanus Hughes, letter to J. E. Jones, February 22, 1939: Plaid Cymru Archive, National Library of Wales (Aberystwyth).

<sup>106</sup> In a letter to J. E. Jones: *Ibid.*, November 1934.

of ideas between Wales and the Welsh in the US for much of the time since the era of the early settlers.<sup>107</sup>

The use-of-the-press theme recurred in further correspondence from him in 1939 when, being a Welshman living in New York and acquainted with its newspapers, he specifically commended *The Sun*<sup>108</sup> to J. E. Jones and urged the party to target the publication. He also enquired of Jones whether reports of the party's activities were sent to the London offices of various international newspapers:

May I inquire whether you make it a practice to supply the London offices of Associated Press, United Press, Canadian Press and other news-service agencies with copies of resolutions and news reports of Welsh Nationalist activities?<sup>109</sup>

Maybe there is the slightest hint of a rebuke in the question as Hughes, in his earlier letter, had stressed the importance of making the world aware of the situation in Wales which had given rise to the formation of Plaid Cymru. There is no evidence that his advice had been heeded and, although news of Penyberth was carried in American papers, it is most likely that it had not come from official Plaid sources but had been taken from the English papers of the time.<sup>110</sup> Thus, in this latest letter, Hughes once again took J. E. Jones and Plaid to task and sought to make them aware that Plaid's message was not being heard in America because the American press had not been involved:

The big task facing us in America is to carry the message of the Blaid to the thousands who know little or nothing about what is going on in Wales, and the message can be carried to the thousands who know little or nothing only by opening up channels of wide-spread publicity.

Hughes, however, had to acknowledge that finding American newspapers willing to further the cause of Welsh nationalism would be difficult in this period of rising Naziism when all 'nationalism' was being viewed with deep suspicion. He deemed that the isolationist press of America, the papers which supported the doctrine that American interests were best served by not participating in the exploits of other nations, would have been favourably inclined towards printing Plaid news were it not for the ideology being expounded in Germany. He wrote:

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<sup>107</sup> At the end of the eighteenth century there existed between individuals in Wales and the US a 'fascinating and lively transatlantic world' which saw 'a constant two-way traffic in ideas, books, letters, pamphlets, information': Williams, *In Search of Beulah Land*, 22.

<sup>108</sup> A daily newspaper published in 280 Broadway, New York. It had reported on Penyberth: see Footnote 104.

<sup>109</sup> Llywelyn ap Silfanus Hughes, letter to J. E. Jones, January 27, 1939, Plaid Cymru Archive, National Library of Wales (Aberystwyth).

<sup>110</sup> *The Sun* reported on Penyberth: Llywelyn ap Silfanus Hughes, letter to J. E. Jones, January 27, 1939, Plaid Cymru Archive, National Library of Wales (Aberystwyth), and the trial at Caernarfon was reported in *Time Magazine* on December 26, 1936: Vittle, *Valentine*, 209, 399.

I believe the more firmly isolationist sections of the American Press would be well disposed to give us a little publicity if it were not for the campaign against Naziism...

And yet, even if American newspapers were to look favourably on Welsh Nationalist aspirations, Hughes thought that the British Government would soon make it difficult for American reporters to obtain any pertinent information. Thus an embargo on Plaid news would be put in place in London, whilst American papers would be very wary of printing anything that could be interpreted as sympathy for nationalism.

However, although acknowledging in his letter that there were problems, especially in getting the American print media to open their columns to Plaid, Hughes saw no other way to arouse the necessary response so that effective units of 'Friends of Wales' could be formed:

I do not see how we are going to form an effective Friends of Wales in America unless we get newspaper publicity sufficient to arouse sympathy for Wales on a wide-spread scale.

The answer, according to Hughes, was to organize 'political pressure of our own.' As the Irish had told their story by using the press and 'supporting American isolationist policy in order to bring pressure upon England to concede Irish Nationalist demands', so the Welsh should use the same strategy to tell their story. He expounded no further on the 'political pressure' which he advocated but it is possible that he had in mind harnessing the influence of some of the famous Welsh-Americans who had risen to the high echelons of society and of Government to support the stance of Plaid regarding the looming war with Germany as an isolationist stance by the nation of Wales.

But, according to Hughes, problems finding Press outlets would not be the only difficulty that Plaid would have to contend with if it sought to make its presence known in the USA. He foresaw that the recent Act of Congress passed by the State Department in Washington could make things very difficult for 'Cyfeillion Cymru' (presumably the organization in Canton) and other units of 'Friends of Wales' as it required 'agents of foreign governments, foreign political organizations, &c., to register and file a statement of their activities, &c., with the Department of State, Washington DC, under penalty of one thousand dollars for non-compliance.' Consequently Hughes urged J. E. Jones to make sure that 'Cyfeillion Cymru' was quite certain as to where it stood in relation to the new Act:

I believe you will realise, all units of Friends of Wales must be organised as distinctively as American organisations, so that officers and members of Friends of Wales units will be able to refute any charges which may be made asserting that Friends of Wales is directed and controlled from Wales by the Welsh Nationalist

Party. Americans object strongly to the operations in America of foreign controlled political organizations.<sup>111</sup>

His concern that 'Cyfeillion Cymru' and 'Friends of Wales' units could fall foul of this new Act arose from his belief that the enemies of Plaid in Wales could make things very difficult for the Welsh-American organizations affiliated to Plaid Cymru through their contacts in the USA:

What I have in mind is that the Blaid has enemies at home and that the Blaid's enemies at home have friends in America who would be enemies of 'Friends of Wales.'

This would be especially likely, according to Hughes, if 'Cyfeillion Cymru' and 'Friends of Wales' were to develop into an organization actively supporting Plaid and war should break out:

We do not know what the future holds in store for us, but if we were able to develop Friends of Wales into an organization capable of rendering effective help to the Blaid, and if war should break out between England and a Continental power, I think it likely that our enemies would be pulling political strings in America with the object of curbing the activities of Friends of Wales.

At the time of Hughes's writing to J. E. Jones it appears that the foreseen danger was minimal as 'Cyfeillion Cymru' (he probably meant the movement in its wider context and not the organization in Canton) was not yet fully organized, let alone functioning as a unit which could proffer even financial aid:

so once the affairs of Cyfeillion Cymru are properly organised it should be possible to raise from America some financial help for the Blaid of Wales.<sup>112</sup>

Hughes's correspondence, if very convoluted, is evidence of his total support for Plaid Cymru and his concern that their 'story' should be heard however difficult that might be in the years when 'nationalism' was made out to be the enemy of civilization. His advice regarding the use of the press was politically sound and his warnings regarding enemies reveal the enmity, within Wales and without, which faced the young and politically naive Welsh Nationalist Party.

Whilst Llywelyn ap Silfanus Hughes had not needed Penyberth to motivate him into supporting Plaid Cymru, it seems that as with Hopkins of Canton it was the event in Llŷn that

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<sup>111</sup> Llywelyn ap Silfanus Hughes, letter to J. E. Jones, January 27, 1939, Plaid Cymru Archive, National Library of Wales (Aberystwyth).

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

had energised Hobart L. Morris<sup>113</sup> into action, as he made apparent in the letter that he sent to Saunders Lewis and that was subsequently printed in *The Welsh Nationalist*:

As a second generation American who has always studied with interest the development of Wales, I salute you and your two associates.<sup>114</sup>

The letter presents his awakening sense of Welsh consciousness and an awareness that others were having the same experience in the wake of the events in Wales. He inferred that ties of kinship and belonging were being asserted amongst Welsh-Americans and a sense of lineage, even though their birthplace was America, and he conveyed the sense of pride that the Revd Arfon Jones<sup>115</sup> felt when he claimed that he had met both Saunders Lewis and Lewis Valentine. The events at Penyberth had touched Welsh-America not least because of the high principles and moral stance of the three activists:

Your gallant activities have been briefly reported as American news items – but still the fervour of your nationalism and the high ethical position you have taken speaks to me and all lovers of Wales and the Welsh.

But this letter did more than declare admiration for the three and take pride in belonging to the same race; it extended an offer of practical help:

What can the friends of Wales here do? I, for one, am at your service. If it is funds that are needed the most, or a wider propaganda to explain and justify your movement – in either case, let us help.

Hobart L. Morris, Attorney and Counsellor at Law, Utica, New York, seemed to be well-placed to fulfil both of what he offered, and they were both what Plaid Cymru needed: finance to bolster the coffers at home and propaganda in America, for as Morris admitted, ‘your party is unknown here,’ and Welsh-America had long been unacquainted with modern Welsh affairs:

Most Welsh people have lost the ‘present touch’, with affairs in the old land...

Thus Llywelyn ap Silvanus Hughes was correct when he had urged Plaid Cymru to make use of the American press to make themselves known. Nevertheless that had now been accomplished by the one event at Penyberth and, for a brief moment, Plaid Cymru had

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<sup>113</sup> Born in Utica, NY, July 2, 1899, the son of Robert O. Morris and Elizabeth Ann Lewis. He was a graduate of Hamilton College and Columbia Law School and was an Attorney at Law: ‘Hobart Lewis Morris Sr.,’ accessed December 1, 2012,

<http://familytreemaker.genealogy.com/users/r/e/i/April-M-Reilly/WEBSITE/0001/UHP-0001.html>.

<sup>114</sup> *The Welsh Nationalist*, April 1937.

<sup>115</sup> Apparently a minister in Slatington, Pennsylvania according to Morris’s letter, but he had been minister of Peniel Welsh Presbyterian Church in Granville, NY, until 1931 when he moved to the Welsh church in Los Angeles: *The Troy Times*, January 28, 1932.

merited mention in American newspapers. But, maybe even more importantly, Penyberth had fired the patriotism of Welsh-America so that Morris could say:

His reactions [those of Revd Arfon Jones], and the temper of other Welsh Americans, including my own subjective reactions, verify a national spirit that is reawakening.

The ‘reawakening’ had also focused Welsh-American minds on the reasons for the fire at the bombing school in Llŷn and, what was made apparent at the end of the letter, that they had begun looking to Saunders Lewis for the remedy:

The fact that you are head [of Plaid Cymru] will do great things to remedy the inequalities which exist. We have taken great pride in you and your work.

This letter offered fertile ground for the Welsh Nationalists but what subsequently transpired between them and Morris is not known. They might have taken advantage of the offer of money, although there seems to be no record of it, but it appears very unlikely that they accepted the offer of ‘wider propaganda’, seemingly press coverage, even though this might have been easier in 1937 before hostility against ‘nationalism’ had reached fever pitch. One of the sentences in Morris’s letter was, ‘Call on me for any service I can render in any way,’ but, unfortunately for the future of the party in America, and to a certain extent at home, there is no evidence that Plaid Cymru responded, nor took advantage of his high profile to strengthen their ties with the US and to further their cause.

However, whereas Plaid Cymru seems to have missed a valuable opportunity in gaining exposure in America and of harnessing the proffered support of an influential expatriate Welsh-American, they decided that they would become actively involved in the visit of Sumner Welles<sup>116</sup> to the UK in 1940. At their annual conference in Caernarfon in February 1940 it was agreed that they would lobby Welles, the US Under-Secretary of State and policy adviser to President Roosevelt, to air their grievances. Their intention was noted in *Y Drych* in the following manner:

[No doubt it will be interesting for the Welsh of our country to know that the Welsh Nationalist Party intended to bring before Mr Welles the grievances that Wales has against England. It was planned to show him that Wales had a right to her national freedom in any peace plan which may arise after this present war.]<sup>117</sup>

Furthermore it was stated that the party planned to place its grievances in the context of the oppression of small nations by larger powers:

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<sup>116</sup> He was in London on March 10, 1940 to discuss a peacemaking proposal with Neville Chamberlain to try and prevent the widening of the war: ‘Sumner Welles makes a “peace proposal”,’ accessed January 4, 2011, <http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/sumner-welles-makes-a-peace-proposal>.

<sup>117</sup> *Y Drych*, March 21, 1940.

[We will explain to Mr Sumner Welles that the freedom of Europe's small countries cannot be organised without ensuring freedom for Wales, also. The principle of freedom for Finland, Poland and Czechoslovakia is the same as freedom for Wales. There will be no justice in Europe, nor will a new map of Europe be correct, until Wales is free.]<sup>118</sup>

It becomes clear that Plaid Cymru had been motivated to make contact with Welles on account of his opinions regarding the rights of small nations, although the party's own newspapers did not carry any information regarding Welles until 1943. In July of that year *Y Ddraig Goch* included part of a speech which he had made on 31 May under the heading 'Egwyddorion Heddwch yn ôl Sumner Welles' (The Principles of Peace according to Sumner Welles) and noted the most important of Welles's six points for the basis of peace, which was the following:

[To acknowledge the principle of equal freedom for every state, small and large, to establish the principle that the path to freedom and self-government for every nation which desires freedom has to be made easier.]<sup>119</sup>

At the beginning of the following year Plaid Cymru again reported statements made by Welles before the conference in Moscow:<sup>120</sup>

[Mr Sumner Welles said... that the essential principles are  
1. To make sure that the innate rights of nations, namely their freedom, are not impaired;  
2. To facilitate the establishment of an international organisation.]<sup>121</sup>

The stark comment made after the inclusion of the above report was that the two principles were two of Plaid's aims; the third being the defence of the language and culture of Wales.<sup>122</sup>

As has been stated earlier in this chapter, the concept of fighting for the rights of small nations was one which had been propounded before both World Wars but whereas, according to an article in *Y Ddraig Goch* entitled 'Dros ba beth yr ymleddir?' (Fighting for what?), it was the palpably evident reason for World War I, it was not so evident in the case of World War II:

[All the efforts of the Propaganda Office, all the oratory of Chamberlain and all the preaching of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, have not yet succeeded to create any certainty amongst the common people of England as to why and for what

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<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

<sup>119</sup> *Y Ddraig Goch*, July 1943.

<sup>120</sup> In August 1943 Welles had tendered his resignation on account of antipathy towards him because of his personal life, yet Roosevelt had asked him to lead the delegation to the conference in Moscow even after his resignation was accepted: 'Sumner Welles, Postwar Planning, and the Quest for a New World Order, 1937-1943,' accessed March 5, 2012: <http://www.gutenberg-e.org/osc01/frames/fosc08.html>.

<sup>121</sup> *Y Ddraig Goch*, January 1944.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid.



they are fighting. In the last war everyone knew the answers to those questions. England was fighting for democracy, for the rights of small nations, for the sacredness of treaties, for civilization, for a better world for people to live in, briefly for God, against Kaiserism and imperial oppression and breaking of promises, and Kultur and AntiGod.]<sup>123</sup>

Nevertheless the argument of freedom for small nations was being used to justify the hostilities against Germany, and especially so by Sumner Welles who was to be lobbied by Plaid Cymru. And yet there is no record of a meeting taking place between him and any member of the party, which would surely have been reported if it had occurred. So it must be presumed that Plaid's intention was not realised and one is left to wonder why influential individuals like Hobart L. Morris, who were offering Plaid Cymru their assistance from the United States, were not asked to organise the desired lobbying of Sumner Welles.

On the evidence collected in this chapter it appears that Plaid Cymru had offered to expatriates a way to express their identity or to exhibit a marker of their identity, and this was evident in such correspondence as the letter from E. Leigh Pierce. But it became very evident after the event at Penyberth which had awakened latent patriotism and nationalism amongst many Welsh-Americans, from Hobart L. Morris to the visiting preacher from Slatington, the Revd Arfon Jones. The correspondence discussed in this chapter also shows how British imperialism was perceived to be the enemy of Welsh Nationalism. But what did Plaid Cymru gain from the awakened patriotism and the hostility to English oppression amongst the expatriates? Units of 'Cyfeillion Cymru' or 'The Friends of the Welsh People' had been actively working on the party's behalf and the society in Ohio had sent financial aid but there does not seem to have been any development of these units nor a formation of networks emanating from them to support the party both financially and ideologically. Was it the outbreak of the war and the hostility towards nationalism which stifled the potential of these groups or was it the tardiness of Plaid Cymru in taking advantage of the channels opened in New York and Canton, Ohio? And why, after Penyberth and the positive reaction amongst Welsh-Americans, was nothing seemingly done to implement the outpouring of patriotism, brief though it might have been? There must be many answers, from the economic situation in America itself, which must have been a factor in the lack of financial aid, to the absence of a recognised leader amongst Welsh-Americans to co-ordinate support for the party, but the primary reason would appear to be the failure of Plaid to grasp the opportunities afforded. However, it must be remembered that in this period no one had been appointed to oversee

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<sup>123</sup> Ibid., November 1939.

relations with expatriates. J. E. Jones, the secretary, was in the impossible position of having to fulfil numerous roles,<sup>124</sup> such as supervising the publication of literature, issuing declarations on behalf of the executive committee, writing to the press, responding to enquiries and communicating with *rhanbarth* (area) committees and individual members. He was also the person who corresponded with the expatriates. To have appointed an official to communicate specifically with expatriates would probably have led to financial aid and to increased membership, but no such appointment occurred, and that was, probably, for two reasons: that the person would have to be unwaged as the party's coffers were almost empty and that Plaid, under Saunders Lewis, was still convinced that its primary work was to win Welsh-speaking Wales.

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<sup>124</sup> Davies, *The Welsh Nationalist Party 1925-1945*, 187.

## Chapter 4

### **An incalculable bankroll?: seeking financial support from the United States**

In the previous chapter it has been shown that, for the most part, the instigation for contact and the desire to create a link between Welsh-Americans and Plaid Cymru stemmed from the former. In contrast, this chapter will focus on the proactivity of Plaid Cymru as it attempted to source finance from Welsh-American expatriates. In particular, it will seek to analyse the response of the Welsh-American community to the stimuli of the party's financial appeals published in *Y Drych* and *The Druid* between 1925 and 1945, although the wider narrative, portraying the relationship between the two newspapers and Plaid Cymru, will be discussed in the following chapters.

Without doubt this was a period when Plaid Cymru was in desperate need of funds. In 1927, for example, barely two years after its formation it had faced 'financial problems so acute'<sup>1</sup> that the wage of the organising secretary H. R. Jones had to be cut by a third and the viability of the post itself had been under discussion. The retention of the office, then located in Aberystwyth, had also been in doubt. In such dire circumstances it was only the generous donation of £100 from Lady Mallt Williams of St Dogmaels which ensured the survival of the party organisation. She 'saved our lives' according to Saunders Lewis's account to H. R. Jones.<sup>2</sup> Again, in 1929, after contesting just one seat in the General Election and losing its deposit, the party's finances were so seriously depleted as to be, as one commentator has described it, in a 'twll ariannol' (a financial hole).<sup>3</sup> The unfortunate and direct result of the financial loss made at this election was the sacking of an office clerk and a search for cheaper office space in Caernarfon, rather than Aberystwyth, to serve as Plaid's headquarters.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore in the 1931 Election, when J. E. Daniel stood as Plaid's candidate in Caernarvonshire, so ineffective were the party's fundraising activities that it was reduced to relying on 'ceiniogau prin chwarelwyr Arfon' (the scarce pennies of the Arfon slate miners).<sup>5</sup> J. E. Jones's efforts to try and make the party more secure financially by establishing the

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<sup>1</sup> Davies, *The Welsh Nationalist Party 1925-1945*, 200.

<sup>2</sup> Lady Mallt Williams was to provide several gifts of money to the party during the 1920s and 1930s: Ibid., 200, 216.

<sup>3</sup> The main reason for this being, apparently, that Plaid had so few members at grass roots level, inferring that those specific members were not able to do more to increase the party's financial assets or that they were not inclined to do so: Vittle, *Valentine*, 147.

<sup>4</sup> Davies, *The Welsh Nationalist Party 1925-1945*, 200.

<sup>5</sup> *Y Ddraig Goch*, November 1931. Valentine described how the last speakers would arrive in the office by midnight and then all the collectors would pour out the pennies from their pockets, those pennies which were 'ceiniogau prin chwarelwyr Arfon i'n helpu yn y frwydr' (the scarce pennies of the Arfon quarrymen to aid us in the battle).

annual St David's Day Fund in 1934 brought some measure of success. For example, the Annual Report in 1933 noted an overall debt amounting to £265, but by 1936 the party was debt free. However, whilst the Penyberth incident garnered £1,000 for the Defence Fund, Plaid itself did not reap any benefit. The total of the St David's Day Fund in 1937 showed that there was no advancement on the total of the 1936 Fund and by August 1938 the party was again in debt.<sup>6</sup>

As was noted in the Introduction, various national movements had looked consistently towards diasporic communities for financial aid, and one of the most successful fiscal relationships was that between Irish Nationalists and Irish expatriates in the United States. Plaid activists had forged close ties with Irish Nationalists even prior to the setting up of the National Party in Wales;<sup>7</sup> Lewis Valentine, for example, had met members of Sinn Fein in 1917 and by his own admission, had given serious consideration to joining them:

[I and an English friend... had very seriously considered joining these people. We would have been welcomed by them and would have been given refuge.]<sup>8</sup>

D. J. Williams, also, had travelled to Ireland in 1919 and had met with Eoin O'Neill and Arthur Griffith, the President of the Provisional Government at the time. He had even visited the Provisional Government's secret headquarters above a bakery in Dublin.<sup>9</sup> On these premises it is logical to assume that methods of raising money would have been discussed and noted, and it is certain that reference would have been made to the 'incalculable bankroll' of Irish-American donations. Furthermore, as one of the speakers in Plaid's first Summer School in Machynlleth in 1926 was Kevin O'Sheil of the Fine Gael party<sup>10</sup> and as, a few years later, J. E. Jones was to seek information from another Irish party, Fianna Fail, concerning ways of effective fundraising,<sup>11</sup> it is reasonable to believe that in discussions on fiscal matters the assets available from expatriates in America would have been mooted. Of course the numbers of Welsh-Americans paled significantly in comparison with Irish-Americans but, even so, in relation to the population of a small country, it was a sizeable source of possible financial support.

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<sup>6</sup> Davies, *The Welsh Nationalist Party 1925-1945*, 202, 207, 208, 269.

<sup>7</sup> The influence that the success of the IRA and Sinn Fein in the battle for Irish independence had on the early Welsh Nationalists was immeasurable: Vittle, *Valentine*, 118-19.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 78.

<sup>9</sup> Waldo Williams, 'Braslun,' in *D. J. Williams, Abergwaun*, ed. John Gwyn Griffiths (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1965), 20.

<sup>10</sup> Vittle, *Valentine*, 130.

<sup>11</sup> Davies, *The Welsh Nationalist Party 1925-1945*, 217. Plaid Cymru's correspondent to *Y Drych*, H. Rhys Hughes, made the point that the efforts of Irish Societies in America were alive in the minds of the Welsh National Party: *Y Drych*, April 21, 1938.

Before the time of mass communications the foremost channel for the dispersal of information to expatriates would have been through family correspondence and, although not prioritised by the party in its early years, Plaid was to become aware of the potential financial aid that these contacts afforded, as the following statement shows:

[Members have friends and family and relations in every part of the country and of the world; through personal letters it is possible that generous donations will be received from them.]<sup>12</sup>

Amongst those who had contacts abroad were prominent members of Plaid with relatives in America. It is known that an uncle of D. J. Williams was, for a number of years, a minister in Kansas and Colorado, and D.J. himself had considered a move across the Atlantic in 1906,<sup>13</sup> but apparently this connection was in no way implemented to help with fundraising. Even more pertinently Saunders Lewis's brother, Owen Thomas Lewis, had crossed the Atlantic, initially to Canada, and subsequently to Dallas and Dakota.<sup>14</sup> But no mention is made in Plaid's annals of any attempt to establish a connection which was related in any way to Owen Thomas Lewis. The party, however, had a more immediate connection with America in the person of D. J. Davies, one of its most important ideologues, who had left Wales in 1912 and had worked in the mines in the USA. He, with others, had established the Northwestern Coal and Coke Company in Steamboat Springs, Colorado but, in 1918, he had enlisted with the American Navy before returning home to Wales in 1919.<sup>15</sup> Colorado itself, of course, was not an area known for its Welsh populace, but Davies might have made contacts which could have been nurtured to aid Plaid, yet there is no evidence to suggest that any possible links were explored. Once again, as in the case of Hobart L. Morris, mentioned in the previous chapter, who had asked whether funds were needed, Plaid seems to have bypassed opportunities to further its financial security by way of its expatriates.<sup>16</sup>

On the basis of the above examples of non-implementation, it might seem that Plaid Cymru had no intention of emulating their Irish Nationalist counterparts but, on the contrary, the party did make contact with the Welsh-Americans to acquaint them of their need for

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<sup>12</sup> *Y Ddraig Goch*, February 1939.

<sup>13</sup> Derwenydd Morgan (Dafydd Gwarco'd) was half-brother to D. J. Williams's mother and had ministered in Kansas and Colorado for fifteen years prior to returning home in 1906. He had intended returning to America in the summer of 1906 and D.J. was to travel with him with the intention of settling in America, but the plans did not materialise. D. J. Williams, *Yn Chwech ar Hugain Oed*, (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1959), 192-93.

<sup>14</sup> Chapman, *Un Bywyd o Bliith Nifer*, 4.

<sup>15</sup> *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography 1941-1970*, 31; Emyr W. Williams, 'D. J. Davies – A Working Class Intellectual within Plaid Genedlaethol Cymru 1927 – 1932,' *Llafur* 4, no. 4 (1987): 46-47; Ceinwen Thomas, 'D. J. Davies,' in *Adnabod Deg*, ed. Derec Llwyd Morgan (Dinbych: Gwasg Gee, 1977) 142.

<sup>16</sup> Although, as was stated in Chapter One, Lewis Valentine, in 1942, had asked members for names of relations in America so that he could acquaint them with Plaid's policy, he had made no mention of financial aid.

financial support and to appeal to them for donations. In this venture it was fortunate that even in 1925, after many Welsh-American newspapers and publications had ceased publication, there were still two newspapers which served the community, namely the aforementioned Welsh-medium newspaper, *Y Drych* (see Chapter Five), and its English-medium counterpart, *The Druid* (see Chapter Six). Through these publications Plaid Cymru was able to enter the world of diasporic fundraising by making contact with Welsh-Americans.

Surprisingly, an appeal<sup>17</sup> on behalf of Plaid Cymru appeared on the pages of *Y Drych* on 20 August 1925, just two weeks after the party had been officially formed in Pwllheli. The fact that a party which seems to have been lacking in organisation on many fronts during its formative years,<sup>18</sup> had managed not only to formulate an appeal but to send it across the Atlantic in such a short time after its formation is noteworthy. But it must be remembered that many of the aims of the new party had been published already in newspapers such as *Y Faner*<sup>19</sup> even before the meeting in Pwllheli, so that the information would have been ready for publication. Furthermore not only was H. R. Jones, Plaid's secretary, one of the contributors to *Y Faner*, he was also contacting nationalist sympathisers and issuing membership cards throughout the spring of 1925 as he was keen to 'expand membership beyond the confines of Caernarfonshire.'<sup>20</sup> Consequently it is very likely that it was he who had communicated with *Y Drych*, and that prior to the meeting in Pwllheli, so that the appeal<sup>21</sup> could be included in this particular issue of the newspaper. Supporting that likelihood is the fact that H.R., an avid supporter of Irish nationalism who would have been well versed in the strategies that had been used to gain Irish-American support, was probably in this instance emulating those strategies by using the channels most likely to reach a substantial portion of Welsh-America, without too much effort or cost to Plaid.

The appeal was introduced by Hugh Hughes<sup>22</sup> in his editorial column:

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<sup>17</sup> This first appeal was not, specifically, a request for financial aid although it does mention a Fund which would be set up to fight elections. It was, however, decided to include it in this chapter as it could have resulted in donations to the party.

<sup>18</sup> Lewis Valentine was to be frustrated on many occasions by the lack of action and the tendency to talk vacuously and H. R. Jones, the party's first organiser, was not renowned for his practical attributes: Vittle, *Valentine*, 118, 150.

<sup>19</sup> For example, Lewis had written in *Y Faner* on April 9, 1925 that Welshmen should not be connected with English parties and should concentrate their efforts in the Welsh local authorities. H. R. Jones was also corresponding with *Y Faner* and discussing its aims well before the meeting in Pwllheli: Davies, *The Welsh Nationalist Party 1925-1945*, 44, 48.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 41.

<sup>21</sup> The contents of which would not have been new to Welsh-American readers of such publications as *Y Faner*.

<sup>22</sup> See Chapter Five.

[We have received a request for assistance from the Welsh Nationalist Party which has just been established.]<sup>23</sup>

The introduction continued, stating that the party's aim in the cultural field was to make Welsh the sole official language of Wales and the sole medium of education. In the political field it was stressed that any links with English political parties had to be renounced, no votes were to be cast in Parliamentary Elections and an effort should be made to win seats on Welsh councils so as to make Welsh Wales a reality. To accomplish the latter aim a fund was to be set up to fight local elections.

To a certain extent the cultural aim would have been understood by readers of *Y Drych*, as the Welsh language was still a factor in the identity scenario of Welsh-Americans, although not nearly as potent a factor as it had once been, as Chapter Two has shown. But whether they could have envisaged a solely Welsh Wales let alone have been enthused by the concept is debatable. The conflicting attitudes towards the language were aired on the pages of the newspaper. On the one hand there were those like John Hywel Williams of Milwaukee who, seemingly, had not transferred the language to his children and was incensed by the resulting criticism:

[There are extremists in America who babble about our failure and our 'responsibilities' to teach Welsh to our children, and they call us sternly to account for such dreadful neglect.]<sup>24</sup>

Apparently Williams had decided that the language would be of no practical use and, during the year that he had spent in Wales, had found the same sentiment in evidence:

[if it is not practical in Wales itself, it is certain that it is impractical in a strange country.]<sup>25</sup>

The contrasting opinion was expressed in a Welsh couplet by Ioan Evan, who advised parents thus:

[Talk to them in Welsh and your action will be beneficial.]<sup>26</sup>

The differing and strongly-held opinions signify that Plaid's aim of creating a solely Welsh-speaking Wales would have met with mixed reactions in Welsh-America.

However, it was the political aims expressed in the editorial that would have made the readers realise that they were being addressed by a new political party, unconnected with the

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<sup>23</sup> *Y Drych*, August 20, 1925

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, January 1, 1925.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, January 8, 1925.

old parties with which they were familiar<sup>27</sup> and separate from the relatively new Labour Party. They were reminded that the old parties, the Liberals and Tories, had promised everything but had delivered little:

[magnanimous their promises, miniscule their fulfilment] <sup>28</sup>

‘Cymru Fydd’ must have come to the minds of some of the older readers when they read the above indictment, but many would have realised that this new political party was no continuation of that movement, as it had been stressed that there were to be no affiliations to any English party.

Moving on to the strategy that was to be implemented so as to progress politically, it was explained that the party would contest local authority elections and that a fund would be established for that purpose, yet no direct appeal was made for donations but, rather, a general call for support:

[To every Welshman and Welshwoman in Wales and everywhere, we plead through this letter for your support for the Welsh Nationalist Party. Will we have your support?] <sup>29</sup>

The wording makes it clear that the appeal was directed as much to the people of Wales as to the expatriates in America but, oddly enough, neither this appeal nor anything similar was published in Welsh papers during early August 1925,<sup>30</sup> nor in the weeks following, and neither did anything appear in corresponding issues of the Welsh-Patagonian paper, *Y Dravod*.<sup>31</sup>

Although it must be assumed that in informing readers of a fund for electoral contests the party was appealing for money, yet it appears that it was doing more than pleading for financial aid. It seems to have been seeking to arouse national consciousness, in Wales as well as amongst expatriates, and doing so by linking a statement of the party’s intentions with traditional and familiar sayings:

[Our triads state that a Welshman should love three things above all else: the Welsh nation, Welsh customs and laws, and the Welsh language. It is to the defence of these three things that the party dedicates itself...] <sup>32</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Yet there were Welsh-Americans who were confusing Plaid with another group as will be shown later in this chapter.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, August 20, 1925.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> *Y Cymro*, August 12, 19, 26, 1925; *Yr Herald Cymraeg*, August 11, 18, 25, 1925; *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, August 6, 13, 20, 1925. The only paper to record the formation of Plaid Cymru was *Yr Herald Cymraeg*: August 11, 1925.

<sup>31</sup> *Y Dravod*, July, 3, 10, 17, 24, 31, 1925; August 7, 14, 21, 28: 1925; September 4, 11, 18, 25, 1925.

<sup>32</sup> *Y Drych*, August 20, 1925.



Other than presenting the communication from Plaid Cymru the editor made no comment, neither advocating support nor advising against it. Did the appeal in *Y Drych* gain a response from Welsh-Americans? Were any donations received? Unfortunately no answer can be given as it seems that it was not mentioned again in any publication or in any private correspondence, nor recorded in any archive to the best of our knowledge. Furthermore, the first issue of *Y Ddraig Goch* did not appear for many months<sup>33</sup> and therefore the usual list of monthly donations to the party, which was regularly published, is not available for perusal.

Whatever the response, if any, to this first communication with Welsh-America, the party was corresponding again with *Y Drych* on 25 March 1926 and presenting an appeal which, this time, asked specifically for monetary donations. Moreover, a good deal of the front page of the newspaper was given over to this second communication, whereas the first had been merely a part of the editorial. The heading was couched in the following terms and manner:

[An Appeal from the youth of Wales to the Welsh of America  
The National Party, by means of their secretary, asking for aid.]<sup>34</sup>

The heading, it seems, was deliberately chosen to emphasise one of the main points in the message, namely that Plaid Cymru was a party composed of young people, inferring that there was an awakening of national consciousness amongst the younger generation in Wales that had resulted in the formation of a new political party:

[It is a party of young people, those who have decided to win back for Wales its national rights.]<sup>35</sup>

The appeal was a comprehensive resumé of the intentions of Plaid Cymru with regard to the Welsh language, which it claimed was under threat, and cited independence as an aim,<sup>36</sup> whilst stressing that this party had been formed in Wales and was not akin to the English parties which had their headquarters in London. On the subject of independence, readers were reminded that many Welshmen had fought and had sacrificed themselves in the battle for the liberty of America, therefore would they now consider reciprocating by assisting the Welsh people in their struggle:

<sup>33</sup> As noted in Chapter One, *Y Ddraig Goch* was not published until July 1926.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid*, March 25, 1926.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>36</sup> As has been stated in Chapter One, Saunders Lewis did not seek independence, seeing it as 'materialist nationalism,' and in the lecture at Machynlleth had chosen to use the word 'freedom' to express the kind of nationalism he advocated. Consequently H. R. Jones had threatened to resign as party secretary on account of Lewis's spurning of the term and its concept. However, he withdrew his resignation after being assured that if 'the party chose and clearly defined 'independence' as its aim' then he, Jones, would accept the decision: Davies, *The Welsh Nationalist Party 1925-1945*, 81-82. But this appeal was formulated before the Machynlleth Summer School and before Lewis had articulated the aims of the party.

[Will you help us also to insist on and to demand our freedom?] <sup>37</sup>

The concept of freedom was further expanded by including the argument, based on the Christian belief previously expounded by Michael D. Jones and Emrys ap Iwan, that every nation should be free by Divine right:

[We appeal to you then, our compatriots in America, in the name of God who created the nations of the world, help us to live according to our rights.] <sup>38</sup>

The use of the word *cydwladwyr* (fellow-countrymen/compatriots) was a subtle reminder to Welsh-Americans not to forget that they were of Welsh stock and H. R. Jones, who penned the appeal and who was, as has been stated, exceedingly knowledgeable in Irish affairs, then skilfully included in the communication a reference to the support which Irish-Americans had given to the fight for Irish freedom. It was, he declared, support from their Irish compatriots in America which had compelled England to withdraw its oppressive governance of Ireland:

[Irish people who live in America gave substantial aid to the cause of freedom in Ireland; it was because of their support that England was compelled to withdraw its iron fist from that nation.] <sup>39</sup>

The inference was obvious: Welsh-Americans could render the same aid in the fight for Welsh freedom.

The appeal closed with the assertion that the only way that Welsh-America could assist their fellow-countrymen in Wales to live in their God-ordained and rightful freedom was by sending donations to help them in their battles against the ‘foreign’ government:

[Help us... And the only way you can do that is by sending donations to fight our battles against the government of the foreigners...] <sup>40</sup>

The previous appeal had referred to the establishment of a fighting fund to assist with local elections but this time, according to H. R. Jones, any donations that were received would be used to fight Westminster elections<sup>41</sup> and they were to be sent to him in Caernarfon.

It seems that the appeal had impressed the editor of *Y Drych* and he raised the matter in the editorial column. He was of the opinion that the readers would take great interest in the communication and give it serious and prolonged thought, reminding themselves that every effort which could be beneficial to Wales deserved attention and deliberation. Thus it

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<sup>37</sup> *Y Drych*, March 25, 1926.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> In the first few years Plaid had no intention of contesting seats at Westminster; the goal was to work through local authorities (see Chapter One). But the term ‘Westminster’ could have been used to denote the Governmental policies that were stifling Wales’s identity.

appears that Hugh Hughes was, at least, commending the subject matter even though he made no mention of the donations that Jones in Wales must have been eagerly hoping for.

The prominence given to the appeal and the supportive editorial from Hugh Hughes looked promising for Plaid Cymru and must have raised hopes in the home-country. But the promise does not seem to have become a reality. There is no record of any financial aid flowing from America to Plaid as a result of this appeal, and no evidence to suggest that H.R.'s carefully crafted communication had elicited dollars for the coffers.

Yet the appeal had not been totally in vain as subsequent issues of the paper contained responses to H.R.'s communication, thereby suggesting that, at an intellectual level, Welsh-America had been moved to ponder Plaid Cymru's message even if it had not been inclined to proffer practical support. The sensationalist heading on the front page of *Y Drych* on 8 April 1926, was 'Apel y Blaid genedlaethol yn cychwyn y Ddadl yn yr America' (Plaid Cymru Appeal starts the Debate in America), inferring that there was a great debate going on in America, or in Welsh-America at least, as a result of the contribution from H.R. Beneath the title were two articles, both written by ministers of religion, one of which was the eighty-one year old Revd H. O. Rowlands,<sup>42</sup> a second generation Welsh-American from Wisconsin and the other, the Revd J. Morrision Thomas.<sup>43</sup> The former's article opened with a plaintive question which brings to mind the accusations that Emrys ap Iwan had made about the servile Welsh. Rowlands queried what could be done whilst the Welsh people themselves were continuing to slobber over the English:

[What can be done whilst the Welsh continue to lick the feet of the English?]<sup>44</sup>

The issue of Welsh subservience was addressed<sup>45</sup> and blamed not only for England's domination but also for the plight of the Welsh language. Servility, wrote Rowlands, was the

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<sup>42</sup> Revd. H. O. Rowlands D.D. was a second generation Welsh-American who was born in Waukesha, Wisconsin, in 1845. He served as pastor of the First Baptist Church in Elgin, La Salle Baptist Church, Chicago, and the First Baptist Church Lincoln, Nebraska. At the time of the writing of this article he was at Oak Park, Illinois: 'GLAMORGAN-L Archives,' accessed August 12, 2104,

<http://archiver.rootsweb.ancestry.com/th/read/GLAMORGAN/2009-11/1258404319>. For further information see Lafayette Wallace Case, *History of the North Star Mission, North Star Baptist Church and the LaSalle Baptist Church* (Chicago, Il.: Lenington, 1897) 41-42.

<sup>43</sup> An online search returns hits which name a book entitled *Idylls of the Beautiful* by a J. Morrision Thomas and it appears that he might be one and the same as the author of the article in *Y Drych*. The book was published in Newark, Ohio, by The Plymouth Congregational Church, circa 1907. Digital photographs of Morrision Thomas are found online in the digital collection of Chicago Public Library, 'Ravenswood-Lake View Community Collection,' accessed May 13, 2011,

<http://digital.chipublib.org/cdm4/results.php?CISOOP1=exact&CISOBBOX1=Clergy--Illinois--Chicago&CISOFIELD1=CISOSEARCHALL&CISOOP2=all&CISOBBOX2=thomas%2C+j.+morrision&CISOFIELD2=subject&CISOROOT=/rvw&t=s>.

<sup>44</sup> *Y Drych*, April 8, 1926.

reason why parents were making English the language of the home and of schooling so that, consequently, not only did children not speak the language, they were conditioned to believe that it was of no value. The assertions led the writer to ask what the Welsh of the United States could hope to accomplish in the face of such a situation and, more pertinently, what Plaid Cymru could do to counter the situation:

[What measures do the ‘new party’ have to address the un-Welsh and Hengistic influences which arise from most of the nation itself?] <sup>46</sup>

Yet the writer was apparently unable, or unwilling, to envision a nation which could rid itself of such undesirable influences; his response to the issue of independence, mentioned in the appeal, betrays an attachment to the unification of his native country with its neighbour:

[This is a high aim for a political ‘party’ and appeals to the ambition and serious prayer of every patriotic Welshman; the complete eradication of a union which is nearly a thousand years old and created by the voluntary agreement of England and Wales] <sup>47</sup>

Veneration of ‘y deyrnas Brydeinig’ (the British kingdom) which, as was often pointed out to its critics, was composed of ‘Scotiaid, Gwyddelod, a Chymry’ (Scots, Irish and Welsh) as well as the English,<sup>48</sup> was apparent in the correspondence of many writers to *Y Drych* especially in times of crisis. ‘Hen Brydain Fendigaid’ (Old Blessed Britain) was the title of a poem at the outset of the Boer War<sup>49</sup> and there were cries of ‘Prydain Anwylaf’ (Dearest Britain) and ‘O, Brydain fy mam-wlad’ (O, Britain my mother-country) from many quarters.

Not only is it apparent that Rowlands was concerned when contemplating the break-up of Britain, he was also perturbed that Plaid should be appealing for financial aid. What was it for? How would financial donations from America, if any should be forthcoming, be implemented?:

[What use will be made of the donations of Welsh-Americans (if they are made) to bring about the desired realities?] <sup>50</sup>

Obviously the assertion in H. R. Jones’s communication that donations would be used in the battles against Westminster were not explicit enough for Rowlands. Jones had probably deliberately avoided using anti-English rhetoric as it was part of the party’s strategy to stress

<sup>45</sup> A correspondent calling himself ‘Efrogydd,’ of New York City wrote that ‘The Welsh have not even the courage of the Israelites, who refused to sing when they were in bondage’: *The Druid*, July 1, 1937.

<sup>46</sup> *Y Drych*, April 8, 1926.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, March 18, 1900.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, March 22, 1900.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, April 8, 1926.

that it was not anti-English,<sup>51</sup> but naming Westminster was a different matter as there was a deep level of animosity in many quarters of Welsh-America towards the seat of British Government on account of the arrogance shown towards Wales:

It is a matter of record that whenever a representative from Wales arises to advance the claims of Wales he is immediately a subject of scorn and derision and is inevitably forced to sit down under an avalanche of scornful jeers.<sup>52</sup>

And a correspondent to *Y Drych* makes the same accusation in regard to a particular case:

[The oppressive authority of England in the House of Commons has turned a deaf ear to every attempt to alleviate the distress of the miners of the South.]<sup>53</sup>

Rowlands would most probably have agreed with the expressed sentiments, but he was suspicious of the lack of detail in H. R. Jones's appeal regarding the use that would be made of donations. How would they be used in the fight 'against the government of the foreigners?' is the question that troubled him. Could it be that Rowlands was remembering the bloody battles fought in Ireland and envisaging the same in Wales? Yet he continued his letter by touchingly professing that he was ready to make some sacrifices to defend the nation and its language, even though the servility of his fellow-countrymen in the home-country brought to mind the Greeks who had let in the Trojan horse. Consequently, he wanted to know what plans Plaid had for reversing the situation:

[We would make reasonable sacrifices to safeguard the old nation and the language of our fathers; but what can we do whilst the Welsh themselves are pulling down the wall to receive the wooden horse to hasten their destruction? The appealers should let us know what could restrain the 'overflow' and how it could be achieved.]<sup>54</sup>

Rowlands's article gave a stark portrayal of the Wales which had given rise to Plaid Cymru. The party had been formed as a result of the dire situation which the writer had described but, as he rightly inferred, the situation would not be remedied except by the will of the people.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Although he did refer to 'the government of the foreigner'; but, in an article to *The Druid* on February 1, 1927, Jones had written that it was not enmity for England but, rather, love for Wales and its civilization which was driving forward Plaid Cymru's policies. Nevertheless, many Welsh-Americans were anti-England: see Senator James J. Davies's remarks reported in Chapter Three. And the animosity was not restricted to Welsh-America; memories of the American War of Independence (1775 – 1773) still lingered, and one commentator makes the following comment: 'Englishmen were disconcerted, of course, to find that in Yankee breasts a family grudge rankled against the old mother country...': Berthoff, *British Immigrants in Industrial America 1790 – 1950*, 130.

<sup>52</sup> *The Druid*, January 15, 1930.

<sup>53</sup> *Y Drych*, April 21, 1938.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, April 8, 1926.

<sup>55</sup> There are numerous references in the Welsh-American newspapers to the indifference shown by the Welsh of Wales to their home-country. An example is the following observation by J. W. Davies of Wilkes-Barre: 'Yn fy aml deithiau i wahanol ranau o'r byd, rwyf wedi cyfathrachu a rhai miloedd o Gymry gwasgaredig, a fy mhrofiad i yw, fod y rhan fwyaf o honynt fwy twym galon i'w gwlad enedigol na'r rhai sydd gartref' (In my frequent journeys to different parts of the world, I have associated with some thousands of dispersed Welshmen,

How would the new party accomplish that feat? Moreover, if the views of Rowlands were representative of the views of Welsh-America, then Plaid Cymru would have an uphill struggle not only to elicit donations but also to convince their American compatriots that they had a valid and practical programme for change which would benefit the motherland of those expatriates.

The language was also the prime concern of the Revd Morrision Thomas. Viewing Plaid Cymru as an organisation which could safeguard the mother-tongue in Wales he commended it to Welsh-America:

[I hope that the National Party gets every support in America.]<sup>56</sup>

The kind of support hoped for was not explained, but it was made clear that it would not be of the Irish-American kind:

[In vain should the same sort of aid as was given to Ireland by the Irish-Americans be expected.]<sup>57</sup>

Apparently Thomas was referring to the monetary assistance which aided Eire to gain independence and, whilst discussing this issue, the writer displayed his antipathy towards the Irish, an emotion which had become evident on the pages of *Y Drych* long before 1926. In communications at the time of the Boer War, for example, correspondents like J. D. Davies of Atwood, Colorado had expressed disgust that some Welshmen were allying themselves with 'Ffeniaid Gwyddelig' (Fenian Irish) in support of the Boers.<sup>58</sup> Thomas Jenkins of Leon, Wisconsin had concluded that the majority of Welshmen who supported the Boers were from North Wales as, separated only from Ireland by a channel, they must be of mixed Irish and Welsh blood.<sup>59</sup> The antipathy probably stemmed from the old hostility between Protestantism and Catholicism and, in 1926, might have been strengthened by revulsion at the events which had led to the freedom of Ireland. In the case of Morrision Thomas, his antagonism led him to deprecate his fellow Celts whilst declaring that Wales would not follow them in breaking away from the Union, which was Great Britain:

[No, thank God, we have too much common sense to be blind to the numerous virtues of Great Britain.]<sup>60</sup>

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and in my experience most of them are more cordial towards the country of their birth than are those at home):  
Ibid., September 17, 1931.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., April 8, 1926.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., March 8, 1900.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., April 26, 1900.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., April 8, 1926.

The concept of ‘Great Britain’, as has been intimated, played an important part in the psyche of Welsh-America and ‘Britishness’ and ‘Welshness’ were interchangeable terms<sup>61</sup> for many correspondents, as the following statement by John Hammond of Delta, Pennsylvania, exhibits :

[Can we serve two lords, namely the Welsh Spirit, or the British Spirit, and at the same time the American Spirit?] <sup>62</sup>

Similarly Thomas’s concept of Wales was bound up with the entity that was ‘Great Britain’, so that the prospect of both Home Rule and Independence left him perplexed:

[I don’t know if I believe in Home Rule or Independence for Wales or not...] <sup>63</sup>

The aforementioned correspondents were able to empathise with Plaid’s concern about the state of the Welsh language and with the need to strategise in its defence, but the thought of severing ties which would divide the Union caused perturbation and impacted on their attitude to the issue of donations. Reading the articles H.R. would have realised that mentioning independence in an appeal for money was not politic.

The appeal motivated further response in the next issue of *Y Drych*. Hughes, the editor, wrote that he agreed that the criticisms levelled against the the Welsh of ‘yr Hen Wlad’ (the Old Country) were correct, but he believed that Rowlands had been too harsh when accusing his kith and kin in the home-country of indifference to the language. He declared that centuries of English oppression had fostered Welsh subservience and servility:

[We must remember that the Welshman has been under English oppression for centuries. This has created a fear in him and this fear has then bred subservience and self-denigration...] <sup>64</sup>

Referring to the appeal, he expressed the certainty that Welsh-Americans would assist their fellow-countrymen at home if they were convinced that Plaid Cymru was being practical – and the rejoinder probably alluded to the monetary sphere. The remark carries an implication that there were concerns regarding the intended use of donations.

The appeal was to motivate yet another response which appeared in the next issue of *Y Drych* under the sensational headline, ‘Cais y Blaid Genedlaethol yn pery cynwrf yn y

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<sup>61</sup> ‘the word “British” in Welsh writings, until Victorian times, at least..... [was] a synonym for “Welsh” ...’: E. Wyn James, ‘The New Birth of a People: Welsh Language and Identity and the Welsh Methodists c.1740-1820,’ in *Religion and National Identity in Wales and Scotland c.1700-2000*, ed. Robert Pope (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000), 22.

<sup>62</sup> *Y Drych*, September 10, 1931.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, April 8, 1926.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, April 15, 1926. In this context one commentator, many years later, was to make the following succinct statement, ‘you don’t live for centuries under the power of others and remain the same people’: Robin Gable, ed., *Resources of Hope: Culture, Democracy, Socialism* (London: Verso, 1989), 101.

gwersyll Americanaidd'<sup>65</sup> (Plaid Cymru's request causes upheaval in the American camp) which was spread across the page. Underneath was another heading, 'Lewis Gabriel<sup>66</sup> heb ei ddarostwng eto. Yr apel yn hollol gydunol a'i ddymuniad er's llawer o flynyddoedd ' (Lewis Gabriel, not subdued yet. The appeal totally in agreement with his wish of many years). His 'wish of many years' had been for independence: freedom from England which he deemed a reasonable aspiration:

[Why not? There is no reason against, but every reason for. It is only lack of knowledge or lack of humanity that would cause anyone of us to suffer under the cruel yoke of the English...]<sup>67</sup>

A few years earlier, in 1919, Gabriel had contributed an article to *Y Drych* on 'Y Cymdeithasau Cymreig', one of whose tenets, as the writer stated, was an affirmation of belief in self-government for Wales:

[that full self-government for Wales – including Monmouthshire – is essential for the development of our nation... That is, the continuing existence of the Welshman and the Welsh woman is connected to a Welsh government.]<sup>68</sup>

Professing self-government to be essential to the continued existence of the Welsh nation, Gabriel's condemnation was not only of England but also of those of his compatriots who refused to support independence. Yet even from him there was never a suggestion that Welsh-Americans should respond to the financial appeals in a positive and proactive way. Furthermore, *Y Drych* made no reference to any fiscal response to the appeal penned by H. R. Jones. So, it can be presumed that, once again, Plaid's request for funding had fallen on deaf ears.

Nearly a year later another appeal from H.R. was published on the front page of *Y Drych* under the heading 'Apel Daer Eto o Gymru' (An earnest appeal, again, from Wales). Underneath was the following sub-heading:

[Officials of the National Party requesting the assistance of their fellow-countrymen in America]<sup>69</sup>

The same appeal was to appear in English on the pages of *The Druid*<sup>70</sup> without the opening word, *swyddogion* (officials) in the sub-heading. Was there any significance to its inclusion in *Y Drych*? It could be interpreted as a sign of consternation amongst the higher ranks of

<sup>65</sup> *Y Drych*, April 29, 1926.

<sup>66</sup> He corresponded frequently with *Y Drych* but no further information on him came to light.

<sup>67</sup> *Y Drych*, April 22, 1926.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, October 2, 1919.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, January 13, 1927.

<sup>70</sup> *The Druid* had not received the appeal which had referred to 'independence' and therefore had no need to address the issue in the immediate heading but the matter was raised by the editor. See below.



Plaid Cymru at the use of the word ‘independence’ in the former appeal from H.R. The editor, knowing of that consternation, had chosen to emphasise that this specific missive had been authorised by party officials.<sup>71</sup>

In many ways this appeal was a repetition of the one which had appeared in March 1926, in that it emphasised the youthfulness of the party and an awareness that the old nation was facing extinction:

[The old nation today is in danger of losing its life, the language about to die, old traditions and ideals about to be lost, and the young people having awoken to the danger which confronts them...]<sup>72</sup>

Consequently, continued the appeal, the battle that faced the young people – or the party, as both seem to be deliberately synonymous – was for the freedom of the nation and, thereby, its continued existence:

[The shackles which connect us to England must be smashed, and we must insist on the right to determine our own fate, by becoming once again a free country.]<sup>73</sup>

Portraying the small Welsh nation fettered to a bigger power echoed the rhetoric that was in vogue after World War I and in the years beyond. Thus the Welsh-American readers were reminded of their host country’s record in aiding small nations to gain freedom and asked to proffer Wales the same aid:

[A splendid romance pertains to America as a supporter of small nations on the path to freedom. Let them show in an effective way that they truly love the old land of their fathers and that they are ready to play their part to secure freedom for the Welsh nation...]<sup>74</sup>

Once again H. R. Jones was seeking to awaken Welsh-Americans to their duty to the motherland. In a former appeal he had challenged them to fight for Wales as they had fought for America and now he was presenting to them a small country which needed the freedom that they had boasted of gaining for other small countries. Without that freedom there would be annihilation:

[Half a century, again, of sleep and nothing will remain, only in history books...]<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Moses Griffith was the party’s treasurer for the first seven years but he doesn’t seem to have played any part in these appeals.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

Thus, adroitly, the onus for the survival of the Welsh nation was placed on Welsh-American shoulders and the ‘effective way’ that they could show concern was stated in the following sentence:

[Our work is greatly hampered by lack of finance; we appeal earnestly for your aid. Who will answer the call?] <sup>76</sup>

In this appeal there were emotive arguments coupled with hard realism; but it does not seem to have motivated Welsh-America. If any financial donations or effective response to the communication had been forthcoming, they were not noted in *Y Ddraig Goch*, nor recorded elsewhere.

As was previously stated, the same appeal as the one discussed above was published in English in *The Druid*. It would be interesting to know who amongst the leading members of Plaid had made the decision to provide an English-language newspaper with a communication written in English. These were the early years when the party was a Welsh-speaking organisation concentrating on Welsh Wales and investing all their energies in defence of the language and its accompanying culture. It would be some five years after this appeal before the party’s English-language newspaper, *The Welsh Nationalist*, appeared in January 1932.<sup>77</sup> Yet, in 1927, and even before, a few voices in the party had been raised concerning the issue of communicating with the Anglicised Welsh. Lady Mallt Williams of St Dogmaels, the generous donor previously mentioned, had warned of the dangers of ignoring non-Welsh speakers in Wales, as the following comments to H.R. prove:

Look to the Deheubarth.<sup>78</sup> Are you leaving thousands of young people in the hands of the enemies of our country? The Draig Goch is no more intelligible to them than Greek.<sup>79</sup>

Another advocate of using English where it was necessary for political propaganda was D. J. Davies, whose article urging its use was printed in English in *Y Ddraig Goch*.<sup>80</sup> Davies, as was mentioned earlier, was also well-acquainted with America and it might have been on his advice that the appeal had been published in *The Druid*. However, it was most probably H.R. himself who had decided on this venture, as he was known to be eager to facilitate the use of English if it could empower Plaid Cymru, and he had declared that public meetings should be

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> This occasioned harsh criticism from Professor W. J. Gruffydd. See Chapter Five.

<sup>78</sup> Lady Mallt was probably referring to industrial south Wales.

<sup>79</sup> Mallt Williams’s letter to H. R. Jones, 18 August, 1926, Plaid Cymru Archive, National Library of Wales (Aberystwyth).

<sup>80</sup> *Y Ddraig Goch*, July 1931.

held in English in non-Welsh speaking areas of Wales<sup>81</sup> so that his fellow-countrymen could understand the party's message. Moreover, those like Kate Roberts and her husband, Morris Williams, who criticised harshly those who urged the use of English in the home-country, would probably have been indifferent to its use in an American paper, so the venture could begin without disagreements. Thus *The Druid* published its first appeal from Plaid Cymru and opened its communication in a manner similar, but not identical, to its Welsh counterpart:

Appeal from young people of Wales to all freedom lovers in America.  
Welsh National Party craves the assistance of Welsh-Americans in its efforts to save  
Welsh Nationhood from the shackles of bondage and subjection.<sup>82</sup>

As in the Welsh version the Welsh nation was portrayed as an ancient structure which was in danger of collapsing due to the onslaught of foreign influences on its foundations and, if this structure was to be saved, the work had to begin now. Therefore the author entreated 'all true lovers of liberty to come to our immediate aid.' Furthermore it was emphasised that it was to save Wales from 'drifting into anarchy as the immediate result of the collapse of Welsh nationhood' that 'the Welsh National Party ha[d] been called into being.' And the party, it was stressed, was comprised of young people responding to the call of duty and making great sacrifices financially and 'in service.' Consequently they called on America to assist them, reminding readers of *The Druid* that their host country, 'the land of the free,' had aided small nations in the past and entreating them to do likewise for Wales. Such an act would 'add one more jewel to [America's] illustrious crown.'

Unlike the appeal in *Y Drych*, names and addresses were included to which donations could be sent. One was the party office in Aberystwyth whilst the other two were Annie M. Morgan of Colony Farm<sup>83</sup> in Oakborne, Chester County, Pennsylvania and Mrs J. Rees Williams of 527 West 157<sup>th</sup> Street<sup>84</sup> in New York City. Annie Morgan of Colony Farm might have been a nurse in the Colony Farm hospital, but there is nothing to shed further light on Mrs J. Rees Williams, other than to state that there was nothing particularly Welsh about the area where she resided in New York. By providing addresses for potential donors *The Druid* had shown foresight and practicality, and it was to render the same service on 1 March 1930

<sup>81</sup> Davies, *The Welsh Nationalist Party 1925-1945*, 181.

<sup>82</sup> *The Druid*, January 15, 1927.

<sup>83</sup> Colony Farm, Oakborne, was a hospital for epileptic patients: 'Oakborne (SEPTA STATION),' accessed July 18, 2011, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oakborne\\_%28SEPTA\\_station%29](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oakborne_%28SEPTA_station%29). This person, who later became Annie Morgan Clark, could have been the daughter of Elizabeth Morgan of Racine, Wisconsin, formerly of Aberystwyth. There is a photograph of the family in *Y Drych* on July 25, 1935.

<sup>84</sup> 257 West Street 157<sup>th</sup> was located in the Washington Heights area of New York City, an area geographically close to the African-American Harlem and an area during the 1920s and 1930s that was populated by German and Eastern European Jews and Irish. 'Washington Heights,' accessed May 10, 2011, [http://c250.columbia.edu/c250\\_celebrates/washington\\_heights/](http://c250.columbia.edu/c250_celebrates/washington_heights/).

when, although there was no specific request from Plaid Cymru, the editor made an emotional appeal for financial assistance, stating that he would ‘gladly receive and forward all contributions to the treasurer of the party in Wales’:

If Welsh-Americans revere the name of St David and the welfare of ‘the land of our fathers’ has a lingering spot in our heart of hearts, let us, as we approach the shrine of St David on March 1, mingle our prayers with those of the patriots of Wales for the dawning of that blessed day when Gwalia Wen will be a free country, endowed with that heavenly right that assures it an opportunity to work out its own salvation and perpetuate its noble ideals and aspirations. Let our sympathetic prayers be accompanied by tangible evidence of our sincerity by a contribution – large or small – to the struggling Welsh National party in its gallant and patriotic effort to save Wales.<sup>85</sup>

Maybe coincidentally, ‘tangible evidence’ was provided by John O. Thomas, ‘Ioan o Fon’, from Utica, New York, whose letter was printed on the front page of the same issue of *The Druid*. It had been written in response to the previous issue’s editorial that had declared that Plaid Cymru was a movement battling for a noble cause which should appeal to every patriot. ‘Ioan o Fon’ declared that he accepted ‘this statement at its face value’ and was thus enclosing \$10 ‘towards the cause for money is essential to support the heroic efforts of the patriotic hearts that have undertaken the herculean task of awakening Wales to the menace that threatens its entity as a nation.’ Thus this contribution was not made in direct response to any formal appeal from Plaid Cymru but rather in reaction to the editor’s commendation of the party, a consistent theme throughout this period.<sup>86</sup> Its timing must also have been a show of support for the editor who was facing criticism from readers because he advocated Plaid Cymru. Yet, whilst taking these factors into account, the contribution has to be considered a sign of approval of the aims of the new party in Wales.

The 1927 appeal, the first to appear in *The Druid*, was accompanied by an editorial on Plaid Cymru which claimed that the party was not for independence but was working for a Welsh Parliament:

The Welsh party does not demand independence, but it does demand a Welsh Parliament to control its own internal affairs, and the just recognition of Wales as a separate nation with a right to govern itself, and no fair minded man, of whatever nationality, can deny the justice of this claim...

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<sup>85</sup> *The Druid*, March 1, 1930.

<sup>86</sup> The editor stated that his support for the cause of Wales was based on his belief that ‘the claims of the principality are founded on the same principles of right and justice as those advocated by Thomas Jefferson.’ *Ibid.*, March 1, 1937.

Once again the words of past exponents of self-government were being repeated, whilst the refusal of independence would have stilled the anxieties of such as H. O. Rowlands and Morrision Thomas for whom the word heralded the break-up of Britain. The editor continued by elucidating the political change that Plaid Cymru had in mind: it wanted to establish a form of governance which would allow Wales to run its own affairs. The significance of the editorial lies in the fact that it was felt necessary to refute independence as the aim and, in this context, it must be remembered that in a few years time Plaid Cymru would receive a message from the editor of *The Druid* telling them that Senator James J. Davies, one of the owners of the newspaper, preferred Home Rule rather than Dominion Status.

The other point raised in the editorial was also a repetition of past assertions which had acknowledged that freedom could only be attained if it were the will of the Welsh people:

While every lover of freedom and fair-play, and especially Welsh-Americans, cannot but wish the Welsh National party every possible success in its worthy aims and objects, we re-iterate our firm belief that Wales' salvation must come from within and not from without.

Thus Welsh-America could support but not deliver the aspired freedom.

Barely a month later the paper published another appeal from Plaid Cymru which had already appeared in *Y Drych*. It had been formulated by Mai Roberts,<sup>87</sup> one-time secretary to E. T. John, and its focus was specifically on women as the heading conveys:

Women of Wales Appeal To Welsh-American Women.  
Seek the Moral and Financial Support of Their Sisters in All Lands in the Effort to Preserve the National Soul of Wales Through Self-Government.<sup>88</sup>

In the article following the heading, it was stressed that the mode of governance which Plaid Cymru sought would be for the good of Wales, in contrast to the 400 years of imperialist rule which had favoured England and had led to the 'present chaos of Welsh Life.' The situation, if it were to be remedied, called for changes in many areas, especially in the fields of education, housing and transport. Roberts continued by making an interesting assertion that it was the lack of national consciousness that had given rise to 'class warfare', where loyalty to a group took precedence over loyalty to the nation.<sup>89</sup> Restoring nationhood, she claimed,

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<sup>87</sup> Her name was amongst the eight invited to become members of 'Mudiad Cymreig' and she was the first registered member of Plaid Cymru. She and Kate Roberts were the first two women members of the Executive Committee. Mai Roberts had immersed herself in the history of Cymru Fydd and was extremely knowledgeable about the battle of the Irish for freedom. Lewis Valentine stated that, in the early days, they depended on her to garner statistics and numbers which could be included in their speeches, and he told how she worked tirelessly for Saunders Lewis during the University of Wales election in 1931: *Y Ddraig Goch*, November 1971.

<sup>88</sup> *The Druid*, February 1, 1927

<sup>89</sup> Referring, most probably, to the fraternity mantras of the Labour movement.

would be the means to be rid of the two great evils of capitalism and the centralizing of industries.

Whilst this article conveyed the current situation in Wales, it proceeded to emphasise the moral and spiritual which had been propounded by Saunders Lewis in *Machynlleth*.<sup>90</sup> For it was, first and foremost, in an effort to save the ‘soul’ of Wales that the women of America were asked to assist:

They therefore invite their sisters abroad to join them in this great effort to preserve the national soul...

Women, it was stated, were a great moral force which, when combined with concerted action, was an incalculable power. In this instance it is possible that Roberts was referring to the Welsh Women’s Peace Mission, which had taken place during February and March of 1924, when women representatives from Wales, in support of world peace, had presented to the women of America 385,000 signatures of Welsh women.<sup>91</sup> Consequently this appeal from women to women would have been a reminder that women had a role to play in politics and in the formation of policies.

Yet, after citing the evils of imperialism and appealing to the emotions, Roberts had to return to the fact that the party had no money. However nobly the sons and daughters of Wales had responded to their country’s need they were hampered, through certain circumstances, by lack of finance:

owing to the dire distress of the last few months, in the industrial areas of South Wales in particular...

How much the situation in south Wales impacted on the funds of Plaid Cymru is unclear but, apparently, the party’s financial situation was critical. Roberts stated that ‘the new party finds it difficult to raise enough money to meet even its immediate requirements,’ consequently it was appealing to the Welsh women of America for aid ‘to carry on the good and noble work of securing a free Welsh-speaking Wales’ and thus ‘proudly preserving its historical culture,’ which was so loved by the ‘sisters in America.’

It might seem that it was a very inappropriate time for Plaid to be importuning for money whilst south Wales was in ‘dire distress’, but the argument could be made that supporting the party would secure future means of alleviating the misery. Yet would it not have been more politic to appeal on behalf of the unemployed at this time, rather than on ‘securing a free

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<sup>90</sup> Mai Roberts was an intensely spiritual person – ‘yr oedd Mai yn ferch wir grefyddol, ac yn Gristion gloyw’: Lewis Valentine in *Y Ddraig Goch*, November 1971.

<sup>91</sup> Jones and Jones, *Welsh Reflections*, 90.

Welsh-speaking Wales’?<sup>92</sup> But Plaid was true to its principles in that it had been set up to save the unique identity that was in danger of being lost.

This appeal once again, seems to have engendered no positive aid but it did elicit an antagonistic response from a certain Tom Rees, of Newcastle, Pennsylvania. He wrote of his suspicions concerning the new party and castigated past Welsh Nationalists for doing nothing for Wales:

I have no faith in the new Welsh Party. What have these Welsh Nationalists done in the past for Wales?<sup>93</sup>

It is clear that Rees was confusing the new Welsh Nationalists under Saunders Lewis with the old so-called Welsh nationalists like Tom Ellis and those Liberal MPs who had referred to themselves as the ‘Welsh Parliamentary Party’. It was a confusion which was to resurface at a later date when the editor of *The Druid* had felt it imperative to address antagonistic correspondence concerning his expressed views on Plaid Cymru:

The Druid has elicited the condemnation of some of its readers because it advocates the cause of the Welsh National party. Let not the average reader confuse the Welsh National party with the Welsh Parliamentary Party.<sup>94</sup>

Thus Rees was not alone in identifying the new Nationalists as being identical to the former Welsh group within the Liberal Party who, he deemed, had done nothing for Wales, and the accusation was a recurring theme made evident in statements such as the following:

Welsh aspirations and ideals are forgotten by them as soon as they leave Wales: national aspirations are forsaken and their Welsh harps are hung on willows on the banks of the Thames as they pursue measures to attain their personal ambitions.<sup>95</sup>

Undoubtedly this confusion, and the consequent accusations of inertia regarding Wales’s interests, would have been detrimental to Plaid Cymru’s fortunes in Welsh-America.

Rees proceeded with his criticism by marvelling at the audacity of the ‘Welsh Nationalists’ who, having done nothing for Wales, were yet appealing for support, morally and financially:

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<sup>92</sup> Yet an appeal which had been made by William E. Jones (Cynon) from Williamstown, Pennsylvania, ‘advocating devising means to help our starving relatives and friends’ during the Miners’ Strike had apparently met with no response according to a note from Jones in *The Druid* on November 15, 1926, which stated, ‘Strange to say, no one has taken up the appeal.’ The Welsh of Seattle were also aiming to collect for the miners in 1929 and the Second Presbyterian Church and Bethany Congregational Church Kansas City had already donated \$403: *Ibid.*, February 15, 1929.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, February 15, 1927

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, April 1, 1930.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, January 1, 1930.

Now they have the nerve to ask Welsh Americans for ‘moral’ support... they do not need moral support or financial assistance from America. What they need is more backbone.

The writer might have been implementing different words, but he was making the familiar accusation of servility, with which Plaid Cymru would have concurred, but the implied refusal of financial aid would have been worrying as it signified that Welsh-America had not grasped the new political scenario even though it had been relayed to them in the Welsh-American newspapers. If Tom Rees’s confusion and consequent antagonism were general, as the above editorial statement in 1930 seems to imply, then dollars from America would not be plentiful.

After the 1927 appeals, no formal request appeared for some years in either of the Welsh-American newspapers, which might have suggested that Plaid Cymru had conceded defeat in its attempts to raise finances from the United States through appeals in newspapers. However, in 1933, *The Druid* published a financial plea on behalf of the party which had been written by E. V. Stanley Jones.<sup>96</sup> The communication appeared on the front page of the newspaper and was entitled, ‘Preaching the gospel of freedom in Wales.’ This appeal linked the success of the party with the alleviation of unemployment in Wales where 40 per cent of the workforce was out of work. These people and their dependents, it was stressed, required practical assistance and not empty promises. They needed ‘bread not words and help not sweet sounding phrases.’<sup>97</sup> They were in this plight because imperialist England, with its ambitions for foreign prestige, ‘built of oppression and watered with blood,’ was siphoning off Wales’s money for foreign exploits. The people of Wales, their language and culture were the losers. This was the current situation in Wales that Stanley Jones was presenting to the expatriates in America.

But the situation of Plaid Cymru, as presented in the appeal, was improving. The party had established new branches ‘in every corner of Wales,’ and new members were ‘daily being enrolled.’ Yet the initial impression of success was slightly marred by the following confession:

We are a poor party financially, and each speaker must pay his or her own expenses. The party is not maintained by the large donations of the wealthy landowners and kings of industry, as the English political parties are.

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<sup>96</sup> H.R. had passed away and the editor of *Y Drych*, Hugh Hughes, had penned a glowing tribute to him in the newspaper in 1931. It is possible that they had met in the National Eisteddfod at Pwllheli in 1927.

<sup>97</sup> *The Druid*, February 15, 1933.



References to a party which was not maintained by wealthy landowners would have struck a chord, if Welsh-Americans were acquainted with their history, as many of those who had emigrated had done so because of tyrannical landowners. Similarly the phrase ‘kings of industry’ would have reminded many in the Welsh-American industrial areas that the coalowners of the south Wales pits were amassing their wealth at the expense of the collier and his family.

Yet even if Welsh-Americans were becoming more aware of their birthright and heritage, as claimed by Stanley Jones in the appeal, they were not motivated to donate to Plaid Cymru. This appeal, in the manner of former appeals, seems to have fallen on deaf ears.

Nevertheless, even in the face of apparent failure, yet another attempt was made to elicit donations in February 1935 when *The Druid* published a communication from Plaid Cymru. Its author was J. E. Jones<sup>98</sup> who had previously written an article for *Y Ddraig Goch* in March 1930 extolling both Welsh-Americans and *The Druid* for their role in ‘saving’ Wales:

[It is also planned to support us financially... I am referring to the sympathy which is extended to us by the Welsh-Americans in our effort on behalf of Wales, and to the marvellous work of the fortnightly paper, *The Druid*, in announcing Plaid’s gospel... Of all the Welsh people abroad it is the Welsh of America who are leading the way to ‘Save Wales.’]<sup>99</sup>

The planned financial support quoted by J. E. Jones referred to the statement made by *The Druid*’s editor in the March 1930 issue that contributions to the party could be sent to him. Nothing seems to have been received at the time, but the failure had apparently not dissuaded J.E. from another attempt through the channels of *The Druid*. He wrote:

Welsh Nationalists seek American aid. Patriotic Welsh-Americans are urged to respond to appeal to help perpetuate Wales’ Entity.<sup>100</sup>

Once again the expatriates were challenged to help preserve the imperilled nation by making financial contributions to the St David’s Day Fund, which had been set up to fulfil certain aims:

In order to carry on its grand work to foster the Welsh language, to promote Welsh industry, to reduce poverty and unemployment in Wales, the Nationalist party is opening a St. David’s Day Fund (Cronfa Gwyl Ddewi). All donations will be acknowledged in *The Druid*, *Y Ddraig Goch* and *The Welsh Nationalist*... Donations may be forwarded care of *The Druid*, Famers, Bank Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.

<sup>98</sup> He had been appointed Plaid Cymru organizer on the death of H. R. Jones in 1930.

<sup>99</sup> *Y Ddraig Goch*, March 1930.

<sup>100</sup> *The Druid*, February 1, 1935.

Economic strategies had come to be included in Plaid's appeals, but precedence was always given to the needs of the language, which had been the foremost concern of the party since its inception.

Donating to the appeal was made easy by referring intending contributors to *The Druid's* address, whilst the promise was made that all financial donations would be noted in the relevant newspapers. Had there been complaints that contributions had not been acknowledged? Was the promise of publication of names a ploy to open the purse-strings? Whatever the reason it became clear that Welsh-America was not moved, as no financial aid was recorded in response to this appeal.

The same issue contained an article entitled 'The Macedonian Cry.'<sup>101</sup> This again was a request for financial aid, this time from the editor of *The Druid*, R. H. Davies, who confronted his readers with the following challenge:

Are there a hundred patriotic Welsh-Americans who will contribute \$1 each to help free Wales?

Any person who wished to become a part of this campaign for the freedom of Wales was advised to contact *The Druid*, who would 'gladly receive [the] donation and will acknowledge the same in its columns.' Once more there seems to have been no response, but it is testimony to R. H. Davies's deep convictions that he persisted in his efforts.

Whilst all the evidence that has been presented in this chapter suggests that there was no response to the financial appeals, there are some factors which must be taken into account before coming to any conclusion. One of these is that *Y Ddraig Goch*, from time to time, would publish a list of financial contributions where no name or country was given; the donations were merely categorised under the headings, 'Di gangen' or 'Gweddill y byd' or 'Tramor' ('No branch' or 'The rest of the world' or 'Abroad'). Is it likely that there were American contributors amongst these? There could well be, as there is no mention of the \$10 sent by 'Ioan o Fon'. On the other hand *Y Ddraig Goch* does include the names and addresses of the few individuals from Welsh-America who had donated, as well as the sum they had contributed. The first recorded contributor in this context was Mrs D. N. Thomas of Martin's Ferry, Ohio,<sup>102</sup> the only one of the individual contributors who might have been

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<sup>101</sup> This refers to the vision of St Paul, recorded in the New Testament (Acts 16:9), in which a man from Macedonia appeared and entreated him for help.

<sup>102</sup> Martin's Ferry is a city in Belmont, Ohio, and at the beginning of the twentieth century there were more than 11,000 Welsh immigrants living in the state: 'The Wales-Ohio Project,' accessed November 11, 2013, <http://ohio.llgc.org.uk/index.php>. It was, apparently, a stronghold of labour unions: *Y Drych*, June 24, 1915. Another resident of Martin's Ferry was Miss Margaret Crispen of 437 North Seventh Street who was named by

inspired by an appeal, as the timings of the other donations were far removed from the timing of the requests. Mrs Thomas is recorded as having donated ‘4s and 4¢’ in September 1926. Many years were to pass before Mr T. Greenley of California donated £1 in 1940<sup>103</sup> and £1.4s in 1944<sup>104</sup> and before Capt. T. D. Richards of San Francisco gave the substantial sum of £10.10s<sup>105</sup> in 1945. In addition to these small sums from a few individuals, it appears that a donation was sent by the Welsh Ladies Auxiliary in Canton, Ohio, although the amount is not specified.<sup>106</sup> The fact that this organisation had made a contribution is surprising as, a year earlier, a letter had been sent to J. E. Jones from Mrs J. Kane of the Welsh Ladies Auxilliary in Canton, Ohio, informing him that the group would not be able to give their support to Plaid Cymru as the constitution and by-laws of the Welsh Women’s Clubs of America declared that they should be independent of religion and politics.<sup>107</sup> So it seems that whoever was involved with sending the donation had disregarded the said constitution and by-laws or had circumvented them in some way, suggesting that there was such significant support for Plaid Cymru amongst members of this club that they had devised a way to aid the party.<sup>108</sup>

Donations from members of Welsh diaspora in other lands were also recorded. For example an unnamed Welsh person residing in Sierra Leone had donated 5 guineas in 1939<sup>109</sup> whilst in 1940, as was noted in Chapter Three, *Y Ddraig Goch* recorded that a dollar had been received from Canada.<sup>110</sup> Mexico was the country of residence of J. Jones Williams who contributed £3 in 1942,<sup>111</sup> whilst a former pupil of D. J. Williams, namely Captain J. Dilwyn Miles,<sup>112</sup> who was at the time serving in the British Army and stationed in Jerusalem,

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George E. Hopkins of Canton, Ohio, as a person who was active in Welsh circles: J. E. Jones, letter to George E. Hopkins, January 10, 1938, Plaid Cymru Archives, National Library of Wales (Aberystwyth).

<sup>103</sup> *Y Ddraig Goch*, January 1940. Apparently the forms ‘Greenley’ and ‘Greenly’ are interchangeable. A certain ‘Tom Greenley’ emigrated to the US from Wales around 1910. He was one of the Greenly’s of Titley Court, Herefordshire and his ancestor would have been Elizabeth Brown Greenly (later Lady Coffin Greenly) who was a fervent supporter of all things Welsh. Her close friend was Lady Llanover, another supporter of the language and culture of Wales: ‘The History of the Greenlys,’ accessed November 11, 2013, <http://greenlyhistory.com>.

<sup>104</sup> *Y Ddraig Goch*, April 1944.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, May 1945.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, January 1939.

<sup>107</sup> Mrs J. Kane letter to J. E. Jones, March 30, 1938, Plaid Cymru Archive, National Library of Wales (Aberystwyth).

<sup>108</sup> As has been shown in the previous chapter Canton, Ohio, was fertile ground for Plaid Cymru supporters.

<sup>109</sup> *Y Ddraig Goch*, May 1939.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, April 1940.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, July 1942.

<sup>112</sup> Born in Newport, Pembrokeshire, he served as the Herald Bard of the Gorsedd of Bards at the National Eisteddfod from 1966 to 1996. In 1939 he enlisted in the Royal Army Service Corps and spent most of the war in Palestine. In 1942 he founded the Jerusalem Welsh Society: ‘Dilwyn Miles,’ *The Telegraph* August 13, 2007, accessed June 2, 2010, [www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1560218/Dilwyn-Miles.html](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1560218/Dilwyn-Miles.html).

contributed '£1 and 1s' in 1943.<sup>113</sup> Another expatriate who contributed in 1943 was Hugh Williams from Auckland, New Zealand. He donated £1.<sup>114</sup> Thus *Y Ddraig Goch* seems to have been noting contributions from overseas and consequently it would seem that any sum received from Welsh-America would have been printed or acknowledged. Nevertheless, it does not appear to have been the case at all times because, as has already been noted, the \$10 contribution from 'Ioan o Fon' was not recorded.

Furthermore, in April 1939, H. Rhys Hughes of Caernarfon wrote in *Y Drych* that some contributions from the US to the party's St David's Day Fund had already been received and on the 27 April he wrote the following:

[Lastly, may I thank everyone in America who has contributed to Plaid Cymru's St David's Day Fund. If there are some who have not yet sent Plaid's Office in Caernarfon will be glad to hear from them. The need is very great.]<sup>115</sup>

Yet there seems to be no record of these donations in *Y Ddraig Goch* even though the promise had been made at the end of the 1935 appeal that all donations would be acknowledged in the relevant newspapers, probably inferring that there had been complaints that contributions were not acknowledged.

Thus, the only reasonable conclusion that can be drawn on the basis of the contents of this chapter is, firstly, that donations from Welsh-America were sometimes recorded in *Y Ddraig Goch*, in *The Welsh Nationalist* or in *The Druid*<sup>116</sup> and at other times were not. Secondly that the money raised from Welsh-expatriates in America was not in abundance, and thirdly that the specific appeals had not engendered the hoped-for response. Naturally, there is always the possibility that some donations stemming from Welsh-America were made either anonymously or with the strict injunction that no names were to be disclosed. They would probably have been included under the headings of 'Di-gangen' or 'Gweddill y byd,' or 'Tramor,' but the amounts under those headings were never astronomical.

Consequently it has to be accepted that Welsh-America had refused to respond to the requests for financial aid and some of the reasons for that refusal can be inferred on the basis of correspondence in the newspapers. H. O. Rowlands, for example, was fearful that donations would be employed to imitate Ireland's fight for freedom. Tom Rees and his like, confusing Plaid Cymru with former nationalists, would not contribute on the grounds that the representatives of Wales in Westminster were perceived to have put personal ambition before

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<sup>113</sup> *Y Ddraig Goch*, May 1943.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>115</sup> *Y Drych*, April 27, 1939.

<sup>116</sup> *Y Drych* does not seem to have recorded any donations.

the good of the Welsh nation. Furthermore, the dire economic climate of America in this period must have been an inhibiting influence on any financial response. But Plaid Cymru itself must bear some responsibility for the negligible result. Because of its low profile in the political landscape of Wales and because of the absence of electoral success, it was not inspiring the expatriates to respond to the financial appeals. When the expatriates *were* inspired, as at the time of Penyborth, donations were forthcoming and offers of monetary assistance were made even though no formal appeal had been launched.

It seems that as a result of the failure of the appeals Plaid Cymru was reconsidering its use of newspaper channels. In February 1942, as has been stated in Chapter Three, *Y Ddraig Goch* reported that Lewis Valentine, Plaid's American correspondent, wanted members to supply him with names and addresses of their kith and kin in the USA, ostensibly so that they could be informed of Plaid's policy. But the Welsh-Americans had already been regaled with Plaid's policies in *Y Drych* and *The Druid* since 1925. The party had been given plentiful coverage in the various appeals, in the articles and the editorials. What the report in *Y Ddraig Goch* really seems to have been signalling was an intention to depart from the use of newspapers as a means of transmitting financial appeals, thereby implying that the failure was due to the medium conveying the information.

But other newspaper appeals in one of the same Welsh-American newspapers, and in the same period, had been successful. For example, in 1929,<sup>117</sup> *Y Drych* had included a letter of thanks to the editor from T. L. John, on behalf of the Committee of the Unemployed in Brynhyfryd, Swansea, for presenting their appeal in the newspaper. Hitherto the paper's readers had donated '£6 and \$10' in aid of the impoverished mining communities of south Wales. By April 1929 the Fund had amassed '\$1,458.47.'<sup>118</sup> Another appeal that appeared in *Y Drych* on 22 September, 1938, was entitled 'Cronfa Crych Elen.'<sup>119</sup> Its purpose was to raise money to erect a headstone on the author's grave in Slatington, Pennsylvania and, although the sums received were not printed, the newspaper stated that contributions were being received. Yet another appeal was the 'American Welsh Festival Fund' which *Y Drych* had presented on 15 May 1941 and which had been launched to collect and send to Wales such items as shoes, sweaters, blankets, clothing, stoves and kerosene. It was such a resounding success that it was even possible to ship mobile feeding units and ambulances

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<sup>117</sup> *Y Drych*, January 3, 1929

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, April 4, 1929. .

<sup>119</sup> 'Crych Elen' was Thomas Lloyd (1841-1909), the author of the song, 'Bwthyn Bach To Gwellt' (Little Thatched Cottage): E. Wyn James, 'Watching the White Wheat and That Hole Below the Nose,' in *Bridging the Cultural Divide: Our Common Ballad Heritage*, eds. Sigrid Rieuwerts and Helga Stein (Hildersheim, Germany: George Olms Verlag, 2000), 178-94.

across the Atlantic.<sup>120</sup> Therefore, when Welsh-America was motivated, it responded positively to newspaper appeals.

The above-mentioned appeals were for something tangible: money to buy food for the starving of south Wales, contributions to show respect for one of their own Welsh-Americans and goods for war-torn Wales. It seems that they all had a positive response. In contrast, Plaid Cymru was appealing for aid in the building of nationhood, a concept which, it appears, was too intangible for the consideration of most Welsh-Americans, whose ties with the home-country were becoming weaker as emigration was halting. Thus it was the failure to inspire, rather than failure on the part of the newspapers, that lay at the root of Welsh-America's indifference to the financial appeal.

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<sup>120</sup> Ibid., 100.

## Chapter 5

### *Y Drych* and Plaid Cymru

*Y Drych*, which in the previous chapter was shown to be a channel for Plaid Cymru's appeals,<sup>1</sup> had been on the Welsh-American scene for seventy-four years by the time the new, young party was founded in Wales in 1925. The newspaper had been established in New York in January 1851<sup>2</sup> and in its early years it had been zealous in encouraging immigration into Welsh-speaking homelands.<sup>3</sup> In 1860 it was moved to Utica, New York State, which was a well-known centre of Welsh life. Four years hence, in 1864, it was bought by John Mather Jones who had emigrated from Bangor in 1849 and is remembered as the founder of the Welsh towns, New Cambria in Missouri and Arvonnia in Kansas. Under his ownership *Y Drych* developed and expanded to become the main newspaper for the Welsh of North America. Its role in reporting news of the Welsh-Americans and of their compatriots in the mother-country was described in 1919 when the publishers were justifying an increase in price:

It is realized that the Welsh world in America would cease without the 'Drych.' The Welsh people would have no medium for the exchange of opinion and news... Every Welsh organization in the country depends upon the paper for its publicity. The Welsh churches... could have no information of each other without the 'Drych.' The fact of the matter is that the Welsh community would cease to exist without the 'Drych.' To those who have recently come to the country, it carries the news of the old home in Wales... When something of interest in the Welsh world happens, the 'Drych' has a story about it, and then the Welsh of all settlements read about it.<sup>4</sup>

At the time of writing the above laudatory exposition *Y Drych* was the only remaining Welsh-language newspaper in the United States, and it was under the ownership of Thomas J. Griffiths who had bought the newspaper in 1874. However, by 1925, the year which marks the beginning of this thesis study, it had been taken over by his two sons, namely Thomas Griffiths Jnr. and Charles W. Griffiths, who had become the owners on his death in 1924. Its editor was Hugh Hughes<sup>5</sup> who, in echoes of the declaration of 1919, was to state that *Y Drych*

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<sup>1</sup> Apparently Hugh Hughes was actively involved, in one instance at least, in circulating an appeal in the USA : 'Gyda chynorthwy a threfniant Mr Hughes, golygydd Y Drych, lledaenwyd yr apel hon drwy gyfrwng y gwifrau a'r newyddiaduron cenedlaethol, nes cyrraedd pob congl o'r Talaethau Unedig' (With the aid and organisation of Mr Hughes, *Y Drych*'s editor, this appeal was circulated on the wires and in national newspapers to reach every corner of the United States): *Y Drych*, May 6, 1926.

<sup>2</sup> Stephens, *The Oxford Companion to the Literature of Wales*, 156; Jones and Jones, *Welsh Reflections*, 1, 31, 82.

<sup>3</sup> Jones and Jones, 'Y Drych and American Welsh Identities 1851-1951,' 44.

<sup>4</sup> *Y Drych*, December 25, 1919.

<sup>5</sup> By 1931 he had been editor of *Y Drych* for seven years, that is since 1924, according to the issue of *The Scranton Republican* which appeared on May 18, 1931. In his obituary, written by Dr David E. Jones of Scranton, which appeared in *Y Drych* on August 15 1945, it was said that Hughes had been editor of the Utica

was the representative of the Welsh nation in America ('cynrychiolydd y genedl yn y wlad hon').<sup>6</sup>

As has been asserted this Welsh-medium Welsh-American newspaper carried reports of national and local interest and also included references to events in the home-country which were deemed to be of interest to its readership. For example, in 1915, it brought to the notice of its readers the issue of pacifists in Wales, 'y crach-heddychwyr, perygl penaf ein byd heddyw'<sup>7</sup> (the contemptible pacifists, the chief danger of our world today), and made known its displeasure regarding those Welsh parents who were unwilling to allow their sons to join the war effort:

[Obedience to a country is sometimes more of a duty than obeying a mother and father.]<sup>8</sup>

In the same year it referred disparagingly to those who criticised the rule that Welsh soldiers were ordered to write their letters in English, pointing out that the Welsh had long preferred to do so.<sup>9</sup> However, it also welcomed letters with different viewpoints such as the correspondence of 'Cymro Americanaidd' from Chicago, Illinois who castigated the English people.<sup>10</sup> In August 1925 it brought to the notice of its readers a new political party which had been formed in Wales, 'Y Blaid Genedlaethol',<sup>11</sup> by presenting the appeal which has been discussed in the previous chapter. According to a report in *Y Ddraig Goch*, Hughes had contacted H. R. Jones to offer the party column space in *Y Drych*:

[It is good to know that the editor of *Y Drych* wrote to the organiser a while ago to offer the columns of that important newspaper to our service as a party.]<sup>12</sup>

The offer might have caused surprise in some circles as Hughes was said to have Liberal leanings 'in the tradition of his forefathers,' but the fact that though he was a 'convinced

Press for 38 years and during ten of those years he had edited *Y Drych*. Other writers drew attention to the fact that his connection with the newspaper over a period of many years had given him an opportunity to foster and keep alive different Welsh causes and interests among his compatriots in this country, for example he was a member of the committee of the Cymreigyddion of Utica, NY, and also secretary of the committee of the Political Welsh Society. And his links with Welsh-America were mentioned thus in the obituary, 'He could be counted among the leaders of Welsh thought in America, and his familiarity with Welsh activities, particularly concerning the pulpit, the Eisteddfod and the Gymanfa Ganu, revealed a mind filled with untold treasures.' It was said of him that 'The Liberalism of his forbears, their love of high ideals, religious enthusiasm, faith in freedom and human dignity became in him and through him an invaluable contribution to the life of our country at large': *Y Drych*, May 27, June 24, 1915; July 15, August 15, 1945.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., February 27, 1930.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., February 11, 1915.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., March 4, 1915.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., May 5, 1915.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., April 1, 1915.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., August 20, 1925.

<sup>12</sup> *Y Ddraig Goch*, September 1926.



Republican' he could also express admiration for President Roosevelt on account of his international outlook,<sup>13</sup> might explain his readiness to give coverage to differing points of view. Furthermore it seems that he had become disillusioned with Welsh Liberalism, for in an article entitled, 'Yn Sylweddoli ei Chamgymeriad' (Realising its Mistake), in *Y Drych* in 1927 he acknowledged that the complaints made with regard to the Liberal Party were not baseless:

[It is not without reason that people complained; one has to admit.]<sup>14</sup>

The root cause of the complaints, according to Hughes, was that the party did not consider Wales to be separate from England so that the nation's own specific needs were not being recognised, as they had been thirty years ago when the Liberal Party was the National Party of Wales ('Y Blaid Ryddfrydol oedd y Blaid Genedlaethol'). The result was that people who had previously been active for its cause found that they were not able to give it their loyalty, 'am nad oedd Rhyddfrydiaeth yn Nghymru mwyach yn Gymreig' (as Liberalism in Wales was no longer Welsh). The closing remark in the article, which stated that the party had realised its mistake in ignoring the Welsh, inferred that the new party which now bore the name 'Plaid Genedlaethol' had not only appeared because of the failings of the Liberals but, because it was addressing the special needs of Wales, it was that specific party which now deserved attention:

[Every effort which professes to be of help to the country deserves attention and inquiry.]<sup>15</sup>

Thus disappointment with the Liberal Party's attitude to Wales was leading Hughes to consider the message of Plaid Cymru, and to make *Y Drych* available to the party at the very outset when it had published the aforementioned appeal. And, even though no editorial comments had accompanied the communication, Hughes had done Plaid a significant service by presenting the new party to the group of Welsh-Americans who were readers of the newspaper.

No references to the new organization appeared again until 1926 when two articles were printed at the beginning of the year, both raised from publications in Wales as was often the case with material which appeared in this newspaper.<sup>16</sup> The first was an article by Saunders

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<sup>13</sup> *Y Drych*, July 15, 1945.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, July 27, 1927.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, March 25, 1926.

<sup>16</sup> It is obvious that there existed a transatlantic system of news-sharing. Its scope in relation to which papers were sent to America from Wales and vice versa is unknown but, on the basis of numerous references in *Y*

Lewis which had previously been published in *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*,<sup>17</sup> whose editor was Prosser Rhys a known supporter of the party and one who would assist H. R. Jones in starting Plaid Cymru's newspaper, *Y Ddraig Goch*,<sup>18</sup> later in the year. In the article Lewis placed great emphasis on the fact that the new party was composed, not of the elite, but of ordinary people:

[We do not have in our ranks any of Wales's famous men, none of the old political leaders, and hardly any of our great poets and experienced writers or our famous professors.]<sup>19</sup>

It seems that it was important to stress that the party was not a continuation of the old established systems but was, rather, composed of 'new blood', the rank and file in Wales who had no special status. The statement was probably prompted by the criticism directed at him by the editor of *Y Llenor*,<sup>20</sup> W. J. Gruffydd, who had written disparagingly that the works of both Saunders Lewis and Ambrose Bebb contained a reaction against democracy. He had further proclaimed that 'y mudiad newydd' (the new movement) contained elements which were alien to Welsh thought, namely the idea of an aristocracy and a fondness for the Roman Catholic Church?<sup>21</sup>

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*Drych* to articles having originally been published in Welsh papers, it is obvious that there was a network which facilitated the sharing of news items.

<sup>17</sup> Originally *Baner Cymru* and launched by Thomas Gee in 1857, it became *Baner ac Amserau Cymru* in 1859 when it took over the Liverpool based newspaper, *Yr Amserau*. The new paper propounded Thomas Gee's own Liberal and Nonconformist views. In 1935 Gwasg Gee, who published the paper, was bought by Kate Roberts and Morris Williams: Stephens, *The Oxford Companion to the Literature of Wales*, 27.

<sup>18</sup> Gwynfor Evans, 'Hanes Twf Plaid Cymru, 1925-1995' in *Cof Cenedl X*, ed. Geraint Jenkins (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1995), 155.

<sup>19</sup> *Y Drych*, February 4, 1926.

<sup>20</sup> A scholarly quarterly publication devoted to literature and topics of the day: Stephens, *The Oxford Companion to the Literature of Wales*, 356-57.

<sup>21</sup> He had also criticised the fact that there was a tendency to look towards France: 'Nid wyf yn hoffi ffolineb y Sais, ond nid wyf yn hoffi ychwaith ffolineb Ffrainc, ac ni all haeriadau Ffrainc fod ddim mymryn mwy deniadol i'm twyllo na haeriadau Lloegr' (I do not like the foolishness of the Englishman, but neither do I like the foolishness of France, and the assertions of France cannot be a jot more attractive to deceive me than the assertions of England): *Y Llenor* V, no. 1 (1926): 1. However by the end of 1926 Gruffydd seemed to have changed his mind about Plaid Cymru. He wrote a glowing tribute to *Y Ddraig Goch*, the party's newspaper, praising its keen and bold criticism and stating of the contributors, 'Y maent yn dangos bod rhyw loewi annarferol wedi digwydd yn ddiweddar ar feddwl, - ie, ar gymeriad, os yw gonestrwydd yn rhan o'r cymeriad - y Cymry ieuainc sydd yn awr yn cymeryd eu lle ym mywyd y wlad' (They show that some unusual sharpening has occurred lately in the mind - yes, in the character, if honesty is part of the character - of the young Welsh who are now taking their place in the life of the country). In the same resumé he praised Saunders Lewis's pamphlet on nationalism, 'Y mae'r pamffled ar Genedlaetholdeb yn dangos bod Mr Lewis a'i gymheiriaid wedi cerdded ymhellach yn yr ychydig flynyddoedd diwethaf nag yr aeth Cymru ers hanner canrif' (The pamphlet on Nationalism shows that Mr Lewis and his peers have walked further during the last few years than Wales has done in the last half century): *Ibid.*, V, no. 4 (1926): 196.

In the same article Lewis addressed comments by Professor Ifor Evans,<sup>22</sup> which had been printed in *The Western Mail*, concerning the lack of vision and enthusiasm which had inflicted the youth of England since the war:

[In the *Western Mail* the other day Professor Ifor Evans said that the chief characteristic of England's youth since the war is a lack of vision and enthusiasm. There is no certainty that there is anything worth living for or anything worth being engrossed in. Well, the youth of Wales, therefore, is very different from the English, and the National Party is the vision of the young Welsh people after the war.]<sup>23</sup>

The previous chapter has emphasised that the appeals which were penned by H. R. Jones stressed the youth of those who were involved with the party and the same point was being reiterated by Lewis in this article. Thus, it had no links with any Establishment figures and its leaders and members were young people, the youth of Wales, who were fired by vision and enthusiasm.

The following issue also contained an article pertaining to Plaid Cymru which was entitled, 'Y Blaid Genedlaethol' (The National Party),<sup>24</sup> and which had been lifted from the pages of *Y Darian*,<sup>25</sup> a Welsh publication sympathetic to Plaid Cymru whose editor at the time was Tywi Jones. Jones was reputed to be active for the party at a local level and his newspaper afforded constant coverage for Plaid Cymru.<sup>26</sup> The article in *Y Darian*, referred to harsh criticisms that had been made of the new party and responded by making the following rejoinder:

[That is a pity, as whether we can join it or not it must be confessed that it has drawn to attention the rights of the nation in a way that has not been done by any other party.]<sup>27</sup>

One of the agents of criticism which must have come to the author's mind was *The Welsh Outlook*<sup>28</sup> for, although it did not become antagonistic towards Plaid Cymru until 1926, the

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<sup>22</sup> An economist and historian with expertise in international law, he was appointed Principal of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth in 1934: *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography 1941-1970*, 66.

<sup>23</sup> *Y Drych*, February 4, 1926.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, February 11, 1926.

<sup>25</sup> Originally founded by John Mills as *Tarian y Gweithiwr* in Aberdare in 1875, its original purpose was to argue the case of the worker. Its title was changed to *Y Darian* in 1914 when it came under the editorship of the Revd Tywi Jones, a Baptist minister and journalist, who remained in the post until 1934: Stephens, *The Oxford Companion to the Literature of Wales*, 573. Jones aimed to keep the paper as politically impartial as possible but he welcomed Plaid Cymru to the political scene and gave the party constant coverage: Noel Gibbard, *Tarian Tywi: Cofiant Y Parch J. Tywi Jones* (Caernarfon: Gwasg y Bwthyn, 2011), 80, 98, 99, 100, 111.

<sup>26</sup> So pleased was D. J. Williams with the quality of the articles that he wrote to Tywi Jones in 1929 to congratulate him: Gibbard, *Tarian Tywi*, 180.

<sup>27</sup> *Y Drych*, February 11, 1926.

<sup>28</sup> A monthly publication dedicated to progressive liberalism and internationalism launched in 1914 by David Davies of Llandinam, owner of coal mines. Its contributors and editorial team were drawn mainly from Cardiff and south Wales: Stephens, *The Oxford Companion to the Literature of Wales*, 632. As stated it criticised Plaid

publication had in the latter part of the previous year striven to dispute the party's criteria, stating, for example, that it was 'an anachronism and a thoroughly bad thing for any nation to limit itself to itself', thereby suggesting that the new party was an inward-looking and parochial political organization. But the tone was to become even harsher so that in the issues of February and March 1926 the Nationalists were referred to as 'perfervid Nationalists' and 'would-be patriots, whose watchword is the selfish motto 'Ourselves alone.'<sup>29</sup> The theme was further advanced in a later issue where it was stated thus:

It is the chief curse of the extreme nationalist movement in Wales to-day that it seeks to build a wall about our country, and to exclude the outer world... nothing but ruin can ever come of it. Wales is an integral part of the British Empire, and may it long remain so.<sup>30</sup>

Yet the author of the article in *Y Darian*, bearing in mind certain criticisms, made the point that this new party was drawing people's attention to the rights of Wales, something which no other party had done,<sup>31</sup> and this was a refrain which would occur time and time again in various comments in the two Welsh-American newspapers. He continued with the charge against the political parties stating that they had disrespected Wales and if nothing were to change then it was time to support the new party:

[Certainly, unless these organizations show respect to our nation, it is high time to promote the National Party. For the political parties are more sinful than any in this respect, apart from an occasional Welsh word at election time.]<sup>32</sup>

The over-riding message in the two articles which had been chosen by the editor to present Plaid Cymru was that a new, young Wales had emerged which showed up the old political parties in a negative light, and this note was echoed by him in a following issue where he wrote of a new spirit in the home-country which was driving Wales onwards in the direction of progress ('yn nghyfeiriad cynydd'). It was this awakening, he averred, which was at the root of the new party:

Cymru, often by way of ridicule, for example readers were asked to assume that Wales had become autonomous and that the Red Dragon was flying over a Parliament building in one of four named locations, then questions were posed such as, 'Would the problem of reconciling Capital and Labour in the South Wales coalpits be any nearer solution?' And in another issue readers were told that some younger leaders were obsessed with obsolete forms of nationalism, such as those that had pertained to Poland and Ireland, and enjoined thus: 'Let us beware of too much dreaming about the past, of slavish imitation of other nations...': *The Welsh Outlook*, March, April 1926, 59, 88.

<sup>29</sup> The motto of Sinn Féin was used deliberately and it was probably designed to remind readers of the bloody road to freedom in Ireland.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, July 1926.

<sup>31</sup> *The Welsh Outlook* had picked up on the accusation that other politicians had done nothing for Wales and had sought to denigrate the claim by stating that Plaid 'looks down with contempt upon the great leaders of Victorian Wales – upon Gee, and Lewis Edwards, and Tom Ellis, and Owen Edwards forsooth': *Ibid.* These men were revered at the time and naming them was an obvious ploy by the publication.

<sup>32</sup> *Y Drych*, February 11, 1926.

[What but the result of a national awakening is the national party in Wales today?]<sup>33</sup>

It is interesting that the editor's next sentence acknowledged the party's lack of progress since its inception in the summer of 1925:

[It is true that this party has not gained much ground, but it shows the new spirit which has gripped the nation.]<sup>34</sup>

It was a fair comment and one which could be repeated over and over, especially during the party's early years, for from its founding until 1929, when it contested one seat during the General Election, the instances when it had tested its popularity against public opinion were restricted to two, and the results were in marked contrast to each other. The first instance was at the local election in Upper Deiniolen in 1928 when H. R. Jones came bottom of the poll with 84 votes,<sup>35</sup> and the other was at the mock election in Bangor University College in 1927<sup>36</sup> when J. E. Jones came top of the poll. Apart from these two forays into the sphere of elections, Plaid Cymru's activities during these early years were limited to consolidating its support. Its strategy comprised of holding public meetings, selling a monthly publication and organizing an annual summer school, which became both a platform for debate and a means of generating wider publicity for the party. All this might have been deemed very necessary by the leaders and members of the new party, but to onlookers it spelt lack of progress, which was what Hugh Hughes was noting in the above reference. But, even though Hughes was admitting that the new movement appeared to be static, he added a positive note in the latter part of his statement and this was to become typical of the editor's analysis of Plaid Cymru; his discourse on the party often seemed to be of a dichotomist nature.

And the party did again come to the forefront of the newspaper in October 1926 when the editor gave his attention to the Summer School which had been held in Machynlleth.<sup>37</sup> He presented the event as an occasion which had not only succeeded in drawing a great deal of attention to the party but as one which had also shown that Plaid Cymru was not limited and narrow in its aims, a charge which, as has been discussed, was made continually in the *The*

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid., February 25, 1926.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Davies, *The Welsh Nationalist Party 1925-1945*, 131, 169.

<sup>36</sup> Jones, *Tros Gymru*, 40-42.

<sup>37</sup> The main event of the Machynlleth Summer School had been the oration given by Saunders Lewis entitled 'Egwyddorion Cenedlaetholdeb' (Principles of Nationalism): see Chapter One. Amongst the speakers present at the conference were William George, brother of Lloyd George, Rhys Hopkin Morris who was Cardiganshire's parliamentary representative, E. T. John, and Kevin O'Sheil, a representative of Ireland's Fine Gael party: Vittle, *Valentine*, 131.

*Welsh Outlook*. Furthermore, its manifesto, in Hughes's estimation, was interesting, so that all things considered the party, at that time, could be said to be succeeding:

[for the present the National Party is making headway in Wales.]<sup>38</sup>

The editor's report continued by referring to some of the statements made in the conference, one of which was that all other political parties, by reason of their presence in Westminster, were confirming the supposition that Wales was a part of England:

[Every other political party in Wales is an English party because it sends representatives to Westminster thus acknowledging that Wales is part of England.]<sup>39</sup>

This was subsequent to a reference concerning the boycott of Westminster, on the Irish model, which was part of the party's manifesto in the early years and a decision which was a clear demarcation line between it and other political parties operating in Wales. No further comment was made by the editor on this or other points raised in the Summer School, but the expressions of commendation at the beginning of the editorial signify that Hughes was pleased with the present situation and, even though the usual cautionary note was introduced by the words, 'Beth bynag am y dyfodol' (Whatever the future), the report can be taken as a cautious endorsement of the new party.

As the 1920s proceeded, *Y Drych* confined its coverage of Plaid Cymru to the editorial column wherein, frequently, articles on the party which had been previously published in Welsh publications, were included. These articles would often be introduced by a few comments from the editor which might or might not be directly on the subject matter. One such example is the article taken from *Y Genedl Gymreig*<sup>40</sup> which was preceded by Hughes's remarks that Plaid Cymru was gaining much attention because it planned to field candidates in the forthcoming General Election in the constituencies of Caernarvonshire and Carmarthenshire, but that they had no intention of attending Parliament even if they were to win. The article itself, although averring its agreement with many of Plaid's ideals and aims, was openly Liberal in its convictions, reminding its readers that the Liberal Party had once been the nationalist party and could be so again. Amongst these Liberal protestations in the article, was a statement which evoked the comments of H. O. Rowlands concerning the Welsh people (see Chapter Four):

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<sup>38</sup> *Y Drych*, October 14, 1926.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> A radical weekly newspaper whose editor in this period was E. Morgan Humphreys, referred to in Chapter Three.

[Wales must learn to think politically for itself... to think of itself as a nation] <sup>41</sup>

In June of the same year<sup>42</sup> the editorial presented a report of a meeting in Dolwyddelan where Lewis Valentine, Plaid's candidate in Caernarvonshire, had spoken of Plaid's plans for safeguarding the language and had mentioned a recent Liberal conference in Llandrindod where it had become apparent that including self-government on the agenda would have split the party. Once again there was no comment from the editor.

In 1929 Plaid Cymru would be fielding a candidate for the first time in a British General Election. It was an occasion which Hughes deemed to be worthy of press attention and so, in various issues preceding the event, the party was given coverage. The first of Hughes's comments brought to the reader's attention Plaid's optimistic claim that it would win:

[It has a candidate in Caernarvonshire whom, it asserts, will be elected; and that will be an excellent beginning for the party.] <sup>43</sup>

The editor however was realistic enough to disenchant the readers of that likelihood, and he reiterated the impossibility of success in a subsequent issue when he emphasised that the real battle would be between the Liberals and Labour,<sup>44</sup> yet he wanted to stress that the party was fulfilling an important task by focusing on the needs of Wales. However, it seems that not everyone was happy with the subject matter for the following issue contained a succinct explanation for the coverage. Firstly, Hughes wrote, it was a new party which needed to be introduced to Welsh-America; secondly, the unlikelihood of imminent success was no reason to ignore it; thirdly, no Welsh person could fail to be in accord with the aim of the party, whatever one thought of its strategies and methods:

[No Welshman can be without sympathy with the aim of the party, whatever one thinks of its plans, and the methods it will adopt to bring about the changes it desires.] <sup>45</sup>

The remarks in these two issues summarise precisely what seems to have been the editor's viewpoint concerning Plaid Cymru: the new party's aims met with his approval, its emphasis on the well-being of the nation, he applauded, but their intended means to attain their aims raised doubts. Briefly he seems to have been enervated by the party's formation, but he was realistic enough not to expect too much. His realism was confirmed by the election result in Caernarvonshire, although by the tone of his remarks a month before the event when he

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid., March 8, 1928.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., June 7, 1928.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., March 28, 1929.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., May 30, 1929.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., April 4, 1929.

pondered the total votes that would be cast for Plaid's candidate, Lewis Valentine, he could not have foreseen such a poor result.<sup>46</sup> *The Welsh Outlook* had immediately gone on the offensive, as the following comments testify:

Mr Valentine... would have us believe that this is a little cloud on the horizon which presages the coming storm. Fiddlesticks! We shall not trouble to look for an umbrella until the party drops its ridiculous and dangerous policy of non co-operation. It is a policy which leads either to futility or to bloodshed. Wales wants neither, and Caernarvon County has said so, emphatically.<sup>47</sup>

The remarks referred to the decision that Plaid had taken to boycott Westminster and it seems that the publication was laying the party's poor result directly at the door of that decision. Hughes's response in the wake of the disappointment was very different, in that he saw a wider implication in the polling:

[Is it possible that nationalism has had its day and the principle has become lost in a wider principle?]<sup>48</sup>

Could the 'wider principle' have been internationalism, a word which had become a mantra of the working classes and the Labour movement? Yet by the beginning of the following year Hughes seemed to have recovered from his gloomy prophecy regarding 'independence' and was writing once again on the subject in the context of India, but with reference also to his home-country:

[Every government has been slow to grant independence to peoples whom they happen to have subjected. This is the character of Britain. It delayed until it had to give Ireland self-government and it will brook no mention of independence for Wales.]<sup>49</sup>

These are the comments of one who, it seems, would have been in tune with some of the past advocates of self-government amongst the Welsh Liberals. At the time of writing, even though clearly disappointed with Valentine's result a year previously, he was still in sympathy with Plaid's objectives and, in an eulogy on the death of H. R. Jones,<sup>50</sup> described the party as a 'mudiad mawr' (a great movement).

Hughes's vision for Wales was made evident in an editorial comment which he wrote after reporting on an oration by William George, David Lloyd George's brother, entitled, 'Cymru

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<sup>46</sup> Plaid Cymru gained 609 votes, which was 1.6% of the total vote.

<sup>47</sup> *The Welsh Outlook*, June 1929.

<sup>48</sup> *Y Drych*, April 4, 1929.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, January 2, 1930.

<sup>50</sup> It has been suggested that Hugh Hughes had met with H. R. Jones in the National Eisteddfod, and it is known that Sarah Evans was at the National Eisteddfod in Bangor in 1931: *Ibid.*, July 13, 1933



i'r Cymry' (Wales for the Welsh people). The orator had stated that the Welsh would lose their country, to which the editor responded thus:

[We are afraid that it will not be possible to repossess Wales for her original inhabitants without having some form of independence which will enable her to set the necessary boundaries to that end. That does not mean breaking every connection with the British kingdom... But certainly Wales should have the right and the opportunities to govern herself and to have a voice in the councils of the countries and the nations.]<sup>51</sup>

What has been made evident by the editorial comments of this period is that Hughes had been enthused by the evidence of Welsh consciousness, which resided in Plaid Cymru, and he obviously hoped that it would lead to some form of self-government which would benefit Wales. He had struck a jubilant note in one of the issues when he had written:

[The national spirit is increasing in Wales.]<sup>52</sup>

It was his desire that Wales would benefit as a result of the apparent upsurge of nationalism, and whether it would be through the agency of Plaid Cymru or through the plans of Liberal Home Rulers like William George<sup>53</sup> did not seem to be of paramount importance as long as the aim was realised.

In 1931 Hughes was continuing to include references to Plaid Cymru, once quoting from a speech by the Revd Peter Hughes Griffiths who had declared that politics had become such a dirty business that he could not entertain the idea of working with any but the new party.<sup>54</sup> In another reference the editor suggested that a vote be taken to assess the attitude of the Welsh people to self-government.<sup>55</sup> Both contributions point to his interest in Plaid and his concern that Wales should be granted some autonomy. His underlying, but unformed, question was whether the one could deliver the other. In the latter contribution he had stated unequivocally that 'Y Blaid Genedlaethol' had been formed for the purpose of attaining self-government:

[There is much talk of self-government for Wales and the party has come into existence to that end, namely the National Party.]<sup>56</sup>

It was that aim, conceived by Hughes to be the aim of Plaid Cymru, which was the reason why he was so deeply interested in the fortunes of the party. And although he had obvious misgivings about the planned methods to achieve the goal he had no such doubts concerning the desirability of the goal, nor did he doubt the intellectual capabilities of the party's

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid., August 21, 1930.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., February 20, 1930.

<sup>53</sup> He hoped that William George would have a plan to foster self-government: Ibid., August 21, 1930.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., March 5, 1931.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., August 13, 1931.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid. This was not the aim stated by Saunders Lewis: see Chapter One.

members which he often referred to, maybe in an attempt to still criticism from some quarters but also, probably, to quieten his own fears of failure.

Apparently, late in 1931, Hughes had resigned as editor and had been succeeded by Sarah Evans<sup>57</sup> a native of Rhosllanerchrugog, who had been assistant editor of *Y Drych* since 1923, but the editorials of 1932 concerning Plaid Cymru contain all the above elements which were representative of Hugh Hughes. For example, in a contribution entitled, ‘Hunan Lywodraeth,’ which reported on a discussion by the party’s executive committee on the Constitution for self-government and other matters such as continuing loyalty to the Crown and commitment to the National Debt, the editor commented:

[These proposals are excellent ones. Are they workable? Some of the nation’s best talents today belong to the National Party, and are confident that Wales will, some day, gain self-government... Will one, one wonders, see the day when the Old Country gains self-government?] <sup>58</sup>

The hope for self-government was also the refrain in a report on the opening of a Memorial Hall bearing the name of Owain Glyndŵr in Glyndyfrdwy:

[Perhaps the day will be seen when Wales will take care of its own matters and concerns. Glyndwr has not died; his spirit is as alive as ever today in Wales.] <sup>59</sup>

The editorial column at the end of 1932 was entitled, ‘Y Blaid Genedlaethol’, wherein the editor once again addressed critics who thought the new party was given too much coverage. They were informed that many thousands of Welsh expatriates in the US and Canada took great interest in the various movements in the home-country and in its problems. They were reminded that things were very different in the Wales of the present to the Wales they had left, a remark which was probably in recognition of the older readers’ adherence to the Liberalism which had once been the ‘National Party’ of Wales. With that reminder the editorial moved on to discuss the formation of Plaid Cymru, quoting ‘Meuryn’<sup>60</sup> that the new party, composed of the most brilliant of Welsh minds, was the only hope for Wales. The editor acknowledged the veracity of the comment. The concluding remarks, apparently by Sarah Evans, but again characteristic of the stance Hughes had taken throughout this period,

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<sup>57</sup> Sarah Evans was training to be a librarian in the USA when asked by T. J. Griffiths to join *Y Drych*. By September 1923 she had become full-time assistant editor of the paper and from the end of 1931 to the summer of 1933 she was sole editor. There is however no reference in *Y Drych* to her role as editor which, apparently, began on 8 October, 1931: Jones and Jones, *Welsh Reflections*, 83, 93, 167.

<sup>58</sup> *Y Drych*, January 21, 1932.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, September 29, 1932.

<sup>60</sup> Robert John Rowlands (1880-1967), editor of *Yr Herald Cymraeg*, chaired bard and author of children’s books: *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography 1941-1970*, 238.

acknowledged that Plaid Cymru had weaknesses but pointed out at the same time that its enthusiasm was a sign of hope for Wales:

[There is much praising and much blaming of the party and its plans. One cannot give attention to that aspect now. It must be confessed, however, that it includes many enthusiasts, and there is not much hope for the success of any movement or cause if such people are not amongst the ranks.]<sup>61</sup>

In the conclusion it was promised that further information on the principles of the new party would be presented to readers.

The next reference concerning Plaid Cymru was a report on the venture<sup>62</sup> at Pant y Beiliau, a manor house which had been bought by Drs D. J. and Noëlle Davies to re-establish the language and culture and traditions of Wales in the Anglicised part of the country. The report concluded with an assertion made in *Y Ddraig Goch*:

[No political education as such will be given in the school. The purpose will not be to create apologists or local leaders for the National Party.]<sup>63</sup>

However much antagonism a section of *Y Drych*'s readers might have felt towards Plaid Cymru, many would surely have applauded the vision which foresaw the re-emergence of the Welsh language and its culture, whose threatened demise greatly troubled many of them. And it seems that, by including the above statement, the editor hoped to forestall any cries of political indoctrination at Pant y Beiliau.

In March 1933 an editorial entitled 'Cymru a'r Ymerodraeth' (Wales and the Empire) included a list of the main aims of Plaid Cymru, which had been promised in a previous editorial on 15 December 1932. Again, although apparently written by Sarah Evans, the tone is both optimistic and cautious in the manner of Hugh Hughes's previous editorials. It was a summary of an article written by Morris Williams and previously published in *Y Ddraig Goch*. The theme was the relations between Wales and the English Empire ('Ymerodraeth Lloegr') and the call was made for Wales to adopt an anti-imperialist policy. It stated that the party's primary and secondary objectives were to gain dominion status for Wales in accordance with the Statute of Westminster,<sup>64</sup> and to safeguard and sponsor the Welsh

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<sup>61</sup> *Y Drych*, December 15, 1932.

<sup>62</sup> The venture collapsed in 1935 due to financial difficulties: Davies, *The Welsh Nationalist Party 1925-1945*, 147.

<sup>63</sup> *Y Drych*, January 12, 1933.

<sup>64</sup> It was noted in the letter that the Statute of Westminster gave any country within the Empire the right to separate completely from England through legal and moral means. The Statute of Westminster itself was passed in 1931 and therefore, at the time of Morris Williams's writing, would have been a very recent law. Parts of it state: 'And whereas it is in accord with the established constitutional position that no law hereafter made by the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall extend to any of the said Dominions as part of the law of that Dominion

language and its traditions. It was introduced to readers of *Y Drych* with the reminder that many of them were greatly interested in Plaid Cymru and wanted information regarding this important movement:

[It is believed that a summary of the content of the article will be of much interest to many in the United States and Canada. Many of the readers of *Y Drych* take great interest in the National Party, and are eager to keep in touch with this important movement.]<sup>65</sup>

The implication is one which has been made before, that, specifically, there were readers who were complaining at the coverage that Plaid was receiving.

The editor's closing remarks once again contain the dichotomy which had characterised attitudes to Plaid in *Y Drych*'s editorials: on the one hand there was hope for much, but realistically there was preparation for less. However, as the latter part of the following comment implies, there was great admiration for the commitment to their country and its cultural aspects of those who were engaged with the new party:

[It appears that the National Party is continually gaining ground in Wales and that flourishing branches have and are being established throughout Wales. What Plaid's fate will be only time can tell. It should, however, be remembered that some of the most well-known people of the nation belong to it, men and women brimming with zeal and passionate love for their country, its language and traditions.]<sup>66</sup>

Thus Hugh Hughes, and Sarah Evans, in the editorials from 1925 to 1933, had regularly presented readers of *Y Drych* with news of Plaid Cymru and had tried to keep a balance between optimism and reality, namely that it was maturing as a political party but it still lacked an electoral breakthrough which may have propelled it into the national spotlight.

There were also some instances during this period when *Y Drych* printed material discussing Plaid Cymru which was not bound up with the editorials. One instance is the letter from W. Jones of Washington, D.C. in which he imagined St David's attitude to self-government:

If St David came back to Wales there is no doubt in my mind what his attitude towards Welsh home rule would be...The time for preaching has passed and the time for action has arrived – Wales needs self-government.<sup>67</sup>

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otherwise than at the request and with the consent of that Dominion': 'Statute of Westminster 1931,' accessed October 10, 2012, <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Geo5/22-23/4>.

<sup>65</sup> *Y Drych*, March 30, 1933.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, May 15, 1930.

And in the same vein was the speech given by the Revd R. R. Williams at a St David's Day banquet in Utica in 1933, under the auspices of Ivorite Lodges, a part of which was reported thus in *Y Drych*:

St David stands out to him as an embodiment of the national spirit and independence. The Nationalist movement in Wales, led by an extremely capable band of leaders, is bound to affect the political fortunes of our native land.<sup>68</sup>

And again in a St David's Day banquet, this time held by the Welsh Society in Philadelphia, references were made to the new party and to its aims:

We have not yet mentioned the National Party with its enterprising challenge which appears to the lukewarm and the timid to be impossible.<sup>69</sup>

These contributions support the claims made by the editors, in defence of the coverage which was given to Plaid Cymru, that there were many readers who were greatly interested in the new Welsh party and who supported its aims

Furthermore, news items concerning the party were published in *Y Drych*. For instance it aired the disagreement between Saunders Lewis and W. J. Gruffydd on the issue of publishing a party newspaper in the English language, namely *The Welsh Nationalist*. Gruffydd had expressed his opposition to this move in his editorial notes in *Y Llenor* and, according to *Y Drych*, he had based some of his comments on hearsay:

[I heard also, I don't know whether it's true, that one at least of the foremost leaders of Plaid is saying that the language is secondary in his policy.]<sup>70</sup>

He had thus come to the following conclusion:

[If the language is of secondary concern to the National Party then every Welshman's duty will be to do his best to ensure that the Party will not succeed.]<sup>71</sup>

But *Y Drych* responded strongly against criticism which it felt to be unjust:

[The Welsh language is not secondary in the Party on the basis of the decisions made by it many times.]<sup>72</sup>

It continued its defence by emphasising that not only had Welsh been made the official language of the party but that it was the medium of communication in all its branches and committees, even when members were present who could not speak the language. This was a plainly-worded response by *Y Drych* which was evidence of its regard for the new party.

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid., March 2, 1933.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., March 30, 1933.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., February 4, 1932.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

Another instance when news concerning Plaid Cymru was presented to the paper's readers was in connection with the incident which had occurred at the Eagle Tower a year previously. The item entitled, 'Lloyd George at Caernarvon, Great Gathering in Castle Grounds on St David's Day, Red Dragon flown from Eagle Tower,' had been taken from the *Liverpool Post and Mercury*, and the gist of its message was that the new party had not been present at the ceremony:

The Welsh National Party, the political organization responsible for the assault upon Eagle Tower, last St. David's Day, when the Union Jack was hauled down and replaced by the Dragon, officially disassociated themselves from the celebration.<sup>73</sup>

The reason for the party's absence was also included:

The Welsh National Party disassociated itself from the celebration on the ground that the program was unworthy of the occasion.

A new era for *Y Drych* began in 1934 with the editorship of John Foulkes Jones<sup>74</sup> who had been born in Dinorwig, Caernarvonshire, and educated at Llanberis County School and Bangor University. He had emigrated to Detroit and prior to being appointed the editor of *Y Drych*, he had worked for the paper as office secretary and book keeper whilst also being responsible for increasing the numbers of subscribers to the newspaper. It appears that during his first year as editor, Plaid Cymru featured in only one editorial discussion which took the form of an analysis of the party's Summer School, which had been held that year at Llandysul. Jones opened his commentary with a reference to the criticisms that were being made of the new party, namely that it was only a cultural party and that it was closing its eyes to the trading and economic aspects of the life of Wales. This perception, according to the editor, was changing:

[Recently the party has proved that the economic side of Welsh life is as important in her eyes as the cultural side. They believe that the assets of Wales should be developed for the good of the Welsh people and not for the good and profit of other nations of the world.]<sup>75</sup>

The report continued by making reference to an important declaration by Saunders Lewis that concerned the country of origin of goods bought by Welsh local government: he queried how much money was spent on buying Welsh goods whilst, at the same time, suggesting that a co-

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid., March 23, 1933

<sup>74</sup> 'While substantial biographical information is available on most of *Y Drych*'s editors, and for some voluminously so, Jones is perhaps the most shadowy figure of all who held that office': Jones and Jones, *Welsh Reflections*, 94.

<sup>75</sup> *Y Drych*, September 6, 1934.

operative venture in industry should be instigated. The editor's remarks at the end of the report consisted of the following:

[If putting the plan into action succeeds it will be of real value to Wales, but there must be perseverance and genuine co-operation to carry it out successfully.]<sup>76</sup>

The report was fair and the remarks balanced but John Foulkes Jones does not seem to be as fired by the politics of Wales as were the former editors;<sup>77</sup> many of his editorial comments in his first year are centred on the apparent growing threat from Germany and Japan. However he did include in *Y Drych* material in which Plaid Cymru was discussed, sometimes critically and sometimes favourably. Some of the more critical material, contributed from February to April 1934, was written by 'Brython'<sup>78</sup> in his column 'Nodion Brithliw Brython' (Brython's Variegated Notes). He seemed intent on making mischief for Plaid Cymru and his first ploy was to denigrate Ireland and, by inference, Irish nationalism:

[A heinous treachery occurred in Ireland<sup>79</sup> during the Great War. Britain lost thousands of its best men as a result of that treachery. And the Lusitania<sup>80</sup> and its crew and passengers will not soon be forgotten.<sup>81</sup> In my opinion Britain cannot allow a republic for Ireland on any account. If Ireland demands it, let her have it by means of blood.]<sup>82</sup>

This article seems to be deliberately stoking the anti-Irish feeling which, as has been stated had been strong in Welsh-America, whilst also bolstering pro-British emotions, as opposed to Welsh, by reference to the Great War which had been fought under the Union flag. To what end? It was probably to offset the mostly favourable ethos of the paper towards Plaid Cymru under the editorship of Hugh Hughes and Sarah Evans. In contrast an article appeared in a following issue, by R.W.<sup>83</sup> from Wales, stressing how necessary self-government was for the well-being of the nation and how its survival depended on the success of 'Plaid Genedlaethol Cymru.' It began with a condemnation of two of the British political parties, namely the Conservatives and the Liberals. Of Conservatism it was stated:

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> But it must be remembered that the international situation was more unstable during his editorship.

<sup>78</sup> He had been contributing news items every fortnight to *Y Drych* for many years under the heading 'Nodion o New Castle, Pa,' and on 4 September 1919 he had referred to himself as the paper's local correspondent. It seems that he was a member of Immanuel Baptist Church, New Castle and a strict prohibitionist: Ibid., June 3, 1915.

<sup>79</sup> This was probably a reference to the Irish nationalist, Roger Casement (mentioned in the Introduction), who had attempted to aid Irish independence by seeking German support, and had been put to death for treason.

<sup>80</sup> *Y Drych* had included an article entitled 'Suddiad y Lusitania' (Sinking of the Lusitania) on June 3, 1915.

<sup>81</sup> This ocean liner which set sail from New York and was torpedoed off the coast of Ireland had 128 US citizens on board. Their death caused such a storm of protest that it led to the US entering the war in 1917.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., January 4, 1934.

<sup>83</sup> Was this R. O. F. Wynne of Garthewin, Denbighshire who was a staunch Welsh Nationalist?

[This is the foremost enemy of the nationalism and language of Wales – the supporters of the hands of the arrogant English imperialists.]<sup>84</sup>

The Liberals were dismissed in the following sentence which stated that they were only:

[another party of English origin and outlook]<sup>85</sup>

Plaid Cymru, it was emphasised, was a totally Welsh party in the tradition of Llywelyn and Owain Glyndŵr and its aim was self-government on the model of the Irish Free State or Canada. Why was self-government necessary? To improve economic performance was one of the reasons cited:

[It can be seen at once that Wales is the tail-end of England, and it could be shown through figures in every economic connection that Wales suffers incomparably more than England in whatever situation that country may be.]<sup>86</sup>

Self-government was also necessary, it was stated, to avert the death of the Welsh nation, and at the close the following emotive question was asked of Welsh-America:

[Welsh people of America! Are you unconcerned about losing us?]<sup>87</sup>

But ‘Brython’ was back again at the beginning of February and this time he was writing, from Wales, on self-government:

[It is very easy to shout for self-government without consideration of the consequences. Many Welsh people feel that it is no worse being governed from London than from Cardiff. For one thing its easier to go to London than to Cardiff to deal with money matters, and all other matters as far as that goes!]<sup>88</sup>

It is obvious that Welsh nationhood did not feature in the political thinking of ‘Brython’, and no mention was made of Plaid Cymru. Yet Saunders Lewis was the topic of his contribution in the following issue: Lewis had become a member of the Roman Catholic Church, he had resigned, and the impact on the party would be huge:

[Losing his leadership will be a heavy blow for the party in Wales. It does not possess anyone similar in its ranks. He was its driving force. He is the most brilliant of its members. There was more push in him than in twenty normal men.]<sup>89</sup>

This was high praise for Lewis, but maybe not so for the party which, ‘Brython’ implied, would be impoverished by the resignation. However, the real crux of the matter seems to lie in the inference that the two events were interlinked: that the resignation of Saunders Lewis

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<sup>84</sup> Ibid., January 18, 1934.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., February 15, 1934.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., February 22, 1934.



was a consequence of his joining the Roman Catholic Church.<sup>90</sup> It is more than likely that the writer's intention was to stir up the anti-Catholic feelings which were prevalent amongst Welsh-American Protestants.

In the very next issue 'Nodion Brithliw Brython' appeared once more and this time the subject matter was 'Y Babaeth a Chenedlaetholdeb' (The Papacy and Nationalism), where the Church which Saunders Lewis had joined was accused of an agenda to win back Wales. Readers were reminded how this Church had pushed Latin down the throats of their forefathers and how, against its wishes, the Welsh had been given a Bible. And yet now, Brython averred, this very Church was wanting to operate in Welsh. These were criticisms which were surfacing in Wales in this period, instigated by people who wished to harm the party or who felt uneasy with Lewis's overt Catholicism.

Between this onslaught on Roman Catholicism and Brython's next contribution, a letter appeared in the paper written by the previously-mentioned correspondent, R.W., which was in answer to Brython's comments on self-government. It comprehensively sought to demolish Brython's arguments by demonstrating that Wales would be capable of running its own affairs. Taxes, education and transport were cited as examples where England, because it held the reins of power, had made the needs of Wales secondary to its own. For example, R.W. argued that in the field of transport England had made sure that all Welsh roads ran to London:

[That is the shame of the nation of Wales which shows clearly how the Englishman made sure that every main trade route was such as to draw the bone-marrow of Wales's wealth out of it.]<sup>91</sup>

He also confronted Brython's claim that the Liberals had gone cold on self-government by averring that the change in their thinking was an example of ideals being forgotten in the interest of self-gain:

[This shows how some unprincipled people are able to sell high ideals for the base and vile dishes of their own whims.]<sup>92</sup>

The two-pronged nature of the letter becomes clear in the latter half where self-government for Wales was asserted to be the highest ideal of every honourable nation and where reneging on principles was inferred to be a base act:

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<sup>90</sup> On April 26, 1934 a short comment appeared in *Y Drych*, stating that Lewis had been re-elected as Plaid's president and that anything else would have been shameful: 'Ni ellid disgwyl dim arall. Buasai'n warth ar y Blaid i dderbyn ei ymddiswyddiad oherwydd iddo newid ei grefydd' (Nothing else could have been expected. It would have brought shame on Plaid to accept his resignation on account of his changing his religion).

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., March 8, 1934.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

[This ideal... was sold by the Liberals of Wales and who, then, would mourn the death of such a party?] <sup>93</sup>

As at the end of his last contribution R.W. made an appeal to Welsh-America:

[The Welsh of America! Which of you does not desire to see your Old Country rid of this rottenness?] <sup>94</sup>

The letter induced a short reply from 'Brython' <sup>95</sup> who blamed the misinformation he had presented about Welsh taxes on figures given to him by a friend. In the next issue of the newspaper there was yet another contribution entitled, 'Nodion Brithliw Brython', which this time sought to explain that Plaid's lack of success amongst ordinary people was due to the intellectualism of its members, whilst at the same time making sure that Saunders Lewis's leap to the Roman Church was not forgotten. Saunders Lewis had many times sought to stress that the party was composed of ordinary people, but 'Brython' was correct when he asserted that the members were mostly men who had been educated, 'yn bennaf o blith y colegau' (mostly from the colleges). This factor, he stated, made them seem distant:

[There is a popular conception that they are freaks.] <sup>96</sup>

A reference was also made to a dispute between the 'colleges' and the 'pulpit' which had not endeared men of learning to the ordinary Welsh person:

[The old-fashioned Welshman has not forgiven the colleges for changing the style and lowering the skill of his pulpit.] <sup>97</sup>

'Brython' was also correct in averring that Plaid was not making much headway amongst the rank and file even though it was working hard to progress:

[As far as can be ascertained the National Party is not making headway amongst the ordinary people. It makes more effort and is more lively than any other party...] <sup>98</sup>

After the aforementioned and seemingly complimentary comments about Lewis, at the beginning of the article, 'Brython' began the task of seeking to disparage Plaid in the eyes of the readers. What was Welsh-America to make of this contribution? It had been obvious, on the basis of his previous articles, that he was opposed to the party and its aims but more grist to his mill had obviously been added by the enemies of Plaid in Wales, and his accusations would certainly be a matter for consideration for some readers of *Y Drych*. On the other hand

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<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., April 12, 1934.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., April 19, 1934.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

R.W. had very ably answered many of the claims made by 'Brython'. It seems that *Y Drych* was not the only forum, in this period, where both sides of the argument as regards Plaid Cymru were being presented: Cymdeithas y Ddraig Goch (The Society of the Red Dragon) in Oakland, California, held a debate on Dominion Status for Wales.<sup>99</sup>

There seems to have been only one reference to Plaid Cymru in *Y Drych* in 1935. John Foulkes Jones, the paper's editor, wrote in relation to education in Wales, stating that the Welsh were beginning to think as a nation. He was certain that the development would be welcomed by expatriates in the US:

[Wales is beginning to think of things from a Welsh nationalist point of view and without doubt it is our wish as Welshmen abroad that Wales should claim its rights and take its rightful place amongst the countries of the world.]<sup>100</sup>

Thus the editor made clear that he supported the aims of Plaid Cymru without necessarily endorsing the party. However he was, at times, quite explicit in his criticisms of the British Establishment, for example in an editorial entitled 'Y Sefyllfa yn Ewrob' (The Situation in Europe) he wrote:

[Others believe that it is the Imperialism of Great Britain which accounts for the state of Europe today. It is 'Grab and keep' that has been Britain's motto throughout the years.]<sup>101</sup>

The paper's attitude in relation to Plaid Cymru would be put under the spotlight in 1936 as the proposed plans concerning the building of a bombing school on the Llŷn Peninsula became evident and leaders of the party launched their opposition to the scheme. The paper's first response to the ongoing developments was an editorial published in March which bore the heading 'Porth Neigwl.' It began by reporting that the Air Ministry had bought farms in the area which was near Abersoch, on Llŷn, 'i wneud maes bomio' (to establish a bombing school). The news had been welcomed with delight by the unemployed but with a great deal of objection from the religious bodies of the county and, likewise, from Saunders Lewis who had pointed out that Llŷn was sacred territory, 'yn wlad sanctaidd drwy holl ganrifoedd hanes y genedl Gymreig' (a sacred country throughout all the centuries of the Welsh nation's history). The editor proceeded to draw the reader's attention to a strongly-worded protest in *Y Ddraig Goch* contributed by both Lewis and J. E. Daniel in which they voiced their opposition to turning Porth Neigwl into the Gateway to Hell ('troi Porth Neigwl yn Borth Uffern'). Foulkes Jones was aware of the dangers of such a scheme:

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<sup>99</sup> Ibid., May 31, 1934.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., April 11, 1935.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., December 12, 1935.

[It should be realised that it is not good to support a plan which would invite attacks, and which dig a grave to the principles of peace.]<sup>102</sup>

His next statement was a clear and strong endorsement of Plaid Cymru's position in opposing the plans:

[The National Party deserves fulsome praise for drawing the attention of Wales to the danger to Wales of losing things of far more value than the publicity and the gold that it will receive by way of the Bombing School.]<sup>103</sup>

Thus, if the current editor of *Y Drych* had seemed to be less interested in Plaid, or slightly less enthusiastic than had Hugh Hughes and his successor, the events concerning Porth Neigwl had focused his mind and had elicited a firm and positive response in favour of the party's objections.

But by October it was Sam Ellis who was undertaking the duties of editor of *Y Drych* and it was he who was responding to the burning of the bombing school at Penyberth in September. If this contribution had been his only editorial in this period, it would have been logical to assume that John Foulkes Jones was choosing not to enter further into the affray, but Ellis had executed the editor's duties for at least six weeks prior to October so it appears that no significance should be attached to the fact.<sup>104</sup> The first of Ellis's responses was a brief news item, entitled, 'Cynwrf Mawr ym Mhwllheli, Tri o Arweinwyr y Blaid Genedlaethol yn dinistrio adeiladau'r Ysgol Fomio' (Great Agitation in Pwllheli, Three of the National Party's Leaders destroying the buildings of the Bombing School) which gave the readers a summary of what had occurred and informed them that, apparently, hundreds of threatening people had gathered around the police station which the three had entered to confess their action. The reference to the ugly mood of the crowd was based on hearsay, as the editor was careful to acknowledge by using the word, 'dywedir' (it is said). However the report did contain one sentence which hinted at the opinion of Sam Ellis:

[As a result of this more than a hundred of the workmen will be without work for a good while.]<sup>105</sup>

The statement, which might have been true, was probably written to incite criticism of the action at Penyberth, but it was also indicative of the ethos of Ellis's lengthy editorial in the following issue.

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<sup>102</sup> Ibid., March 19, 1936.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> John Foulkes Jones suffered prolonged bouts of illness: Jones and Jones, *Welsh Reflections*, 101-02.

<sup>105</sup> *Y Drych*, October 1, 1936.

The editorial was carefully crafted; there was no condemnation of the actions of the three arsonists but the praise, such as it was, was very patronising, amounting almost to a charge of naivety. His viewpoint was that the bombing school should be accepted as it was part of the defence strategy of the United Kingdom, of which Wales was a part:

[The question which naturally arises is, is not the geographical situation of England, Wales and Scotland such as to compel them to co-operate with the fitting measure of self-defence for the old island?] <sup>106</sup>

And strong defence was important as, without it, dictators in Europe would be tempted to seize the opportunity to oppress. Furthermore, co-operation in foreign policy did not mean that the three nations could not attain some measure of self-government:

[Some measure of self-government could be arranged for the three nations...] <sup>107</sup>

But of course, he stated, he sympathised with the inhabitants of Llŷn and he also admired the courage of the pacifists and the nationalists who were united in their objection to the plans; but were they not, he asked, rather impractical in such a world as the present one. His closing statement brought to a head the underlying point of the article, namely to justify the decision to bring the bombing school to Wales:

[Until the nations of the world learn to live together in peace it seems that self-defence against oppressors is necessary.] <sup>108</sup>

This was a very restrained editorial, written in the aftermath of the fire in Penyberth, but it seems that Ellis had chosen to downplay the incident, probably lest the three firerisers be declared heroes. He had no sympathy with Welsh Nationalism and, lest the act be taken as a mark of pacifism which would have gained respect from some, he had stated:

[The nationalist is not a pacifist – burning the buildings was a warring act. The nationalist refuses to fight for Britain, but he will fight for Wales if needs be.] <sup>109</sup>

It is very clear that Sam Ellis was first and foremost a ‘British-American’ in his political thinking.

Further reports concerning the fire in Llŷn were presented in following issues of *Y Drych* but were never accompanied by editorial comments which either indicated that Foulkes Jones, who had resumed his duties as editor, was loth to make known his opinion for fear of upsetting readers who thought differently or that he could not come to an immediate conclusion regarding the matter. One article which was published at this time, seemingly

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid., October 8, 1936.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

penned by a correspondent in Wales or lifted from one of the English-medium papers in Wales,<sup>110</sup> was a report on the trial at Caernarfon. It was entitled, ‘Three Welshmen admit burning Air Force Buildings to aid Peace; Preacher, Scholar and Teacher hailed by townsfolk after Jury disagrees – Pastor says he acted for ‘Kingdom of God’ to protect Mothers from a War.’ The title might have suggested a sympathetic exposition of the events, but there were undertones of hostility in the article, with descriptions of Lewis Valentine as a ‘dour Welsh pastor’ and an ‘obdurate preacher’, whilst all three were said to be ‘stubbornly insisting that they would testify only in Welsh’. Yet it did report that the jury had failed to agree and that:

festive crowds of Welsh folk carried the defendants on their shoulders to the street after the trial.<sup>111</sup>

Another article on the same subject had been lifted from *Y Brython*;<sup>112</sup> it was entitled ‘Tri Chymro Enwog ar eu praw’ (Three Famous Welshmen on Trial)<sup>113</sup> and it consisted of the full speech which Saunders Lewis had made at the trial. Once again *Y Drych* made no comment on the content but it did inform its readers that the court was packed, with 300 crammed into a room for 200, and that the singing of ‘Hen Wlad fy Nhadau’ could be heard outside the court. In the same vein was a report taken from *Y Cymro*<sup>114</sup> telling how students from the University College of Swansea were arranging for a petition to be sent to the Union Committee asking for the reinstatement of Saunders Lewis to his post.<sup>115</sup> It could be maintained that the inclusion of these articles, which depicted the groundswell of support for the three, was an indication of the editor’s support, maybe not for the action, but for the principles which had driven the action.

The year ended with news that the trial would be moved to the Old Bailey in London,<sup>116</sup> which resulted in a furore in Wales and motivated Saunders Lewis’s critic, W. J. Gruffydd, to express his outrage in *Y Llenor*, where he castigated the education establishments at Fishguard and Swansea respectively for dismissing D. J. Williams and Saunders Lewis, and challenged those who boasted of their Welshness to confront the English:

[Are we, the Welsh who go to meetings of the Cymmrodorion and the Welsh societies to boast of our patriotism, going to allow a handful of English people and anti-Welsh people to mistreat our sons?]<sup>117</sup>

<sup>110</sup> No reference was made to the source.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 15 October 1936

<sup>112</sup> A weekly newspaper whose editor in this period was Gwilym R. Jones who later became editor of *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*: Stephens, *The Oxford Companion to the Literature of Wales*, 60-61, 306.

<sup>113</sup> *Y Drych*, November 5, 1936.

<sup>114</sup> Its editors in 1939 were J. R. Lloyd Hughes and Edwin Williams.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, November 12, 1936.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, December 10, 24, 1936.

<sup>117</sup> *Y Llenor* XV, no. 4 (1936).

It was probably similar emotions that had induced Foulkes Jones to declare in one of the new year's January issues<sup>118</sup> that Wales should have a representative on the League of Nations and that there should be a Secretary for Wales in Britain's Parliament. Penyberth had focused many minds on the needs of Wales and as the trial in London was looming, *Y Drych* was reporting<sup>119</sup> that 'as proof of the widespread interest' applications for seats was so overwhelming that a great number would have to be denied access.

The issue immediately after the trial contained so much material on the event that the editor had to explain the absence of contributions on other matters:

[It was necessary to omit many articles from this issue so as to give our readers an opportunity to read of the trial of the three Welshmen in London.]<sup>120</sup>

John Foulkes Jones devoted an entire editorial column to the trial of the Penyberth Three in London. The first part was based on two sources, firstly on letters which had been received from Wales and secondly on a report from a Welsh correspondent who had blamed Prime Minister Baldwin for the fiasco. According to the letters the court's imposition of a nine-month prison sentence had been more lenient than had been expected and, also, no other outcome than imprisonment had been expected as the perpetrators had confessed:

[Without doubt it will be agreed that the court could not set them free as they had confessed that it was they who had burnt the bombing school in Llŷn.]<sup>121</sup>

With regard to the Prime Minister, the report to which Jones referred had been highly critical of his indifference to the pleas of Wales:

[It appears that he prefers to listen to assertions based on the safety of birds and swans and fish than to the cry of a country which loves its traditions.]<sup>122</sup>

According to Jones the same report suggested that the Penyberth Three had acted out of frustration that Wales's voice was being ignored by England. In this first part of the editorial Foulkes Jones's own thoughts are twice expressed, once to declare that Wales had a right to feel dissatisfied with its treatment by England, a safe statement as it had been made many times over the years in *Y Drych*, and the second time, in the context of the report's conclusion that it was frustration that had led to arson, to ask:

[Does the vehicle of conviction have the right to drive on through the red light of the law of the land?]<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> *Y Drych*, January 21, 1937.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, January 28, 1937.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, February 4, 1937.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.* Reference has already been made in Chapter One to the fact that environmental issues had persuaded the Government not to situate a bombing school in England.

But the second part of the editorial did allow the readers to glimpse some of his personal thoughts concerning the incident on Llŷn and the subsequent trials. He queried the silence of Lloyd George, who had actively opposed the abdication of Edward VIII, and he also queried the silence of the Welsh intelligensia. Why didn't they speak up for the language and traditions of Wales? He brought the article to a close by informing readers that Professor W. J. Gruffydd was intending to refuse to adjudicate at the National Eisteddfod in Machynlleth as the committee had chosen two Englishmen, Winston Churchill and the Earl of Londonderry, as presidents for some of the proceedings. Gruffydd had also declared that there should be no celebrations of the Coronation the following May, to which the editor added:

[Those Welsh in America who plan to visit the old country next summer can remember this, keeping away from every Coronation celebration.] <sup>124</sup>

Although it was lengthy, it was more of a report on other people's opinions than an editorial disclosing the editor's thoughts and, based on remarks made later by the editor, the only comments which appear to have drawn any response were the ones concerning the Coronation. It was in an issue many months later <sup>125</sup> that Foulkes Jones wrote that the act on Llŷn had not been directed against the King, who was a symbol of the unity of the British nations and who had been warmly welcomed on a visit to Wales, but that it was in protest at the Government's treatment of Wales. He however expressed the hope that the Welsh welcome given to the King would shame the Government into treating Wales with fairness. The comments would suggest that the ideas of W. J. Gruffydd had not found favour, neither in Wales nor in Welsh-America but, as the editor had supported those ideas by encouraging expatriates visiting Wales to boycott celebrations, he would probably have received some critical responses which he was now seeking to address.

The issue published on 4 February 1937 contained not only the above mentioned lengthy editorial, it also contained a report on the Old Bailey trial from *Weekly Mail and Cardiff Times* which was afforded three whole pages. In addition a sympathetic article was included written 'By our Special Correspondent from Wales' the title of which was, 'Welsh Fire Trial, The Case against the Government,' inferring that the arson attack had occurred only after exhausting every other avenue in attempting to make the English Government listen:

Not until every other appeal and entreaty had failed that the three men concerned, who are officers of the Welsh Nationalist Party, met and calmly deliberated as to

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<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid., July 29, 1937.



what could be done... The crux of the whole story, the cause of the whole trouble was the refusal, stupid and stolid, of the Government to even allow Wales to state her case against locating the school at that particular spot.

In addition to criticisms such as the above, which focused on the Government's attitude to the objections regarding location, was the feeling that moving the trial to London was a further example of London's arrogant attitude to Wales, and John Foulkes Jones must have been conscious of this for, at the bottom of his editorial, he had included a few brief sentences from *Y Cymro*:

[There is no doubt at all that the work of the authorities in moving the trial to London has produced a feeling of deep indignation in Wales and among Welsh people everywhere... We believe that this behaviour towards three who were trying to defend themselves in a court of law has created a new Nationalist spirit the like of which has not been seen for a long time.]<sup>126</sup>

The above assertion of a new spirit of nationalism seems to be borne out in the letters which appeared in *Y Drych* in the following issue on 11 February, under the heading, 'Barn Cymry America' (The Opinion of the American-Welsh). The contributors were responding to the editor's invitation to express their views and most of them had every sympathy with the aims of the three arsonists; for example, the Revd T. J. Jones of New York said that flouting the law of the land was not always a sin if that law interfered with the convictions of a nation. The three, he wrote, were moved to halt a government which was riding roughshod over things that were sacred. R. Wynne of Hamilton, Canada, stated that *Y Drych*, as a lively newspaper, was realising that a new era was dawning in Wales and that the real trial had been in Caernarfon, not in the Old Bailey:

[The real trial was in Caernarfon and it wasn't three Welshmen who were put in the dock, but England's inhuman and Fascist government.]<sup>127</sup>

And very many more were in this vein, some using the word 'sacrifice' and others exulting in the action, but a discordant voice was heard in Revd E. Cynolwyn Pugh's letter which very curtly stated that if there was any culture of note on Llŷn, the Bombing School would make no difference to it. 'Anodd gennyf gredu,' he wrote, 'fod ffordd "force" byth yn iawn' (I find it difficult to believe that the way of 'force' is ever right). Another letter which was in contrast to the majority was contributed by John T. Jones of Chicago, Illinois. It consisted of the following comments:

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<sup>126</sup> Ibid., February 4, 1937.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., February 11, 1937.

[One of the three offenders leans dangerously heavily towards Rome. If we lived in Wales and were British citizens we would prefer being governed from London with its apparent deficiencies than from Rome with its Mussolini and his jingoistic crowd.]<sup>128</sup>

Even in Welsh-America, thousands of miles away from the motherland, prejudice was clouding the real issue. Another letter was from R. W. Hughes of Utica, New York,<sup>129</sup> who made the point that it was no good expecting any unity in Wales regarding the action in Llŷn, or any other matter. Nevertheless it can be stated that, although dubious about the action, *Y Drych* was unequivocally supportive of the aims of the Penyberth Three, whilst very many of its contributors were also supportive of the action itself, as a last resort, in the face of complete disregard by the British Government.

The focus in 1937 had been on Penyberth, however, in 1938 the newspaper was once again giving its readers the opportunity to become acquainted with Plaid Cymru. It was publishing regular excerpts<sup>130</sup> from Lewis Valentine's account of the time spent in Wormwood Scrubs, namely 'Beddau'r Byw',<sup>131</sup> and it was allocating regular column space to 'Colofn y Blaid' whose author was H. Rhys Hughes of Bangor. There had apparently been an agreement between *Y Drych* and Plaid Cymru's Office that this feature should appear on a monthly basis to report on the party's activities:

[It has been arranged with the National Party's Office in Wales to publish monthly on the work of the Party in Wales. No doubt the articles will be of evident interest to our readers – Ed.]<sup>132</sup>

In the same issue as the above note was the following statement from the author of 'Colofn y Blaid,' H. Rhys Hughes:

[Through the kindness of the editor of *Y Drych* I will have the opportunity to give a monthly account of the National Party's news and policy.]<sup>133</sup>

As quoted at the beginning of this chapter, an agreement had existed between Hugh Hughes and Plaid Cymru to publish party news in *Y Drych*, but it appears that John Foulkes Jones had not continued the relationship when he had taken on the editor's duties in 1934. However, it is very clear that the newspaper, in 1938, was reacting very positively towards Plaid Cymru

<sup>128</sup> An agent for *Y Drych* in the 1920s when he preceded John Foulkes Jones as subscriptions collector and salesman. He contributed regularly to the newspaper: Jones and Jones, *Welsh Reflections*, 94, 99.

<sup>129</sup> A person of the same name and in the same period was Supervisor of Kirkland, NY: *The Clinton Courier*, January 20, 1938.

<sup>130</sup> These were taken from *Y Ddraig Goch*.

<sup>131</sup> The articles have been republished in John Emyr, ed., *Lewis Valentine, Dyddiadur Milwr a Gweithiau Eraill* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1988).

<sup>132</sup> *Y Drych*, February 3, 1938.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*

and the editor's comment, above, implies that it was in response to the interest shown by readers that the monthly reports had been arranged. This being so he could, with impunity, present any information pertaining to the new party as material which had been solicited. Pen-y-bertth and all the subsequent furore must really have put the focus of Welsh-America on Wales, on its relationship with England and on the status of the Welsh language.

But Plaid Cymru was not allowed a free run as, within a few weeks of the above statement and after excerpts of 'Beddau'r Byw' and 'Colofn y Blaid' had appeared, a report was published of an interview with Dr F. Llewellyn-Jones, once a Liberal and National Liberal MP for Flintshire, in which he had declared that the majority of the Welsh people regarded Plaid's proposals for a form of self-government with hostility:

Dr F. Llewellyn-Jones stated that as far as Welshmen were concerned, there was absolute hostility to the proposals of the National party, and indifference to the movement for the appointment of a Secretary of State... It was generally realized that whatever happened Wales and England were partners and that you could not sever Wales from England and give the former a Dominion Status.<sup>134</sup>

He had ended with two rejoinders, the first being that there was a growing feeling in the US that too many powers were invested in the separate states and, the second, that the idea that any one of those states should be dealing with foreign affairs would never be entertained:

No American will for one moment entertain the proposal for the States of the Union to deal with foreign affairs. But that is just what the Welsh Nationalists demand in asking for Dominion Status.

A lively reply from D. Lloyd Davies, 'Glan Lledr', Utica, New York<sup>135</sup> was printed in the following issue calling for honesty from Dr Llewellyn-Jones on Plaid's intentions and responding to his comments on the American states. He pointed out that Plaid had never called for a total split from England, for that policy would only lead to inertia and would prove to be a sign of a deficiency in common sense:

[I would have expected him to have been honest enough to confess that the constitution of the National Party of Wales does not contain a reference to breaking away from England, because such a policy would only be inert rigmarole and a proof of no common sense.]<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Ibid., March 24, 1938.

<sup>135</sup> Originally from Dolwyddelan, he was resident in Utica in 1905. A carpenter and 'well-known musician', he was Director of Haydn Male Chorus and Cambrian Mixed Chorus. 'Glan Lledr' was his bardic title: *Utica NY Daily Press*, April 6, 1960.

<sup>136</sup> *Y Drych*, March 31, 1938.

But it was the reply to the remarks concerning the American states that drew forth a declaration of Wales's nationhood and praise for the culture which its people had engendered:

[Comparing the authority of a state in America to what the National Party is asking for Wales is unfair. The Welsh nation is a nation which lives in its own country. It is they who turned her from being a wilderness into fruitful gardens and built her channels of culture, her homes and her temples. She has a life based upon wonderful traditions and establishments to nurture that life in the hands of the common people, of which no other civilized country has their better or even ones which are comparable.] <sup>137</sup>

Most Welsh-American readers would not have disputed the latter part of the paragraph as it was respect for the traditions of the home-country and a need to reproduce them in the New World that had given life to the Eisteddfodau the Hymn-singing Festivals and the preaching meetings which were still, in this period, a part of the life of the Welsh settlements.

D. Lloyd Davies was writing again in one of the April issues on 'Hawliau Cymru' (The Rights of Wales), which had been penned partly in response to the refusal of the authorities to allow the Penyborth Three to testify in Welsh, and which called on Welsh-America to assist the mother-country in the face of total disregard by the House of Commons. He reminded readers that it was Irish-America which had forced the British Government to yield to Ireland's demands and suggested that Welsh-Americans could intervene to hinder or facilitate England's cause in international affairs. They could also provide an united voice to protest at London's treatment of Wales. His conclusion was a call to action:

[I will leave the matter for the consideration of the readers of *Y Drych*. Who will begin the process?] <sup>138</sup>

It was in this same issue that news of the formation of *Cyfeillion Cymru* in Canton Ohio <sup>139</sup> was published, based on information provided by the *Plaid* correspondent, H. Rhys Hughes. Two weeks later the first of the articles, 'Colofn y Blaid', also by Hughes, was published, entitled 'Karl Marx ynteu'r Brenin Arthur?' <sup>140</sup> The article began by stating that *Plaid* was deeply rooted in the traditions of Wales, which was probably meant to infer that Karl Marx's theories were not, and continued by proclaiming that Christianity was as essential to the new

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<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., April 21, 1938.

<sup>139</sup> See Chapter Three.

<sup>140</sup> Saunders Lewis had spoken on 'Y Blaid Genedlaethol a Marxiaeth,' in *Plaid's* Conference in February 1938 and *Y Ddraig Goch* carried the whole speech in a series of articles beginning in March 1938. The speech was in response to complaints from *Plaid's* enemies and others that the party's social principles were not based on Marxist philosophy. The article in *Y Drych* is based on the speech by Lewis.

party as anti-Christian materialism was the essence of Marxism. That being so, wrote the author, Plaid Cymru would never follow Marx:

[because it believes that man is the creation of God, a dignified and valuable being, because it believes that all the aspects of favouritism are evil, because it believes in the value of Wales's rural and Christian tradition...] <sup>141</sup>

Welsh-Americans, who were apparently worried about the growth of Communism, as inferred by the journalist Wendell Goodwin and discussed in Chapter Three, would have endorsed the ringing declaration at the end of the article:

[We refuse to follow Karl Marx and choose to follow Arthur.] <sup>142</sup>

But what would they have made of one of the points in 'Colofn y Blaid' in a subsequent issue when one of the main tenets in Saunders Lewis's, *Canlyn Arthur*, was quoted?:

[It is not a bilingual Wales that we seek but a Welsh Wales, because it is only that which is consistent with the principle of nationalism. To rid Wales of Englishness it is essential to eradicate the most English thing in Wales – the English language.] <sup>143</sup>

And this appeared at a time when *Y Drych* itself was becoming a bilingual paper.

The incident at Penyberth and its aftermath figured in an article entitled, 'Cymru'n Deffro' (Wales Waking), which appeared in July 1938 and which divulged how the whole episode had had a profound impression on the editor:

[We remember, as if yesterday, the burning of the Bombing School by the teachers Saunders Lewis and D. J. Williams and the Revd Lewis Valentine... We remember also the treatment that they received regarding giving their testimony in Welsh in the courts and the slandering of the opinion of our nation's cultured sons by moving the trial to the Old Bailey, and then again becoming the butt of mockery and denigration by the offspring of our old oppressors.] <sup>144</sup>

This introduction, which betrayed bitter feelings against the British Government, was followed by information that a petition had been started by John Pierce of Marian-glas, Anglesey, to secure for the Welsh language equal status with English in all the law courts of Wales, and Welsh-Americans were told that they could show their support by signing it. And as England had longed for praise from the USA, such a petition from Welsh-America would carry weight:

[We know from signs and discussions in the newspapers, for years now, that England's greatest joy would be to win the approbation of the States, and as the Welsh element has such an important influence throughout the country, a Petition

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<sup>141</sup> Ibid., May 12, 1938.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., June 9, 1938.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., July 28, 1938.

such as this would gain the special attention of His Majesty's Government in London.] <sup>145</sup>

What has become obvious is that parts of Welsh-America, even though the language was waning in their midst, had been incensed by the way the English authorities had treated the Welsh language after Pen-y-bont. And the anti-English-Establishment rhetoric was carried on in August when, after writing that Chamberlain had refused to appoint a Secretary of State for Wales, the following comment was made:

[Three heroes can be imprisoned for burning a bombing school, but an entire country cannot be imprisoned. We suggest that the leaders of every party in Wales should unite to compel Britain to realise that there is value in the 'innocent blood' of the sons of Wales.] <sup>146</sup>

It seems that the action of the Three on the Llŷn Peninsula had elicited offers of help from such as Hobarth L. Morris and financial aid from Canton Ohio (see Chapter Three) and its aftermath also seems to have ignited indignant correspondence in *Y Drych* in 1938.

After August 1938 however Plaid Cymru once again almost disappeared from the scene, only being mentioned twice in the following months and neither time did it gain favourable comments. The first contribution was from J. Williams Hughes of Marian-glas, Anglesey, <sup>147</sup> who chastised all political parties, including Plaid Cymru, for condoning war:

[Politically there is no man who can enthuse our nation. War is on the agenda of every party we have. The Tory party is ready to go to war for the Empire, the Labour party is ready to fight the wars of the common peoples and the National party is ready to fight at home.] <sup>148</sup>

When encountering these comments readers of *Y Drych* would have recollected that Sam Ellis had emphasised that the incident at Pen-y-bont could not be dubbed an act by pacifists; it was, he said, a warlike act by men who were declaring war.

The second reference to the party was in December. The issue contained an article on Imperialism by Gwynfor Evans but it also printed a strange comparison of Plaid Cymru's possible actions, if they were to gain power, with Hitler's treatment of the Jews:

[If ever the National Party succeeds in Wales, the likelihood is that their aim would be to drive the Englishman from Wales and back to his own country... on going to

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<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid., August 11, 1938.

<sup>147</sup> Broadcaster and writer who stood twice as a Liberal candidate at General Elections. He worked with the Welsh ambulance unit in Spain during the Spanish civil war and served in the Middle East and India during the Second World War. He was in America and Canada from 1938-43. 'Anglesey Archives: Papers and photographs re. John Williams Hughes, journalist and broadcaster, Marianglas,' accessed January 20, 2015, [www.archiveswales.org.uk/anw/get\\_collection.php?inst\\_id=27...](http://www.archiveswales.org.uk/anw/get_collection.php?inst_id=27...)

<sup>148</sup> *Y Drych*, October 6, 1938.

Wales one often hears that it is the Englishman who owns the works, the Englishman who succeeds, and the Englishman has always governed in the schools.]<sup>149</sup>

Although the above excerpt seems to imply that the author was critical of Plaid, his previous comments in the article seem to have been written with the aim of justifying Hitler's actions against the Jews. The comments, perhaps naturally, as the enormity of the Holocaust had not become evident, do not appear to have motivated any reaction.

An article by Plaid's correspondent, H. Rhys Hughes, entitled 'Y Ddeiseb Genedlaethol, Cymru'n hawlio cyfiawnder gan Loegr' (The National Petition, Wales demanding justice from England),<sup>150</sup> appeared in April 1939. The author addressed Welsh-America in the following terms:

[Without a doubt every Welshman and Welsh woman in America will be eager to play their part in the work.]<sup>151</sup>

He very deftly brought news of Plaid Cymru in before the end of the article, stating that the party's primary tasks at the present were to facilitate the petition, to oppose all the military plans of the English Government which involved Wales and to collect for Plaid's St David's Day Fund.

H. Rhys Hughes in his next contribution before the end of the month,<sup>152</sup> again appeared to be trying to instil in the minds of readers an accepted premise, namely that there was a natural relationship between Plaid and the Welsh expatriates; he thanked all who had donated to the St David's Day Fund and requested all outstanding contributions to be sent to Plaid's office as the need was great. In this article he presented the party to their compatriots in America in the context of the looming war. Plaid's position was to insist that Wales should remain neutral, that 'England' had no right to conscript Welsh boys to defend her Empire and that the main task of the Welsh would be to ensure that their nation still existed at the end of the war given that all Britain's propaganda material would be turned against it.

The third contribution<sup>153</sup> from H. Rhys Hughes appeared a few weeks before Britain had entered World War II and consisted of reports from Plaid's Summer School where reasons for going to war had been exposed as hypocrisy. Again, in November 1939,<sup>154</sup> two months

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<sup>149</sup> Ibid., December 8, 1938.

<sup>150</sup> Its purpose was to demand that the Welsh language be given equal status with English in every aspect of the administration of the law and public services in Wales.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid., April 6, 1939.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid., April 27, 1939.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid., August 17, 1939.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid., November 16, 1939.

after Britain had entered the conflict, the paper published a report on Plaid Cymru's Conference at Caernarfon, where the obvious topic of discussion had been the war. After pronouncing the party's non-cooperation with the British Government, the Conference had agreed, on the basis that the war would be harmful to Wales, that the same Government should be called upon to arrange an armistice and a peace conference. And as that same Government was professing to fight for the rights of small nations, it should be called upon to recognise the nation of Wales by accepting the National Petition concerning the language and by setting up a committee to represent Wales to the Government. But maybe more pertinently in this period was the call to recognise Welsh nationalism as a valid reason for conscientious objection to military service. And their opposition to any military action in this pre-war period would have been endorsed by many in America as, at that time, the US had no intention of joining the conflict. As such the quite substantial column space they were given in the paper might have a great deal to do with America's view of the war.

However, a discordant note had been struck when the paper had reprinted an article from *Y Cymro*, a paper which Saunders Lewis had described as 'y papur mwyaf chwit-chwat yn yr iaith Gymraeg'<sup>155</sup> (the most unreliable paper in the Welsh language), on account of its practice of changing its opinions time and again. This contribution, responding to Plaid's declaration of a policy for Wales in regard to the war, declared that the party's anti-English stance had made no headway in Wales:

[Like the majority of Welsh people, we have smiled when hearing and listening to the rubbish of the Welsh National Party... Their anti-English policy has been ignored by the vast majority of the Welsh people.]<sup>156</sup>

*Y Cymro* was at pains to point out that the article had been penned with the sole intention of explaining that the party was not speaking for the people of Wales:

[Our only interest in this matter is to make it clear that the self-appointed Party called the Welsh National Party does not speak for Wales in this matter nor in any other matter... If these people had not set themselves up to speak for Wales we would not mention the matter. But it is our duty to make clear that they have no right to speak on behalf of Wales, nor to declare a policy for Wales which is rejected by the nation in general.]<sup>157</sup>

Furthermore, according to *Y Cymro*, most of the party's members were members in name only, as they had joined merely to get rid of the canvassers. This article was negative

<sup>155</sup> *Y Ddraig Goch*, November 1938.

<sup>156</sup> *Y Drych*, October 12, 1939.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*



coverage for Plaid Cymru but it did elicit an immediate reply<sup>158</sup> which referred to the numerous letters in *Y Faner*, the newspaper owned by Kate Roberts and Morris Williams since 1935, condemning the arrogance of ‘England’ and its refusal to acknowledge Wales as a nation. This fact, said the writer, did not appear to trouble *Y Cymro*. In addition, wrote the same correspondent, *Y Cymro*’s attack on Plaid Cymru was cowardly and vindictive as it knew full well that all the propaganda machinery of ‘England’ would support it at this time. The argument rumbled on with articles by J. E. Daniel in the *Welsh Nationalist* reprinted in *Y Drych* for Welsh-American consumption.

It seems that *Y Drych* was trying to maintain some form of balance of opinion in this period as, before *Y Cymro*’s diatribe, there had been some criticism of the English and their Government in recent issues. For example, D. Lloyd Davies of Utica had made the following accusation:

[Wales and its people are the target of the Englishman today. Every application made by our Welsh parliamentarians in the House of Commons for essential improvements to its life is the butt of mockery and scorn.]<sup>159</sup>

It is interesting to note that the title of an essay competition in the Eisteddfod at Warren, Ohio, was ‘Statws Dominiwn i Gymru’ (Dominion Status for Wales), indicating that it was a topic for discussion outside the pages of *Y Drych*. The winner was the Revd H. Monfa Parri of Milwaukee, Wisconsin,<sup>160</sup> and his essay, published in *Y Drych*,<sup>161</sup> had many echoes of Saunders Lewis’s speech in Machynlleth in 1926 with its connotations on the words ‘freedom’ and ‘independence’.

Apparently it was an article on evacuees which *Y Drych* had lifted from *Welsh Nationalist* which had motivated Sam Ellis to pen a contribution at the beginning of 1940. He began by mocking Plaid for fearing the loss of the Welsh language and its culture due to the presence of ‘plant bach y Saeson ym mhentrefi’r wlad’ (the little children of the English in the villages of the country). True to previous form he then sought to debase the arguments of Plaid and win support by flattery:

[The nation is wronged when it is suggested that its culture is so weak and its hospitality so niggardly.]<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> Ibid., October 19, 1939.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid., September 21, 1939.

<sup>160</sup> Minister, author and poet. One time staff member of *Manchester Daily Mail*: *Geneva Daily Times*, December 23, 1950.

<sup>161</sup> *Y Drych*, June 29, July 6, 1939.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid., February 8, 1940.

But his hostility towards Plaid Cymru becomes very evident when, ignoring the Christian ethos of the party, he made a pointed reference to the extreme nationalism of the regimes of Mussolini and Hitler, thereby, probably and intentionally, reminding readers of the accusations of ‘Fascism’ made against Plaid by some, especially in Wales:

[The perverse love of a nation is one of the curses of our civilization. Its effect can be seen in Italy and Germany. May we hope that the Welshman’s love of nation is kept unadulterated and Christian.]<sup>163</sup>

However, before the end of the next month, the editorial<sup>164</sup> in *Y Drych* was presenting its readers with the report published in *Y Faner* that Plaid Cymru was intending to lobby Roosevelt’s emissary, Sumner Welles (see Chapter Three), and this information, with its American dimension, would probably have been of greater interest to Welsh-America than would Ellis’s diatribe a few weeks previously. In the same issue Plaid was named in a contribution from a special correspondent entitled, ‘Llythyr o Gymru, Cymru mewn Adeg Rhyfel’ (Letter from Wales, Wales in Time of War), which listed all the groups and organizations in Wales which were opposed to the war; Plaid Cymru, on religious and political grounds, was one of them.

*Y Drych* was still affording coverage to the party even though these years were very difficult ones for Plaid on account of its anti-conscription policy, its pacifism and its refusal to concede that any of Hitler’s actions were a justification for war. It was this latter stance which was to lead to accusations of Fascism.<sup>165</sup> The end of 1940<sup>166</sup> saw another stinging attack on the party, this time by a correspondent calling himself ‘Ioan o’r Ddol’, who had penned the editorial at the invitation of the editor. The party was accused of disloyalty, of dishonesty, of being unwelcoming to evacuees and of loathing the English. Fortunately, said the writer, W. J. Gruffydd was of a different spirit and for that he was hounded by the orthodox members of the party.

But even though tensions were running high in some quarters, *Y Drych* stoically maintained its relationship with Plaid, even printing an excerpt from *Y Ddraig Goch* entitled, ‘Quislingiaid Cymru’ (The Quislings of Wales), which was a stinging attack on the Establishment in Wales, who were willing to sacrifice Wales to England’s whims, which praised the common people and ended with the following prophetic remark:

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<sup>163</sup> Ibid.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid., March 21, 1940.

<sup>165</sup> These accusations are still being made but are refuted in Richard Wyn Jones’s publication, *The Fascist Party in Wales?*

<sup>166</sup> Ibid., December 5, 1940.

[Sometime the common people's opportunity will come, and when that day comes they will scour the public boards and insist on a free Wales and responsible people to govern her.]<sup>167</sup>

At the beginning of the following year an article was included entitled 'Paul Cymreig mewn carchar' (A Welsh Paul in gaol), a title which was obviously intended to bring to mind St Paul's incarceration. The subject of the article was an ardent Plaid Cymru member<sup>168</sup> who had been thrown into prison because he had refused to serve 'ym myddin Lloegr' (in the army of England). It was reported that, at the court hearing he had stated:

[he could not enlist because he refused to acknowledge the right of England to rule Wales.]<sup>169</sup>

The report elicited no further comment but its very inclusion spoke volumes. The editor must have felt that even in wartime, and by this time America had declared war,<sup>170</sup> the anti-English sentiment, especially with regard to the British Government, was still strong enough in Welsh-America to justify the inclusion of the news.

As the war years progressed, reports on Plaid Cymru were, understandably, few and far between as prime coverage would have been given to events connected with the war. In addition, since January 1941, the paper had changed from being a fortnightly publication to a monthly<sup>171</sup> and this would have obviously been a further restriction on the amount of news coverage which could be included and was probably one reason for the absence of any reference to Plaid Cymru. But in 1945 a news item was printed in *Y Drych* listing the election results in the Caernarvon Boroughs constituency following the elevation of Lloyd George to the House of Lords. J. E. Daniel, for Plaid Cymru, had won 6,844 votes which had motivated the newspaper to state:

[The election showed that the number of the Welsh National Party's supporters is increasing. He had many more votes than any previous Nationalist candidate...]<sup>172</sup>

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<sup>167</sup> Ibid., August 15, 1941. On 16 July four young Welsh Nationalists, John Legonna, Ted Merriman, Trefor Morgan and Hywel Lewis, who had refused to stand still for 'God Save the King' when a band had played it on the beach in Aberystwyth at Whitsuntide, had been fined £5 each. They were subsequently imprisoned: *Y Ddraig Goch*, August 1941, January 1942.

<sup>168</sup> This was Paul Roberts of Cardiff who would have been excused military service on health grounds and because of his pacifist beliefs, but he chose to plead on grounds of nationalism. He was sentenced to six months in prison: *Y Ddraig Goch*, February, June 1942.

<sup>169</sup> *Y Drych*, February 15, 1942.

<sup>170</sup> America had declared war on December 11, 1941: Jones and Jones, *Welsh Reflections*, 100.

<sup>171</sup> Jones and Jones, *Welsh Reflections*, 98.

<sup>172</sup> *Y Drych*, June 15, 1945.

The positivity of the response is reminiscent of Hugh Hughes at his most optimistic in the early years and they are, in fact, the words of Hughes himself as he had resumed the duties of editorship in April 1945.<sup>173</sup>

From 1925 to 1945 *Y Drych* had given coverage and frequent prominence to Plaid Cymru, not only in news items and editorials but also in articles which presented the aims and ideals of the new party. It had published information on the premise that Welsh-America should garner as much knowledge as possible about this party which had been newly formed in the mother-country. But the newspaper had often gone beyond factual reporting by demonstrating that the Welsh nationalism embraced by Plaid was worthy of attention. It had concurred with the party's aims that Wales should gain a status which reflected Welsh nationhood and had supported its battle for the Welsh language.

Of the three editors, the first two, Hugh Hughes and Sarah Evans, seem to have been the most openly supportive as they frequently commented positively, if sometimes cautiously, on Plaid's progress. Yet John Foulkes Jones had been motivated to arrange that Plaid Cymru should transfer information to *Y Drych* and he had, on occasions, revealed his sympathy for the aims of the party. It has to be remembered that he was editor in far more difficult times than were the two previous editors. It was Jones who had to steer the paper through the Penyberth years when, although there was much support for the three fire-raisers, there was also criticism from such prominent Welsh-Americans as Sam Ellis who was closely linked with *Y Drych*. Yet again it was Jones who was at the helm during the war years when the stance of Plaid Cymru was being reviled in Britain even though not, at first, in Welsh-America. But Jones's inclusion of reports of Welsh Nationalists being fined and imprisoned for not singing the anthem, 'God Save the King', or of Paul Roberts being imprisoned for citing Welsh nationalism as a reason for not enlisting, show a man who was drawing on the courage of his convictions. Thus it would seem that Plaid Cymru had been very fortunate in gaining the support of the three editors of *Y Drych* who had made the newspaper available to the party as a channel to Welsh-America. They had facilitated the dissemination of news by the agreements which had been made between themselves and Plaid Cymru, firstly in 1926 and then sometime between the end of 1937 and February 1938.

What of the readers' response? There had obviously been criticism, from some quarters, at the exposure given to Plaid Cymru as the editor had felt it imperative to explain the coverage a fair number of times. In one of his responses, in 1932, he had referred to the

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<sup>173</sup> Ibid., August 15, 1945; Jones and Jones, *Welsh Reflections*, 102.

thousands in the USA and Canada who were showing great interest in the party. The inferred, favourable reaction from this great number of readers would have counteracted the critical reactions of others, even though some of the latter, like Brython, were contributors to *Y Drych*. The balance of opinion is portrayed, in a very small way, in the aftermath of Penyberth when the letters in favour of the action outweighed those that were against. One of those letters, written by the aforementioned T. J. Jones of New York, contained a statement that crystallises one of the aspirations of Plaid Cymru in searching for the means to safeguard the language and culture of the nation:

[I would love to see the day when Wales was free to work out its own salvation.]<sup>174</sup>

It also enshrines the objective of *Y Drych*, which gave its support to Plaid Cymru as a means of attaining that objective.

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<sup>174</sup> *Y Drych*, February 11, 1937.

## Chapter 6

### *The Druid and Plaid Cymru*

Although *Y Drych* was the only Welsh-language newspaper to serve the Welsh communities of the United States between 1925 and 1945 it was not the sole print-medium news channel between the home-country and Welsh-America. *The Druid*, an English-medium newspaper, was launched in Scranton in 1907. It was a vibrant purveyor of information from the motherland and was on the Welsh-American scene until 1939. Its publisher and editor<sup>1</sup> was T. Owen Charles,<sup>2</sup> a man well-known in the field of journalism.<sup>3</sup>

When the newspaper was first published on 23 May 1907 as *The Druid – Philadelphia Record* it carried a heading stating that it would be an official organ for ‘The Druid Society of Lackawanna County’,<sup>4</sup> a society whose inaugural meeting had been held only a month before the publication’s first issue and which had been formed to nurture and further better cohesiveness amongst the Welsh communities. The Society, it was reported:

grew out of the belief that the Welsh ought to be more effectively organized as an ethnic group and have their own exclusive vehicle of expression.<sup>5</sup>

Thus both the society and its associate newspaper signified a desire on the part of this group of Welsh-Americans to emphasise their ethnicity through means other than the language, bringing to mind the efforts of earlier immigrants to maintain their identity when the Welsh language, its main marker, was being lost to them.

Included in the first issue of *The Druid*<sup>6</sup> was an address to the readers from Judge H. M. Edwards,<sup>7</sup> the president of the Board of Governors of ‘The Druid Society of Lackawanna County’, who was originally from Ebbw Vale and who had emigrated at the age of nineteen or twenty to Scranton, Pennsylvania. Of him it was said that he was:

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<sup>1</sup> He is named as executing both roles in *N. W. Ayer and Son’s Newspaper Annual*, 2 (N. W. Ayer and Son: Pennsylvania, Pa., 1908), 790.

<sup>2</sup> He is named in *The Royal Blue Book* as one of the committee members of the International Eisteddfod held in Pittsburgh in 1913 and is among the list of subscribers and patrons of the publication. His name and *nom de plume*, Derwydd, also appear amongst those who had been made members of the Gorsedd in the aforementioned Eisteddfod. The book also contains a profile of Robert H. Davies (Gomerian) penned by T. Owen Charles: Davies, *Royal Blue Book*, 8, 24, 73-75, 460.

<sup>3</sup> He was associate editor of *The Board of Trade Journal* and worked for *The Scranton Tribune*. The first issue of *The Druid* carried excerpts from *The Scranton Truth* and *The Scranton Tribune* which informed the paper’s readers about T. Owen Charles’s experience in the field of journalism: *The Druid*, May 23, 1907.

<sup>4</sup> Jones, *Wales in America*, 119.

<sup>5</sup> *The Scranton Truth*, April 30, 1907.

<sup>6</sup> *The Druid*, May 23, 1907.

<sup>7</sup> Henry Morgan Edwards (1844 -1925), a jurist by profession, was born in Ebbw Vale and had emigrated to Scranton, Pa., in 1864. Between 1885 and 1901 he was the Republican District Attorney for Lackawanna County and in 1913 he became the Deputy Archdruid of the American Gorsedd of Bards: Elliot Robert Barkan, ed., *Making it in America: A Sourcebook on Eminent Ethnic Americans* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2001), 108.

the most respected and the best known Welshmen [*sic*] in the state. He was also one of the most influential Welsh community leaders in the United States during this time.<sup>8</sup>

Edwards commended *The Druid* to the readers, emphasising the fact that establishing an English-medium newspaper to serve the American-Welsh community in north-eastern Pennsylvania was a fortuitous event, and drawing attention to the aptness of the title, which was a reminder to the Welsh immigrants of their past. The title, however, was not to be solely an evocation of their past but it was also to be a reference to the present time in which they were citizens of a republic, for it was the Druids, Edwards asserted, who had taught the truth that was the cornerstone of all republics, namely ‘Trech gwlad nag arglwydd’ (The peoples of a country are mightier than its ruler).

The reference made to ‘north-eastern Pennsylvania’ implies that *The Druid* was a relatively limited local paper but whether its readers were contained solely in this region is not apparent. However it appears that 7,500 copies<sup>9</sup> of the initial publication had been ordered and printed and, by 1918, that figure had increased to 9,800,<sup>10</sup> and, although during its first few formative months it had appeared as a monthly publication, it became thereafter a weekly, testifying to its popularity and its solvency. In 1912 the paper moved from its original headquarters in Scranton to the steel city of Pittsburgh and, whilst Scranton may have been a bubbling cauldron of Welshness, Pittsburgh also could boast a thriving Welsh community.<sup>11</sup> *The Druid*’s ownership had by this time been transferred to a company whose leader was James J. Davies who, in 1912, was still an iron puddler<sup>12</sup> but who was later to become both a Senator and US Secretary of Labour (see Chapter 3). In 1914, whether or not it was thought that *The Druid* was too intangible a title to convey the paper’s purpose, its name was changed to the more explicit *Welsh American*, probably in an attempt to emphasise that it was a vehicle of news which would be of special interest to Welsh immigrants. The name-change was short lived however, for in 1918, the paper reverted to its original title of *The Druid*, and by that time had acquired a new editor, Robert H. Davies,<sup>13</sup> who, in 1916, had taken over the role on the death of his friend and former editor, T. Owen Charles. Davies, who often went by his bardic name ‘Gomerian’, had been born in Pen-y-gogwydd near

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> *The Druid*, May 23, 1907.

<sup>10</sup> *N.W. Ayer & Son’s Newspaper Annual and Directory*, 880.

<sup>11</sup> At the end of the nineteenth century there were around 3,000 Welsh emigrants in Pittsburgh: Williams, *Wales and America*, 82.

<sup>12</sup> Lewis, *Welsh Americans*, 134.

<sup>13</sup> Davies, *The Royal Blue Book*, 73-74.

Dinorwig in Wales and had emigrated as a youngster to Slate Dam near Slatington in Pennsylvania. At 16 he had moved to Pittsburgh to be apprenticed as compositor on *Y Wasg*, a Welsh-language paper based in that city.<sup>14</sup> Thus it appears that *The Druid* had the backing of entrepreneurial and influential Welsh-Americans, many of them possessing expertise in the field of journalism, and the fact that it was an English-language newspaper would suggest that its readership could include a generation which, due to language shift, would be younger than that of *Y Drych*.

It is apparent from the tone of the inaugural address<sup>15</sup> given by Colonel R. A. Phillips, the President, at the formation of ‘The Druid Society’ that the newspaper, which was to be the mouthpiece of that society, would be a focus for national pride. Phillips in his speech called upon the members to be proud ‘that we are descended from the warriors who fought the Romans and Saxons, men who fought for and won personal and religious liberty.’ He also boasted of the antiquity of the language and of the glory of Welsh literature and poetry. As the years progressed, and well before the formation of Plaid Cymru, the paper’s vociferous Welsh pride grew to include dissatisfaction with the governance of Wales, which became especially apparent under the editorship of R. H. Davies. In 1924, a year before there were any inferences that a new political party might be in the offing, *The Druid* was printing comments which were a combination of complaints about the treatment of Wales at the hands of the authorities in England and calls for more autonomy for Wales in domestic affairs. For example, in the month of March in that year, a speech was published in the newspaper which had been delivered by the mayor of Columbus Ohio, James J. Thomas, at the Pittsburgh St David’s Day Dinner which had railed against the injustices that Wales had suffered under England’s rule. It had concluded that it was time for the motherland to resist, especially in respect of the rank ingratitude that was the response of the authorities to the loyalty of Welshmen in war-time:

An impartial observer made the significant remark that ‘Wales has been fighting the battles of others long enough, and it is about time she was fighting her own battles,’ and he is not wide of the mark.<sup>16</sup>

The indifference of the British Government to Wales’s needs was another point which had been made in the speech. This accusation had often surfaced in *Y Drych* and it would recur in *The Druid* time and time again. In the following example the political injustice, which was

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<sup>14</sup> ‘Davies, Robert Humphrey,’ accessed March 11, 2011, <http://wbo.llgc.org.uk/en/s2-DAVI-HUM-1856.html>.

<sup>15</sup> *The Druid*, May 23, 1907.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, March 15, 1924.



the result of the present system of government and the rise of nationalist consciousness, are interlinked:

It is a folly for Wales to expect justice from the House of Commons, and some of the leading nationalists of the Principality have come to that conclusion long ago.<sup>17</sup>

The same theme was to be sounded in a later issue when, under a heading entitled ‘A sad blow for Wales’, the failure of a Bill called ‘The Welsh Local Option Bill’ was discussed, and the following comment was made:

Welsh patience has its limitations, and we are not surprised that even the educated classes in Wales are now clamouring for more demonstrative and drastic measures in securing for the principality its rightful claim to conduct its own domestic affairs.<sup>18</sup>

In the editor’s opinion the catalyst which was directly engendering restiveness amongst the educated Welsh peoples and their justified calls for more autonomy was the political injustice which Wales was experiencing. It was an opinion which would be reiterated on the pages of the newspaper throughout the period.

Some months later *The Druid* was again expounding on the subject of injustice to Wales and on the justification of the country’s efforts to secure its birthright, which the editor cited in no uncertain terms as ‘independence.’ But it was made clear that the efforts to gain freedom from England were the positive acts of a people striving for the correct and just status for their nation rather than negative responses born of hatred:

It was not an innate hostility to the Englishman that prompted the Welsh patriots of old to make an effort to rid Wales of the obnoxious yoke, but the injustice of English laws and undying longing for the attainment of the Cymro’s birthright – independence.<sup>19</sup>

Accusations of injustice regarding the current political system, references to justified Welsh unrest and subsequent calls for autonomy, even independence, these were recurring threads in the newspaper’s material even before the formation of Plaid Cymru. And they seemed to be on the increase in the publication in the early part of 1925. For example, in January, it was the unjust political scenario that was being condemned by John M. Morgan, (‘ap Rambler’). He had become incensed by the Liberal practice of giving Welsh constituencies to candidates who were from outside Wales:

It looks as if anyone, whether a Chinaman, Hottentot or Jew, is good enough to represent any Welsh constituency, so long as he is orthodox in the Liberal field. Wales will be represented by aliens, who have nothing in common with the ideals of

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid., March 15, 1924.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., April 1, 1924.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., November 15, 1924.

Tom Ellis, Ceiriog, Henry Richard, Owen Edwards and others who were foremost in Welsh national ideals.<sup>20</sup>

But ap Rambler's verbal assault was really aimed at a system whereby those Englishmen who had been spurned by English constituencies were adopted in Wales:

I would vote Tory and against my political principles if the Tory candidate was a hearty Cymro rather than for rejected Liberals from English constituencies.

A few weeks later it was not the politicians but English arrogance and Welsh subservience which were under attack from *The Druid*:

How often have we read in Welsh journals of the ancient language being discarded at public meetings to meet the caprice of a few Saxons who do not understand it?<sup>21</sup>

The above words were delivered as part of a St David's Day speech which had culminated in a declaration that the language was indispensable to Welsh nationalism for the reason that 'its perpetuation is essential in establishing a national culture along Welsh lines.' Thus, many months before the event in Pwllheli there were people in Welsh-America who were alive to the essential connection between the Welsh language and the national culture which was unique to Wales.

In this St David's Day speech, and in comments contained in the newspaper a month later, there were laudatory remarks about the Irish struggle. Although, as has been previously stated, the methods used to achieve freedom were not generally commended by Welsh-Americans and although they harboured no warm feelings towards their fellow-Celts, it seems that they were appreciative of the end results:

One thing may be said in commendation of them – that they brought results and it appears that the only efficacious method of convincing the phlegmatic Saxon of the justice of Wales' demands is to inject a little Irish spirit into a campaign that has as its ultimate object the autonomy of the Principality.<sup>22</sup>

The campaign referred to by the speaker was probably connected with the movement which was the focus of an article in *The Druid* at the beginning of May, where it was reported that a new nationalist party had been formed in Wales; and this was some three months before the inaugural meeting of Plaid Cymru at Pwllheli National Eisteddfod in August. The article had been penned by 'ap Cardi' of Aberystwyth and was entitled, 'A National Party formed in Wales, New Group to advocate Home Rule for Wales and to foster the Welsh language.' This party appears to have been Byddin Ymreolwyr Cymru (The Army of Advocates of Self-

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid., January 1, 1925.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., March 15, 1925.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

Government for Wales), the group which had met in Caernarfon in September 1924 to discuss Home Rule and which had renamed itself in December as ‘Welsh National Party’.<sup>23</sup> H. R. Jones, later to become organising secretary of Plaid Cymru, was one of the group and, as has previously been mentioned in Chapter 4, he had been active in the months prior to the Pwllheli meeting informing known nationalist sympathisers of events and seeking support. These various activities had been reported in the press and Saunders Lewis, also, had been expounding on nationalism in *Y Faner*, making it likely that ap Cardi’s article was based on the various statements made by those who would later become leading figures in Plaid Cymru. And it is most probable that his article was the source of the reference to the Irish struggle which had been made at the St David’s Day dinner, for ap Cardi had stated that:

a distinctive Welsh national party, patterned after the old Irish Nationalist Party, has been formed in North Wales...<sup>24</sup>

The reference to Sinn Féin points at once to H. R. Jones, who had made known his admiration of their methods, and proves that ap Cardi was acquainted with his rhetoric. But in its first report<sup>25</sup> after Plaid Cymru was formed *The Druid* felt it necessary to impress upon its readers that the party would employ constitutional means to further its aims and that Sinn Féin tactics would play no part in its agenda. Yet the rider, ‘at least for the time being’, was included after the statement, inferring that the editor was not fully convinced that H.R.’s aim should be so swiftly set aside and, as will become evident, he was to remain unconvinced of Plaid’s agenda in this respect.

Although the main thrust of ap Cardi’s article was that a new nationalist movement had appeared in Wales, and although the contribution had probably been included in *The Druid* for that reason, it seems that the secondary purpose of the report, which was contained in the sub-heading, might have been just as newsworthy in both Wales and Welsh-America. The sub-heading read, ‘Future of Lloyd George’, a choice of words, whether by the author or the editor, which would have made the readers sit up, as the Liberal leader was a revered figure in this period, in Wales and amongst the Welsh emigrants. But what ensued was merely a question raised about the implications for Lloyd George considering the fact that Byddin Ymreolwyr Cymru had been formed in his Caernarvon Boroughs constituency. Nevertheless, the very fact that a new movement which, according to ap Cardi, would make the language central to the life of Wales, was considered to be a challenge to Lloyd George was bound to

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<sup>23</sup> Jones, *Rhoi Cymru’n Gyntaf*, 58-60.

<sup>24</sup> *The Druid*, May 1, 1925.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, August 15, 1925.

interest readers. The article contained in a July issue of the newspaper stating, ‘Lloyd George’s View on Welsh Nationalism and Education’, was most probably included in response to ap Cardi’s article. It repeated part of the speech that the former had made to the assistant secondary teachers of Wales in which he stated the following:

I am a great believer myself in nationalism. I was brought up in that school and I have never ceased to believe in it.<sup>26</sup>

But the type of nationalism which had come to be acquainted with Lloyd George would be challenged by the events in Pwllheli in the following month.

Thus rebuffs and indifference from Westminster ‘in the face of gallant little Wales’ loyalty,’ injustice ‘meted out to the Principality,’<sup>27</sup> called for a degree of autonomy and even independence for Wales, admiration for the efforts if not the methods of Ireland, these were topics which *The Druid* was discussing even before the advent of Plaid Cymru. But with the coming of the new party, this English-medium newspaper was able to find a focus for its nationalist aspirations and convictions, and although it might have been thought that the party’s emphasis on the Welsh language, and its goal of creating a Welsh-speaking Wales where the language took precedence over English in all walks of life, could have become obstacles to any relationship between Plaid and *The Druid* it was not so. R. H. Davies, in an issue preceding Plaid Cymru’s formal declarations of the centrality of the Welsh language in their agenda, had made known his concept of the language as the vessel which had held the essence of the Welsh race for generations and the proper channel for expressing that race’s hopes and visions:

The Welsh language embodies the ideals of a small but noble race, and it certainly deserves ‘fair play’ in expediting the realization of those aspirations that every local Cymro has cherished for untold generations.<sup>28</sup>

The importance which the editor and Plaid Cymru attached to the language was never an issue to readers of this English-medium newspaper, except on a very few occasions.<sup>29</sup>

The first report on the new nationalist party which had been formed in Pwllheli was contained in an editorial published just a week after Plaid Cymru’s formal inauguration at the National Eisteddfod in 1925. The editor welcomed the new party and gave a brief overview of its plans and aims. The reason for its formation, as well as its goals, were expressed succinctly in the following terms:

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid., July 15, 1925.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., March 15, 1925.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., July 15, 1925.

<sup>29</sup> Will Owen of Tiltonsville’s tirade against the Welsh language will be discussed later in the chapter.

It is organized solely to work and fight for Welsh ideals, aspirations and rights, for Welsh political freedom and self-government, as well as the recognition of Wales as a separate nation.<sup>30</sup>

The above communication did contain words such as ‘self-government’ and ‘separate’ which had not yet become a part of Plaid’s political manifesto, but it has to be remembered that, as the newspaper had been using such terms before the formation of Plaid Cymru, the editor could well have interpreted news items in a manner congenial to his style of writing and his terminology. However, considering that the report was included in the newspaper merely a week after the formation of the party and that its wording was consistent with H. R. Jones’s style, it is most probable that the communication had been sent by the latter to the office of *The Druid* in anticipation of the formation of Plaid Cymru.

As has been stated, the editorial expressly emphasised that the new party had no intention of pursuing tactics similar to those which had been used by Sinn Féin and, in the light of previous reporting on the group formed in Caernarfon and its admiration for the Irish National Party, it was a differentiation that needed to be made. The report also stressed that making Welsh the official language of Wales was one of the prime purposes of the party, a point which then led the editor to decry the ‘Sons of Hengist’<sup>31</sup> who had considered the Welsh to be their political servants, a situation of gross subservience which had continued through the centuries but which would now be brought to an end with the advent of Plaid Cymru:

From a political standpoint the average Englishman looks upon Wales as a ‘political servant,’ and this servitude Welsh nationalists desire to sever with a ruthlessness that will be complete.

Even though the editor was reporting on the main aim of the new party, the language used was not new: *The Druid* had long been declaiming the arrogance of one and the servility of the other. What was new was the realization that there was hope for an end to both.

The ‘master and servant’ scenario in the above quotation would alone have endangered support amongst most of Welsh-America for the new party in Wales but, lest there was any doubt as to the righteousness of Plaid’s plans and aspirations, Davies inserted a reference to ‘liberty,’ on which concept the American Republic had been established:

In arising to assert its prerogatives Wales should elicit the support and commendation of all liberty-loving people, for it merely aspires to retain and regain what rightfully belongs to it.

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., August 15, 1925

<sup>31</sup> A reference to the semi-mythological Jutish leaders, Hengist and Horsa, who established an Anglo-Saxon kingdom in Kent.

The idea of ‘birthright’ was a vivid concept which presented ‘nationalism’ as a logical, human right and was frequently employed by Davies. Moreover, when presenting this first report on the party’s formation, he expressed the notion that Plaid Cymru was the tangible culmination of long years of expectation, advocacy and hope:

There is hardly a Welshman who cherishes the ideals and hopes expounded for decades by leading Welsh nationalists that is not in thorough accord with them.

Unfortunately the term ‘leading Welsh nationalists’ in reference to past exponents of recognition for Wales, which obviously pointed to ‘Cymru Fydd’ and people like E. T. John, was the sort of description which would later lead to some confusion in Welsh-America as was shown in the context of Tom Rees of Newcastle, Pennsylvania (see Chapter 4).

The tone of the editorial proves that Davies perceived Plaid Cymru to be the fruition of endless years of nationalist longing and that its formation heralded the beginning of the end of the servile role which had been forced on Wales over the centuries. All of *The Druid*’s previous grievances and aspirations in respect of Wales would, from this time forward, be addressed in the context of Plaid Cymru.

The exceptionally favourable reception given by the newspaper to the news of the establishment of Plaid Cymru did not only augur well for the party as it sought to make itself known but it also sent out a message to the readers that this new organization, a culmination of past efforts and longings, would be fighting for Wales’s rights and that the editor of *The Druid* was fully supportive of it.

During the following months the paper continued to highlight themes which had been to the forefront in the past, for example the arrogance of the English in various spheres which pertained to Wales, the negligence and injustices with which Wales had to contend and the issue of some measure of autonomy. In a comment made concerning the refusal of a magistrate in Dolgellau to allow witnesses to testify through the medium of Welsh, the three specifically mentioned themes come together:

The presumptuousness of such Saxon magistrates in Wales is what makes home rule an absolute necessity for the Principality.<sup>32</sup>

And again when presenting the decision by the British Government to close down a place of employment in Wales, the editor emphasised that the unjust dealings and arrogance of the former was harming the latter, in this instance, economically:

John Bull’s decision to close Pembroke Dockyards is another instance of thrusting a dagger into the very vitals of Dame Wales.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid., September 15, 1925.

But it was not only the British Government, in general terms, which *The Druid* had been vilifying over the years, it was also aiming accusations of self-interest, of ineptitude and of indifference towards the motherland against the members of the British Parliament who were representing Wales. For example, a matter of days before the formation of Plaid Cymru the newspaper had carried the following comment:

‘The Druid’ has frequently referred to the nondescript character of the members that represent Wales in Parliament nowadays...<sup>34</sup>

These were the people, thundered the editor, who had been elected to work for Wales but had not achieved anything for the country and were, rather, adding to its plight. Davies had a remedy for the situation:

It is not politicians that Wales needs, but patriots, and she needs them badly.

And a few days after printing the above statement a group of people had come together to found a new party for the sake of Wales who would later be recognised by the editor as the patriots who were so badly needed to pull the motherland from the political quagmire which was dragging Wales down into extinction:

In its present dilemma [that is, Wales] all loyal Welshmen should acclaim the honest efforts of the true patriots who have enrolled themselves under the banner of the Welsh Nationalist party, for they are waging a royal battle to save Wales from the political enslavement that is, under its present leaders, rapidly consigning it to oblivion.<sup>35</sup>

Throughout 1926 the editor was including material which was presenting Plaid Cymru to the readership. The first issue of the year contained an article contributed by John T. Richards who had apparently been motivated to write as a result of *The Druid*'s persistent support for the aims which had now become enshrined in the agenda of the new party in Wales:

The Druid has devoted a great deal of space to the effort that is being made to secure Home Rule for Wales and to perpetuate the Welsh language, Welsh ideals and Welsh aspirations.<sup>36</sup>

The article was presented under the lengthy but explanatory heading, ‘Ambitious aims and objects of the Welsh National Party, Complete independence the goal – Educational system upon Welsh Ideals – Non-participation in Parliamentary Elections – to perpetuate the Welsh language.’ Saunders Lewis had not yet made his Machynlleth speech, where he was to make

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid., December 15, 1925.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., August 1, 1925.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., February 24, 1934.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., January 1, 1926.

the complex differentiation between the concept of ‘freedom’ as opposed to ‘independence’ and so newspaper correspondents were making use of familiar terminology but, otherwise the heading was a succinct summary of Plaid’s goals. The purpose of the article was to introduce an excerpt from *The Philadelphia Record* where it was stated that ‘an organization, with nearly ten thousand members already, has been formed, entitled, “Plaid Genedlaethol y Cymry”’.<sup>37</sup> It is more than likely that Davies would have known that this was completely untrue but it is significant that he did not seek to correct it. Yet although, in relation to Plaid Cymru, he was more of a propagandist and optimist than his counterpart at the time, Hugh Hughes of *Y Drych*, it does not seem that he was less of a realist, as he was very conscious of the fact that, even though political parties had suppressed Welsh national consciousness for their own ends, freedom ultimately lay in the hands of the Welsh people themselves, as he stated in the first month of 1926:

A Welsh political prognosticator predicts that within five years there will be but two political parties in Wales – the Welsh national party and the English Tory party; let us hope this sage reflects a true picture of the political horizon five years hence, for political parties have hitherto deterred the development of the Welsh national conscience. ‘Mewn undeb y mae nerth’ is an axiom that is as true today as the day it was written, and only when united in action will Wales emerge unshackled from her present fetters.<sup>38</sup>

As the above statement shows, Davies’s accusations had progressed from being ones against political injustice to being ones of deliberately stifling national awareness; in other words political parties had consciously refused to allow the concept of Welshness. And, complicit in this act were those Members of Parliament who had been elected to represent Wales, the nondescript, unpatriotic individuals whom he had previously castigated and who would often be the butt of his anger throughout this period:

The greatest hindrance to Wales’ realization of her long-deferred hope is the personnel of her parliamentary representatives, a patriotless body, as a whole, with no thought of the future welfare of the Principality.<sup>39</sup>

Yet, as he had inferred when quoting that ‘In unity is strength’ (‘Mewn undod mae nerth’), if the Welsh people had been intent on demanding their national rights, no political shackles could have hindered them. Freedom would only be acquired by the concerted will of a Welsh people who had emerged from servility:

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<sup>37</sup> This was a complete fabrication as the party had 120 members in 1925 and only 500 by 1930. Membership figures are given as follows: 1925: 120; 1930: 500; 1935: 2,500; 1939: 3,500; 1941: 4,010; 1945: 6,050: Davies, *The Welsh Nationalist Party 1925-1945*, 270.

<sup>38</sup> *The Druid*, January 15, 1926.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, March 1, 1927.



the sooner they realize the self-evident fact that they must work out their own salvation the sooner will the country emerge from its political quagmire and assume its rightful place among the most important of the smaller nations of the world.<sup>40</sup>

In the same way as both Emrys ap Iwan and Michael D. Jones, having perceived Wales from a distance, had returned to try and stir awake a Welsh consciousness which had been quashed over many centuries and stiffen the resolve of a servile people, Davies, far removed from Wales, was conscious that it was imperative that the Welsh should take matters into their own hands.

Another important point which Davies had raised in January 1926, and which was an echo of Emrys ap Iwan's assertion regarding two political parties, was the assumption that in a few years' time all patriots would belong to the Welsh National party and all those otherwise would be members of the Tory Party. Thus was the Welsh political scenario, which hitherto had been dominated by the Liberal Party, being interpreted by Davies and portrayed to Welsh-America.

Plaid Cymru was never far from the editor's pen throughout 1926 and he even acquainted his readers with the information that he had received the first copy of *Y Ddraig Goch*, which had been published in June and which he had enjoyed reading. He wrote, 'We perused it with no little degree of pleasure.' Yet, as he had been realistic enough to point out that Welsh freedom ultimately lay in the hands of the Welsh people themselves, so his enjoyment of the party's newspaper had not blinded him to things which he deemed to be defects in the party's policies, nor did his enthusiasm for that party deter him from expressing his doubts:

The aims and objects of the Welsh Party are succinctly outlined, but the methods advocated as a means of attaining them appear impracticable.<sup>41</sup>

In this instance it seems that it was Plaid's idea of targetting County Council seats that was raising doubts in Davies's mind. He could not foresee that the strategy would lead to success for the party. In the same way he was later<sup>42</sup> to express doubts about Plaid's commitment to passive resistance.

But the formation of the new party and his enthusiastic support of it did not mean that the editor ceased to berate and judge those who had been censured in *The Druid* for many years previous to Plaid's formation, those who held the reins of power and, in his opinion, had blighted Wales. One group which was censured were those who occupied the County Council seats which Plaid intended to target and who were, for the most part:

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid., September 15, 1926.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., January 15, 1927.

the most glittering galaxy of sycophants in the history of the Principality.<sup>43</sup>

The description brings to mind Taffy's sycophantism in the portrayal by Emrys ap Iwan, as noted in Chapter One. This servility of his compatriots never failed to enrage Davies, as he saw it as one of the basic reasons why Wales was dominated politically and also why it was relinquishing its culture:

But no sooner is an Englishman elected a member of this body than these 'Magnanimous patriots' support a measure to sacrifice the Welsh language because a certain member does not understand it.<sup>44</sup>

The arrogance of the Englishman and the obsequiousness of the Welshman at home in Wales was a recurring theme in both Welsh-American newspapers in this period and both registered their disapproval but *The Druid* did so vehemently, as is exemplified in the editorial towards the end of 1926 when Davies derided 'the arrogant Saxon spirit' and the 'intolerable tyranny' of British rule.' These comments were part of an editorial, written in the aftermath of Plaid's first Summer School in Machynlleth, wherein Davies conveyed to his readers the party's goal of self-government as a means of establishing the notion of nationhood and making secure the uniqueness of the nation:

creating a will to self-government and establishing a constitution on the basis of Cymric culture and religion was strongly advocated as a means to preserve the nation's individuality.<sup>45</sup>

It was on the word 'preserve' that Davies expounded, warning that the national ethos of Wales had to be secured or the nation would expire, and the only hope of safeguarding the nation lay with Plaid Cymru:

Herein lies the salvation of Wales, and Welsh nationalism must be saved, cost what it will, or else the nation will die.

And lest any of the readers thought otherwise and deemed that another political party might safeguard the essence of the Welsh nation, he gave the following explicit warning:

A self-governing Wales within a glorious empire is an inspiring thought, but it will never come to pass peacefully and naturally by a sane evolutionary process as long as Wales pins her faith in the present whimsical English political parties.

It is evident from the above comment and from many previous comments, even before the formation of Plaid, that Davies had realised that freedom for Wales would never be willingly

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid., September 15, 1926.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> *The Druid*, October 1, 1926. He was also indignant at the 'pro-Saxon Journals' who were accusing Plaid Cymru of plotting to use Sinn Féin tactics, 'The cry is merely an effort to throw dust into the 'public eye.'

granted by the existing political system and, although it was not said in so many words, the editor must have had the Irish struggle in his mind when penning the above remarks. He marked the way forward in the closing remarks by advising that, if freedom was to be gained in a peaceful manner, it was imperative to displace the faith that had been placed in the existing English parties.

A sequel to the report on Plaid's Summer School was included in a following issue<sup>46</sup> with a resume of the proceedings which was contributed by ap Cardif. He informed readers that Saunders Lewis's speech in the Summer School had been excellent and opined that, had Home Rule been established in Wales, the Miners' Strike would have been settled long ago. It seems an innocuous contribution of no great significance, but it appears that it would have played its part in the editor's campaign to place Plaid Cymru continuously and firmly in the midst of his Welsh-American readership.

As has been discussed in Chapter 4, the first financial appeals from the party to appear in *The Druid* were printed at the beginning of 1927, and they allowed the editor to give further attention to Plaid Cymru. In this instance he took the opportunity to rail once again at the deficiencies of those who represented Wales in Parliament:

those who now represent the Principality are purely politicians, lacking the red blood of true patriots that have the stamina and courage to fight for what is right and just.<sup>47</sup>

The same contrast between true patriots and the inept Welsh constituency politicians had been made previously by the editor but, in noting that 'true patriots' were equipped with attributes for battle, he seems to be advising Plaid Cymru against following the policy of passive resistance which they had adopted. Ireland's experience, said Davies, had shown that the policy would not work and neither would it work for Wales because of the character of the antagonist:

Passive resistance is not the way to convince John Bull of Wales' earnestness and sincerity in its efforts to secure autonomy, for his tentacles never releases anything he grasps whether through might or right.

This was a clear call for something more substantial than passive resistance and in taking this stand Davies would not have been alone, for H. R. Jones was also calling for unconstitutional or radical action, and although both Saunders Lewis and D. J. Williams had counselled

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid., October 15, 1926

<sup>47</sup> *The Druid*, January 15, 1927.

patience at the present they, too, were foreseeing the time when such a step would be necessary.<sup>48</sup>

In February 1927 an article appeared, written by H. R. Jones, which was entitled 'Aims and Objects of New Welsh Party.' In its opening paragraph reference was made to the ties of relationship between the readers and the people of the motherland, a common feature of many of Plaid's communications with Welsh-America and one which R. H. Davies was later to term 'the call of the blood.'<sup>49</sup> The missive continued by citing its purpose:

In order that our kith and kin across the sea may have a true and fuller conception of the aims and objects of the Welsh national party, permit me to present the same to them through 'The Druid' ...<sup>50</sup>

The catalyst for the formation of the new party, as portrayed in the following excerpt from H.R.'s article, was the realization that what could be recognised as 'Welshness' was disappearing:

The Welsh National Party was founded in 1925 by a group of Welsh-men who saw with alarm the present tendencies of Welsh life, the decline of traditional institutions, the loss of national consciousness and the consequent impoverishment of Welsh thought and character.<sup>51</sup>

Welsh-America could empathise with the loss of identity but, whilst losing the uniqueness of national traits amongst emigrants could be accepted, losing those traits in the motherland was a very different scenario and one which was causing consternation amongst many. Davies's reaction was to embrace Plaid Cymru and to give regular coverage to the party so as to awaken the paper's readers to its *raison d'être*.

Another point which was made in the article was that the new party was rooted in Christianity, and its accompanying spiritual values, as Saunders Lewis had declared in his Machynlleth lecture when he had spurned the material and materialistic:

We intend to attack the problems of our age, both political and economic, in a progressive and Christian spirit, not revolutionary or materialistic.

Here again the non-combative policy was referred to, with the whole tone of the sentence conveying that this new party would be different from the usual and existing political parties, a concept which became a reality for many of its adherents, people like the Revd Peter Hughes Griffiths who, as mentioned in the previous chapter, had declared that it was the only party which he could support as it was the only uncorrupt party.

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<sup>48</sup> Davies, *The Welsh Nationalist Party 1925-1945*, 62.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, February 1, 1935.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, February 1, 1927.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

In amongst the aims which were again presented to readers of *The Druid* through Jones's article, it was stressed that Plaid did not seek independence and neither did it seek to sever ties with the British Commonwealth. Both of these had been cited as aims in an earlier communique from Jones and it is evident that he had been called upon to amend the statements in accordance with Plaid's agenda. To clarify matters even further for the newspaper's readers Jones listed the three main aims of the party namely, that it sought a Welsh Parliament, that it sought representation for Wales on the League of Nations and that it sought the recognition of Welsh as the official language of Wales. The editor, in the St David's Day issue, expanded on the matter of self-government:

And every ardent Welshman cannot but wish it success, as its motives are prompted wholly by a desire to acquire the same measure of Home Rule as that to be accorded to Scotland.<sup>52</sup>

Also, in the same issue, was the transcript of an address given by Revd Fred Jones, one of the party's founding members,<sup>53</sup> to students in Aberystwyth. The title, as it appeared in *The Druid*, was, 'Salvaging Welsh Civilization Aim of Welsh National Party,' with the sub-heading, "Anglicized Sections of Wales are paganized" declares Revd. Fred Jones in address before Aberystwyth Theological Students.' The title would immediately suggest that the inclusion of this article was not a very politic move by the editor for the reason that the Welsh emigrant population of the newspaper's readership area had mostly come from industrial south Wales which had, by this time, become an anglicized area of Wales. And Anglicization and paganization apparently went hand in hand according to the speaker:

Nothing in the way of culture could be expected from the Anglicized areas. The Anglicized part of Wales was becoming paganized the same time as the process of Anglicisation went on.

The words have to be measured in the context of the orator and his audience: the one was a Nonconformist minister and the other a group of theological students who would have been aware that Nonconformity was in decline in south Wales as a consequence of the erosion of the Welsh language.<sup>54</sup> Fred Jones, who was a Congregationalist minister and one of the three new members to join Mudiad Cymreig in 1924,<sup>55</sup> would thus, naturally, have been perturbed at the turn of events. In 1911 Welsh had, for the first time, become a minority language in

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid., March 1, 1927.

<sup>53</sup> The eldest of the 'Cilie' children: Gerallt Jones, ed., *Humangofiant Gwas Ffarm* (Swansea: Tŷ John Penry, 1977) [second cover].

<sup>54</sup> Davies, *The Welsh Nationalist Party 1925-1945*, 52-5.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 38.

Wales with only 43 per cent of its population conversant in it<sup>56</sup> and, as the industrial areas gained in population, so did the language weaken, especially in the face of such sentiments as those voiced by the Rhondda writer, Gwyn Thomas, who when writing about the influx of people to the Rhondda Valleys said that, ‘The Welsh language stood in the way of our fuller union and we made ruthless haste to destroy it.’<sup>57</sup> Furthermore, in respect of Fred Jones’s remark about absence of culture, it should be remembered that Saunders Lewis, in his lecture in Machynlleth, had remarked upon the difference between Welsh newspapers which reported on cultural events and English newspapers which dealt with material issues, implying that the English lacked culture (see Chapter One). Thus Jones’s lecture was a consequence of anxiety concerning the erosion of the language with its accompanying culture and the erosion of denominational Nonconformity which, in Fred Jones’s view, was leading to paganization, and the whole scenario would have been understood in its context by the listeners in Aberystwyth. But one wonders what the industrial populace of Scranton and Wilkes Barre made of the speech which was reported to have ended with a call to ‘stem the sinister English tide which had already swept over Monmouthshire and which was gaining ground with alarming speed in Glamorgan.’ The report however does not seem to have elicited any response from readers of *The Druid*.

In November 1927 Plaid Cymru had fought a mock election at Bangor University College and had come top of the poll with the candidate, J. E. Jones, by gaining 131 votes beating the Liberal candidate, I. B. Griffith, by 34 votes.<sup>58</sup> *The Druid*, although not reporting on the occasion until a few months later, heralded the result as a real breakthrough for the party, describing it as an event which demonstrated the great strides forward that had been made:

An instance, that illustrates the growth of the Welsh National Party is furnished in the recent mock election at Bangor College.<sup>59</sup>

A month previously the newspaper, in reference to the suggestion that Lloyd George’s star was rising once more, had written that ‘the duration of its effulgent political rays is problematical’ owing to the rise of the Welsh National Party and, in a further response to news of a Liberal resurgence, the editor was promising a series of articles on Plaid Cymru by a young University student from Wales for the purpose of educating the young readers:

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<sup>56</sup> Davies, *A History of Wales*, 497.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 499.

<sup>58</sup> Jones, *Tros Gymru*, 42.

<sup>59</sup> *The Druid*, March 15, 1928

To the younger generation these articles will prove both instructive and illuminating, and will give them concise and concrete examples of why the Welsh National Party should elicit the moral support of all Welsh-Americans.<sup>60</sup>

And it was in the context of Liberal declarations of future success, aided by supportive comments in the newspapers in Wales, that the Bangor University College election results were interpreted in *The Druid* as proof that Plaid was now a potent factor in the politics of Wales and that the party would ‘likely cause a deflection from the Liberal ranks.’<sup>61</sup> It would also, according to the editor, be a bitter pill for the newspapers of Wales to swallow considering that they were so antagonistic to the party:

The victory of the Welsh National Party has been a bitter political dose for more than one editor, for even the Liberal organs are also discreetly silent and refrain from commenting on the inroads made by the Nationalist Party in the very bulwark of Liberalism in North Wales.<sup>62</sup>

It is evident, from further remarks by R. H. Davies, that Plaid Cymru was having to endure vindictive reporting from some newspapers; one unnamed Bangor paper,<sup>63</sup> presumably an organ of Toryism, being especially hostile:

Had the result been a Conservative victory the editor would doubtless have proclaimed it an important triumph.

This matter was to be raised again in *The Druid* the following year when pro-English journals were castigated for their bitter attacks on Welsh Nationalists and it is interesting that, in this specific instance, Davies was classing members of other parties in amongst those he termed ‘Welsh Nationalists’ who were being mocked as ‘Welsh fanatics’ by these papers.<sup>64</sup> As has been remarked, using the term to describe not only members of Plaid Cymru but those from amongst other parties who had the interests of Wales at heart, was the reason why Welsh-American readers were getting confused.

Thus Davies had seized upon the Bangor University College mock-election victory not only to counter the claims of newspapers in Wales who were supportive of English parties but also to prove to Welsh-America that the political scene in Wales was altering as a result of people realizing that change was necessary if the nation was to survive:

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid., February 1, 1928.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., February 1, 1928.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., March 15, 1928

<sup>63</sup> Probably *The North Wales Chronicle*, which was overtly Tory.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., June 1, 1929.

When the brightest minds of the nation<sup>65</sup> rally to the support of the Welsh party it is not only an indication of a change in the political complex but an indicative proof of the dire necessity of a change of tactics if the Welsh nation is to retain its identity.

During the following months the newspaper was trumpeting the fact that Plaid Cymru ‘was composed of some of the most brilliant educational leaders in Wales,’ and supporting its Westminster boycott policy by claiming that it was ‘folly to elect men to Parliament to misrepresent the Principality,’ and that it was ‘wiser to refrain from participating in elections.’ It also printed a list of facts published by the party which claimed that the people of Wales were the most heavily taxed in Europe, that the state of Welsh houses was abominable, that more babies died in Wales than anywhere else in Britain and that unemployment was four times greater in Wales than in the rest of the UK. The twofold purpose of all the coverage was to show the parlous state of Wales under the present political system and to hail Plaid as the answer to the problems. But apparently, some of the readers had had enough and had written to express their objections to all the attention that was being showered on the new party:

The Druid has been criticized for devoting so much space to disseminate the doings of the Welsh National Party.<sup>66</sup>

Yet Davies did not change his position but rather justified the coverage by declaring that the party was the only one with the ‘courage to combat British arrogance and offer a possible solution for Wales to emerge from her servility.’ Furthermore, and almost in the same breath as his confession that ‘We do not subscribe to all tenets of The Welsh Nationalist Party’,<sup>67</sup> he was calling on the party to adopt more militaristic measures in an echo of his comments the previous year regarding the party’s policy of passive resistance.

The following year, 1929, was election year in Britain and *The Druid* began its propaganda exercise on behalf of Plaid Cymru in January, with a report that there was talk of a Welsh Nationalist candidate standing against Megan Lloyd George in Anglesey:

Welsh Nationalism is pronounced in many sections of Anglesey, and a popular candidate would have a strong following, endangering the success of Liberals in this stronghold.<sup>68</sup>

The liveliness and proactivity of Plaid Cymru was further conveyed in a report on a meeting at Chwilog, where Lewis Valentine had been speaking, under the heading, ‘Freedom for

<sup>65</sup> A reference to the fact that W. J. Gruffydd and T. H. Parry-Williams had taken up the cause of nationalism.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, September 15, 1928. Davies was probably referring to verbal criticism as no correspondence was found to support the statement.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, September 15, 1928.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, January 15, 1929.



Wales Cry of Nationalists.’ And, to impress upon the Liberals that their day as the national party of Wales was over, a report was included of a speech by the prominent home-ruler, Dr E. Lloyd Owen of Criccieth, whose heading, ‘Only two parties required in Wales,’ recalled assertions by Michael D. Jones and Emrys ap Iwan. Dr Owen had stated that what was now required was a Welsh Nationalist Party and an Anti-Welsh Nationalist Party, with the inference that all who were for Wales would be joining the former.

The coverage which *The Druid* was granting Plaid was unceasing. February 1929 included an article by ap Cardi arguing that London should not govern Wales and a news item on the election of Fred Jones as the first Welsh Nationalist County Councillor.<sup>69</sup> The March issue presented an article by Ben Meredith of Scranton arguing for Welsh self-government in recognition that its people constituted a nation whilst stating, at the same time, that independence from England was not necessary. And in the context of this latter statement, it does seem that Welsh-America, in general, had no desire for independence of the motherland even though some, like Lewis Gabriel, in correspondence with *Y Drych*, had been an ardent proponent of it. But in the midst of all the comments favouring Plaid and most of its agenda, there arose a note of dissonance in the form of a letter<sup>70</sup> from a person calling himself ‘Hal of Monmouth,’<sup>71</sup> a resident of Niles, Ohio.<sup>72</sup> The editor printed the correspondence in article format under the heading, ‘Decries Welsh Nationalism and perpetuation of Language, Hal of Monmouth avers policy of Welsh National Party is narrow and selfish and that the Welsh language is merely but a beautiful “antique”.’ The article opened with a complaint that *The Druid* was delegating so much of its column space for the furtherance of ‘Welsh Nationalistic ideals’ and continued by pronouncing the writer’s opinion that the peoples of Britain would merge into one grand race and that it was ridiculous to suggest that Welsh must become the official language of Wales. The next point he raised was concerning the American citizenship of those writers who supported Welsh nationalism:

I take it that most Welsh-Americans interested in and working for Welsh Nationalism are American citizens.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid., February 1, 15, 1929.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., March 15, 1929.

<sup>71</sup> Is there any significance in the fact that Henry V was often called ‘Harry of Monmouth’, and that he fought against Owain Glyndŵr in the first decade of the fifteenth century?

<sup>72</sup> A town now famous for being the birthplace of the twenty-fifth President of the USA, namely William McKinley.

<sup>73</sup> Reference has been made in Chapter 2 to the great number of Welsh immigrants who had taken American citizenship.

Taking the answer to be in the affirmative he declared that, as they had taken the oath of allegiance to America, they had no business interfering with the politics of a ‘foreign’ country, thus making the assumption that loyalty to the one should debar loyalty to the other. This line of thought was at odds with the general and professed expressions of loyalty penned in *Y Drych* and *The Druid* both to America and to Wales, as the following statement by an unnamed contributor exhibits:

I am Welsh through and through and very proud of it, and I am certain that I am a better American because I am a loyal Cymro.<sup>74</sup>

Hal of Monmouth’s missive ended with a reference to his displeasure at the newspaper’s inclusion of the word ‘traitor’ to describe Lloyd George and to the descriptions of the English as ‘aliens’ and ‘foreigners’. The letter-writer gives the impression that he was a British Unionist of Liberal convictions.

The above correspondence was of a type which was very rarely seen in connection with *Plaid Cymru* on *The Druid*’s pages and it motivated a response which was printed on the front page of the subsequent issue. The contribution by W. H. Basset of Alexandria, West Virginia was entitled, ‘Welshmen cannot forget the land that gave them birth nor the wrongs Wales has endured from alien invaders. Invincible Welsh Spirit rising again’. In all probability the choice of the word ‘alien’, so very near the ‘aliens’ which Hal of Monmouth so disliked, was intentional and the provocative tone is carried on in the body of the letter in a sentence like the following:

Hal of Monmouth would tremble with rage if he knew the identity of some of those Welsh exiles who are behind Welsh nationalism.<sup>75</sup>

And in an enigmatic remark the writer called Hal of Monmouth ‘a Cockney’ without giving any further details but he had thus, in all probability, sown enough doubt in the minds of the readers to make them suspicious of the complainant’s nationality and, consequently to dismiss his assertions as those of an outsider with an axe to grind.

Another response was printed in the same issue and entitled simply, ‘A Reply to Hal of Monmouth.’ It was penned by L. Henry Lewis of Seattle who wrote:

I don’t remember reading in *The Druid*, from a supposed Welshman, such a conglomeration of illogical and nonsensical statements and such piggly-wiggly argument.

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid., April 1, 1933.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., April 15, 1929.

It is apparent that the accusation of being a Cockney had registered with Lewis of Seattle, as his use of the word ‘supposed’ implies, but that point was left as the writer took issue with the complainant over the matter of loyalty:

Loyalty to America, my adopted cradle, does not detract from my heart one grain of love for my native country, my countrymen’s ideals and the language of my noble ancestors.

And in the same issue a third contribution appeared in response to Hal of Monmouth’s letter. It was an article entitled, ‘Insidious Destroyers of Welsh Nationalism’, penned by Worthington Jones, an avowed supporter of self-government for Wales,<sup>76</sup> and it touched upon the subject of the unity of the Welsh people and the delight of the enemies of Welsh nationalism when that unity was broken. Hal of Monmouth, according to Jones, had set out deliberately to break that unity and, this being so, it would be well for the editor to ascertain the identity of future correspondents:

It may be well, in the future, for The Druid editor to inquire carefully into the motives of any who follow a policy of disruption and to look up the real identity of such writers as ‘Hal of Monmouth,’ and those who sign themselves as ‘Welshmen.’

Furthermore he implied that Hal of Monmouth’s letter was part of a wider plot to sow seeds of discord among supporters of Plaid Cymru in Welsh-America:

It is not altogether impossible that a concerted effort may be behind so many isolated instances of dis[r]uption.

These suggestions bring to mind those made by Llywelyn ap Silvanus Hughes regarding those people in Welsh-America who were friends of Plaid’s enemies in Wales, and who were intent on bringing down the party (see Chapter 3).

As has been suggested, Hal of Monmouth’s epistle condemning the aims of the Welsh Nationalists was a rare occurrence in *The Druid* and, following its inclusion, what became apparent was that no one wrote to support him. On the contrary there were letters from people who disagreed with him and who were willing to make public their allegiance to the Welsh nationalists and to the ideals that they fought for.

As the election of 1929 drew near, and after the note of discord struck by Hal of Monmouth, comments in *The Druid* resumed their usual supportive tone. Another of ap Cardi’s articles appeared at the beginning of May entitled, ‘The Political Pot Boiling in Wales, Liberals and Welsh Nationalists waging a bitter verbal battle in Caernarvonshire. Are Liberals for Home Rule?’ Its purpose was to declare that the Liberals were running scared

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid., April 15, 1929.

and that Lloyd George himself had realised that Welsh nationalism was deeply rooted, ‘extending into the remotest corners of the Principality.’ Nevertheless the Liberals had only themselves to blame said ap Cardi as ‘Welsh Liberal Parliamentary members have done nothing tangible to further the movement of self-government for Wales.’ Furthermore, this accusation was made by a person who had once been ‘an ardent Liberal.’ Praising the Welsh Nationalists for the scholarly and academic prowess of their leaders and declaring that 90 per cent of Welsh University students were aligned to the party, which makes one wonder whether the writer was part of the University, ap Cardi professed his allegiance to Plaid and, in echoes of R. H. Davies’s calls for more militancy, he not only declared that the party’s policies did not go far enough but that, also, they should be fielding candidates in every constituency in Wales. It is obvious that he was expecting the party to perform politically immediately; even so he struck a very realistic and timely note just before the Election and coupled it with optimism for the future:

It takes time for the acorn to develop into an oak, and I believe the Welsh Nationalist Party will eventually de-throne the Liberals in Wales.<sup>77</sup>

The same issue included a quotation taken from a statement by H. R. Jones concerning the declaration of Major Goronwy Owen<sup>78</sup> that he was a Welsh Nationalist:

He may be as good an English Nationalist as Mr Baldwin, Mr Ramsay McDonald or Mr Lloyd George... but like them he is not, never has been and is not likely to be a Welsh Nationalist. Welsh Nationalists do not acknowledge the right of a foreign nation to govern Wales...

This statement gave the newspaper’s editor the opportunity to query the essence of the concept of ‘Nationalism’, which he defined, in the same issue, in the following terms:

Presumably it is the expression of a body of people that denote a race of men descended from a common progenitor...

Coupled with the above definition was the editor’s insistence, which he had expressed in earlier issues and expressed again in this issue, that the Welsh language was inherently bound with Welsh nationalism, as Michael D. Jones, Emrys ap Iwan and Saunders Lewis had declared. R. H. Davies stated his beliefs concerning the relationship of language and nationhood in the following terms:

Once the language is lost it is but a matter of time until its nationhood commences to disintegrate and loses its identity... When a nation’s language ceases to become its

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<sup>77</sup> Ibid., May 1, 1929.

<sup>78</sup> Candidate for the Liberals and later Liberal MP for the Caernarfon constituency.

mode of speech its nationhood is endangered, for a nation without a language is merely a paradox.

He continued by expanding on the matter; he touched on the theme of ‘small nations’ and expressed exactly what Saunders Lewis had declared in Machynlleth in 1926, that the language was the cornerstone of nationhood. In Davies’s opinion nationhood would be safeguarded by ‘Home Rule’. Thus, he wrote:

Wales, in order to save its nationhood, must save its language, and we verily believe a determined cultural effort will vouchsafe to Wales for generations to come a prominent place among the small nations of the world. To realise this coveted expectation its slogan must be ‘Save the language.’ And the instrument that will prove the most effective weapon to do this is Welsh nationalism which implies Home Rule.

In this issue of 1 May 1929, Davies was not only explaining very coherently the essence and implications of Welsh Nationalism as vested in Plaid Cymru, but he was also electioneering for the party in advance of election day on 30 May. Knowing that the Liberal Party would be the main contenders and that loyalty to the concept of ‘Britain’ ran deep in Wales, he stated that the power and authority to transact their own affairs as proposed by Plaid Cymru was not disputed by ‘such staunch Liberals as D. Lloyd George – whose loyalty to Britain is unquestioned.’ Moreover, stated Davies, Lloyd George ‘has reputedly declared that this is a just claim.’ But the former ‘ardent Liberal’, ap Cardi made no effort to appeal to the voters, and in his article in this issue at the beginning of May, implied that Lloyd George was upholding corrupt political officials:

Whether or not the youthful party loses its first skirmish, a battle royal will be staged some day and the eloquence of all the David Lloyd Georges in the world will not sway the tide that is destined to sweep Wales of its political scorpions and sycophants.

And the party did lose its first skirmish and *The Druid* made plain its deep disappointment, but it also sought to explain the weak support which had been made evident at the ballot box, not like Hugh Hughes in terms of pondering whether ‘Nationalism’ had had its day, but like *The Welsh Outlook*, blaming the ‘boycott policy’, with which even many members of Plaid Cymru were unhappy:

Their Chagrin is somewhat assuaged by the admitted fact that Welsh Nationalism was not represented by its true strength. There are thousands of Welsh Nationalists who refuse to subscribe to one of the party’s tenets.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Ibid., July 1, 1929.

And, apparently, Davies was one who was now refusing to subscribe to this tenet as he stated that ‘this plank in the Nationalists’ platform must be expunged if the party ever hopes to succeed.’ However, back in 1926,<sup>80</sup> when he had been ruminating on the fact that every Parliamentary Measure which had sought improvement to the culture and civilization of Wales had been refused, he had expressed his agreement with the party’s avowals that they would not even contest Parliamentary elections. Was this an indication that as the party was becoming more actively ‘political’ its adherents were having to adjust their opinions?

The dismal performance of Plaid Cymru at the 1929 election did nothing to dampen *The Druid’s* enthusiasm for the party. During 1930 the same themes were being propounded, namely the sheer ineptitude of those who represented Wales in Westminster and the righteousness of the cause of Plaid Cymru. To a reader from Chicago who had queried how self-government could be beneficial to Wales, Davies wrote that every nation had a right to take control of its domestic affairs ending with the challenge that ‘no fair-minded man, of whatever nationality, can deny the justice of this claim.’<sup>81</sup> To those readers who complained that the Welsh Nationalist Party was being too strongly supported,<sup>82</sup> Davies explained to them that they were confusing the new party with the group of ineffective MPs, called the ‘Welsh Parliamentary Party’, who were members of the English parties.<sup>83</sup>

But, even though Davies was indefatigable in his support for the party and in defence of its cause, he knew that however much support was engendered in Welsh emigrant strongholds such as Welsh-America it was the Welsh people themselves who would have to be mobilised to the cause. He had expressed that fact time and time again and he never tired of reiterating the claim that ‘Wales’ salvation had to come from within and not from without’ and that it required ‘concerted action and united effort.’<sup>84</sup>

The early years of the 1930s brought no great change in the way that Davies was reporting on Wales and Welsh affairs. The situation in the home-country was portrayed as dismal and was declared to be the result of poor governance:

Wales is a badly governed country, with a higher average of unemployment than any other part of the United Kingdom.<sup>85</sup>

Wales had endured neglect and rebuffs more than any other country in Europe,<sup>86</sup> and this had been allowed because those who were elected as its representatives were not raising their

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid., October 15, 1926.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., April 1, 1930

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., April 1, 1930

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., March 27, 1934.

voices to present its case to the British Government. An example of their ineptness was apparent in the situation where the Board of Education was demanding that Wales should contribute £35,000 in additional payment towards secondary schools. Davies reacted to their utter ineffectiveness with fury:

But what are our Welsh Parliamentary members doing? Nothing – absolutely nothing. They are political renegades after the political fleshpots of England even at the expense of crucifying the future of Wales. If Wales is to be salvaged it must elect parliamentary members with backbone of some material other than whalebone, which, like a broken reed, bends with every wind.<sup>87</sup>

The Liberals, and even Lloyd George, were also being increasingly singled out for blame in this period at the beginning of the 1930s:

Like the balance of our Welsh parliamentary members, D. Lloyd George has but little time to devote to Wales, except it be at an election, when he finds it very convenient to lend a helping hand to some avowed supporter.<sup>88</sup>

Aby supporting the editor on the theme of disillusionment with Liberalism was ap Cardi, the correspondent who had confessed to once being an ardent Liberal. His mission at the beginning of the 1930s was to reveal that the Liberal Party was deceitful and untrustworthy. In one of his missives he wrote that the Liberals were again flirting with Home Rule, but only as part of a hidden agenda to try to steal a march on the Welsh National Party:

Realising the allurements of the appeal embraced in the plank of the Welsh Nationalists and its increasing strength in erstwhile Liberal strongholds, the Liberal leaders with the desperation of a drowning man grasping at a straw, would split the plank of the Welsh Nationalists with a view of again deluding patriots with a promise of home rule for Wales, as D. Lloyd George did forty years ago.<sup>89</sup>

The town of Caernarfon was the backdrop to another of his articles which sought to demolish the Liberals. Apparently they and their leader, Lloyd George, who had refused to share the rostrum with any other speaker at the unfurling of the Red Dragon on St David's Day in 1933, were claiming that the flag on the Eagle Tower had been put there by Liberal students as well as Welsh Nationalists. Ap Cardi thus responded:

This may be true but the Liberalism expounded by D. Lloyd George did not inspire their outburst of patriotism. No, siree, for as far as present-day Liberalism in Wales is concerned Wales will ever remain in political bondage.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., March 1, 1933.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., February 1, 1933.

What was being expressed by ap Cardi was the great disappointment of so many Welsh Liberals who had believed that the party, led by Lloyd George, had possessed a nationalist consciousness strong enough to have delivered a measure of self-government for Wales. But Home Rule for Wales was no longer one of the party's aims; the 'nationalism' that was once espoused by the party was no longer apparent and Lloyd George, especially, had betrayed his early 'nationalist' avowals. According to ap Cardi what he was now propounding was nothing akin to real nationalism as conceived by Plaid Cymru:

there is a conflict between two factions of different nationalists. One faction represents the 'cultural nationalism' expounded by D. Lloyd George, which is nothing more than 'Anglicized nationalism,' while the other faction, represented by the Welsh National party advocates the integral unity of the Welsh people, which implies the independence of Wales and a complete severance from the political dominion of London oppressors.

Thus the nationalism of Plaid Cymru was an active force which sought to involve the nation in its entirety and which aimed to move it out of subservience towards independence. And it was this latter party which was deemed by ap Cardi to be wearing the mantle of Tom Ellis:

On St David's day, 1890, Tom Ellis, the immortal Welsh patriot, warned that 'he would fight unto death for the unification and freedom of his native land.' This is the freedom the Welsh Nationalists of today are advocating – the precepts of the political gospel according to Tom Ellis – and it is the only gospel that will save Wales from an ignominious obliteration from the map of Europe.

And the editor was in accord with ap Cardi: 'there remains but one party,' he said, 'in which a hope for the emancipation of Wales can be reposed, and that is the Welsh Nationalist party.' Davies had consistently supported Plaid Cymru from its inception in 1925 and he persisted in insisting that there was no other way of safeguarding Wales and all its unique characteristics except through the new party:

The only remedy, from an unbiased standpoint, is a robust Welsh National party to fight for the rights of their native land.<sup>91</sup>

And again, a year later he declared:

No impartial observer can refrain from concluding that London's treatment of Wales has been atrocious in the past, and there is not a vestige of hope for improvement in the future except the Welsh people rally to support the Welsh Nationalists, which is the only party that offers a practical solution of the difficulties that confront the principality.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Ibid., January 1, 1933.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., August 11, 1934.



The portrayals depicted by the editor of a Wales shackled to England, being rebuffed and ignored and made to suffer deprivation elicited a reaction from some of the readers of *The Druid*. A letter from ‘Cambro-American’ of Plymouth, Pennsylvania, appeared in ‘The Druid Forum’, which was the paper’s letter column, commenting on points made by R. H. Davies that Wales was in a parlous state and that it was not allowed freedom to address its issues:

If the reports chronicled in *The Druid* are correct, the situation there is deplorable, for it appears no improvements of any character can be made in Wales without the consent of officials in London.<sup>93</sup>

It appears that ‘Cambro-American’ had searched the pages of the occasional English-medium papers he was receiving from Wales and had found very little in them about the party that Davies was espousing, but he had come to the same conclusion as the editor:

The sooner Wales cuts adrift from its serfdom to officials that opine the Welsh are still serfs the sooner will the day of freedom dawn in Wales.<sup>94</sup>

His conclusion, if he had Liberal tendencies, might have been aided by the fact that Alderman William George, in an address concerning the Board of Education’s demand for a large contribution from Wales, had made a similar point. In referring to the new Parliament House costing one and a half million pounds, which Ulster had received for its loyalty, the Alderman had stressed that Wales was receiving nothing but kicks and rebuffs.<sup>95</sup>

Another reader reacted differently. ‘Idrisyn’ from Bridgeport, Connecticut, was furious at the editor’s promotion of the Welsh National Party as a new party which would secure for Wales its rightful status:

This so-called Welsh National Party is no more national than is the British National Government. It is a party made up of disgruntled Liberals who try to fool the people that Wales is under the domination of aliens. Such rot!.. Who besides the Liberals take an active part in it? If the Liberals want to be of service to their countrymen let them join the British Labor Party, of which Welsh Labor is a part – yes a very much alive part too.<sup>96</sup>

It is obvious whom Idrisyn thought of as the new party and it is obvious that he thought, not in terms of the nation of Wales, but in terms of the new Labour movement which was a class orientated organization to which Mai Roberts had referred in her appeal to Welsh-America (see Chapter 4). He seems to have been a fairly recent emigrant as he stated that he had been

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<sup>93</sup> Ibid., January 1, 1933.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., March 1, 1933.

living in Wales and knew that the Welsh were not being oppressed because he had always felt on an equal footing with the English. Yet, in spite of all his denouncements of Plaid and the Liberals, he wished to state that he did not object to any efforts on behalf of the language. And it is interesting that the language seems to have been more of a unifying factor than it ever was a divisive element, especially in this period of *The Druid*'s existence.

A letter from Wales, penned by A. J. Jones of Caernarfon, refuted Idrisyn's claims that the Welsh National Party was composed of Liberals and supported the editor's stance regarding the essential role of the new party in the fight for Wales and for Welsh-self-government. And mindful of the unemployment which was crippling the country Jones pointed out that any country having control of its domestic affairs was endowed with the ability to facilitate home industries.<sup>97</sup>

The correspondence was proof that the editor's efforts to bring Welsh affairs to the notice of Welsh-America were succeeding and, whether correspondents like Idrisyn agreed that Plaid Cymru would remedy the situation or not, neither he nor others questioned the assertions that the country was in dire straits. Yet however dire the situation depicted by the editor and correspondents such as ap Cardi, a new note was beginning to be sounded in their contributions in this period: they were writing of a sense of awakening which they believed would cause a change in the Welsh political scenario:

Political sages in Wales predict that the country is on the verge of a political upheaval, for the people have lost faith in their present leaders.<sup>98</sup>

And ap Cardi was professing to witness the same phenomenon:

the principality is in the throes of an awakening that is destined to change its political complexion. Wales is not only awakening, but is destined to realize Owain Glyndwr's prophecy that some day Wales will guide its own destiny.<sup>99</sup>

During these years *The Druid* was not only maintaining the rhetoric which was hailing the party as the sole defender of Wales, it was also informing the readers of various new policies and activities which were being adopted and exercised as the party was establishing itself. One such policy was the decision to promote Dominion Status as the preferred choice of government. Hitherto Davies had espoused Home Rule for Wales in company with James J. Davies, the leader of the group who owned the newspaper, but after the party had placed Dominion Status at the head of the party's list of objectives from the beginning of 1931, the

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid., April 1, 1933.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., February 24, 1934.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., April 1, 1933.

editor gave it his unstinting support,<sup>100</sup> portraying it as the means to propel the nation onto the European stage:

We verily believe the Welsh Nationalist Party has struck the right keynote to save the Welsh Nation from being obliterated from the map of Europe – and that is Dominion Status.<sup>101</sup>

Another item of news relating to Plaid Cymru which *The Druid* presented was the party's campaign to establish a Welsh national service by the BBC. Progress towards this goal had at first been slow causing *The Druid* to pour scorn on the usual adversaries, the members who were representing Wales in Parliament:

It is futile to appeal to Welsh parliamentary members for redress, as they are non compos mentis in fighting the righteous claims of Wales.<sup>102</sup>

The situation was an opportunity for the editor to inform the readers that there were some amongst the members of the new party who were calling for some form of action:

it is not surprising that some radical Welsh Nationalists are advocating drastic measures to compel London to accord the principality fair play.

Davies's reluctance to commit to Plaid's policy of peaceful resistance has already been referred to and the above remark infers that he was still, in the early 1930s, dubious of the intention. He was of the same mind a few years later when he asserted:

We have but one fault to find with Welsh Nationalists, they lack a militant spirit!<sup>103</sup>

One news item which had the potential to destabilize Plaid Cymru and to antagonize Welsh-Americans, bearing in mind that Catholicism was connected with the Irish, was the decision by its leader, Saunders Lewis, in 1933 to join the Roman Catholic Church, a decision which he felt necessitated his relinquishing the role of party leader. These events were closely followed by *The Druid*, which was quick to point out that Lewis's pending resignation was not a sign that the party was disintegrating,<sup>104</sup> a consequence which Brython in *Y Drych* had implied with undisguised glee (see Chapter 5). However, lest any Welsh-Americans were to harbour such fears Davies, who always presented Plaid as a party of strength in various respects, chose to inform the readers that the party now had a membership

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<sup>100</sup> Ibid., February 15, 1932.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., April 15, 1933.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., December 1, 1933.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., February 1, 1935.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., March 27, 1934.

of between 30-40,000,<sup>105</sup> an exaggeration of at least 27,500 as the actual membership figure reached by 1935 was only 2,500.<sup>106</sup> To further ensure that Welsh-Americans understood that there was no inner turmoil within the ranks of the party, the front page of two separate issues carried news of Saunders Lewis's re-instatement as party leader.<sup>107</sup> And lest any doubt remained about the well-being of Plaid, *The Druid* carried a report on its success in a local election for a seat on the County Council in Meirioneth.<sup>108</sup> The victory of Hywel Davies at Llanfor was hailed as 'sensational' and the newspaper forecast that, should the present pace of progress be maintained, then Plaid would be in control of the whole county within the next five years. And on the success of the Plaid Cymru candidate in Criccieth, who had won three times as many votes as had been predicted and had defeated Dr Lloyd Owen, *The Druid* declared with glee that the party had 'invaded the very citadel of Welsh Liberalism.' Thus by turning the readers' attention to positive news items concerning the party, *The Druid* was able to gloss over any anxieties which might have been engendered in the wake of Saunders Lewis's actions.

The year before the incident at Penyberth was the tenth anniversary of the formation of Plaid Cymru and the party marked the occasion by launching a fund which was presented in *The Druid* in February under the heading 'The Macedonian Cry' (see Chapter 4), to which Davies responded by quering whether there were a hundred 'patriotic Welsh-Americans' who would contribute a dollar each. As no response appears to have been forthcoming, it seems that Davies had met with the seemingly usual lethargy from Welsh-America but, even so, his zeal for Plaid Cymru was as fervent as ever. Throughout the year he reported on the party, presenting it in his usual style as the liberator which could free Wales, and taking every opportunity, on the other hand, to reveal the weaknesses of its opponents. One of his first comments in the new year emphasised the uniqueness of the party: it was the only one on the political scene which opposed moving Wales's workforce to England as a proposed solution to unemployment. The heading of the report was 'London Politics and Wales', stressing the fact that Wales had no voice in its own affairs and causing the editor to comment:

It is no wonder the Welsh Nationalist party is gaining strength daily, for it is the only party that aims to sever the shackles that keeps Wales in alien bondage.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> The same figure was quoted in another article in the same issue which informed that plans for a Welsh Parliament had been drafted by a select committee of lawyers: *Ibid.*, March 27, 1934.

<sup>106</sup> Davies, *The Welsh Nationalist Party 1925-1945*, 208.

<sup>107</sup> *The Druid*, April 20, 1934; June 26, 1934.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, April 20, 1934.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, February 1, 1935.

Further to the reference to ‘shackles’ was a comment which Davies made at the conclusion of a report informing readers that the owners of Llanelli Tinplate Works were intending to move operations to England. The editor wrote:

To Welsh patriots the... determination to abandon Wales but re-iterates the truth of the gospel preached by Welsh Nationalists that self-preservation demands the severance of ties that places Wales at the mercy of London exploiters.<sup>110</sup>

The underlying theme of these comments is that the good of the nation was disregarded by those MPs who represented Wales, a matter to which he had drawn attention on so many occasions and attributed to various reasons such as the following:

Welsh aspirations and ideals are forgotten by them as soon as they leave Wales, national aspirations are forsaken and their Welsh harps are hung on willows on the banks of the Thames as they pursue measures to attain their personal ambitions.<sup>111</sup>

However, on one one occasion Davies admitted that even when they had raised their voices for Wales they were ridiculed:

It is a matter of record that whenever a representative from Wales arises to advance the claims of Wales, he is immediately a subject of scorn and derision, and is inevitably forced to sit down under an avalanche of scornful jeers.<sup>112</sup>

Conveying this news only served to strengthen Plaid’s argument that it was the only party that could serve Wales and only served to justify Davies’s support for it. And as an example of the achievements which the party was securing for the nation, *The Druid* reported on the success of Plaid’s campaign to establish a BBC Welsh regional service which *Y Ddraig Goch* had announced under the headline, ‘The *Blaid* has conquered the BBC.’<sup>113</sup> The headline that Davies chose was ‘Whom the Glory[?]’ informing the newspaper’s readers that pressure from Plaid had won the concession but that the Welsh MPs were claiming it as their victory:

It was not the Welsh Parliamentary members that aroused Wales, but rather the reunification of the national spirit, in which the Welsh Nationalists proved themselves potent factors in not only arousing the country but in unifying the Welsh forces.<sup>114</sup>

A voice from Welsh-America itself was to reiterate Davies’s description of the party as a potent factor when Professor Edward Rowe, who had spent some years in Wales,<sup>115</sup> declared

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<sup>110</sup> Ibid., September 1, 1935.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., January 1, 1930

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., January 15, 1934

<sup>113</sup> *Y Ddraig Goch*, May 1935

<sup>114</sup> *The Druid*, July 1, 1935.

<sup>115</sup> A Mormon who did graduate work at the then ‘University College of Wales’, Cardiff, and later became Professor of English Literature at Brigham Young University where he took an active interest in Welsh history

on Cambrian Day in the ‘Beehive State’ (which was the nickname for ‘Utah’) that freedom for Wales was on the way, due to the work of Plaid Cymru:

Prof. Rowe spent two and a half years in the University of Cardiff, and referred in glowing terms to those working for the independence of Wales, and gave it as his unqualified opinion that the Welsh Nationalists would win out.<sup>116</sup>

Thus in the decennial year of Plaid Cymru the newspaper was again presenting the party as the only political channel which would work for Wales and the only party which could secure for the country its God-given right, which was independence, as declared a year previously:

The Druid, editorially and otherwise, will seek to further every worthy movement of the race, inclusive of the right of the mother country to self-government, as it is adocated by the Welsh National Party.<sup>117</sup>

But the first issue of November 1935 carried news which, although seeming to be in the same vein as previous reports of English arrogance, was to have far-reaching repercussions. The editor informed the readers that the Government of Britain had purchased 700 acres of land in Porth Neigwl and that the Welsh Nationalists were protesting the action:

which prompts the Welsh Nationalist party to protest against prostituting Welsh soil for the particular benefit of imperialistic England, as well as endangering the lives of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood.<sup>118</sup>

It appears that Porth Neigwl did not feature again to any great extent in the newspaper until July 1936 when it announced that the English-medium newspapers in Wales were denying that the objections raised against the bombing school at a meeting held in Pwllheli, when 6,000 protestors thronged the town square, represented the voice of Wales. *The Druid* castigated ‘the presumptuousness of the English Press in Wales in decrying the claim that “the voice of Wales” was heard at the Pwllheli meeting.’

The headline which greeted readers of *The Druid* in the immediate aftermath of the incident at Penyberth was, ‘Welsh Nationalists Create a Sensation.’<sup>119</sup> It had been contributed by an unnamed correspondent from Pwllheli and was mainly a stark report of the events, namely that timber structures at the location of the proposed bombing school had been burnt by three Plaid Cymru members, and that they been arrested. Davies made no comment on the matter but in the accompanying editorial, which discussed the party’s intended change in electoral tactics, he asserted that the previously antagonistic newspapers

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and literature and tried to establish a National Welsh Library: ‘Edward Morris Rowe,’ accessed August 29, 2014, <http://lib.byu.edu/collections/mormon-missionary-diaries/about/diarists/edward-morris-rowe/>.

<sup>116</sup> *The Druid*, August 1, 1935.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, February 24, 1934.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, November 1, 1935.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, October 1, 1936.

of Wales were admitting that the Welsh Nationalists were the only political party aiming to improve conditions in Wales. And in a ringing challenge to any dissenting voices he proclaimed:

The chief object of the party is the redemption of Wales and it is the only political party that has the courage to proclaim from the housetops that the salvation of Wales is paramount to the success of any English political party.

The tone seems to be one of admonishment and elsewhere in the issue he penned some comments which suggest that he was seeking to address doubts or refute criticism amongst the readers as to the methods used at Penyberth, for example:

While some of its leaders may advocate measures that appear radical, their motives are tinged with sincerity and their patriotism is unquestioned.

And again, in the same issue, the article headlined, 'The Plight of Wales', contained an inference that Welsh-America was bemused by the incident in Llŷn and Davies, in response to what might have been negative reactions from correspondents, issued a statement claiming that Wales under London control was 'rapidly deteriorating into one of the most dismal and desolate industrial countries in Europe' and declaring that, in view of the situation, the Welsh Nationalists were justified in calling for a measure of Home Rule which would allow it to 'work out its own salvation.' Then, seemingly specifically addressing fellow-emigrants who doubted the need for action, he wrote:

Only Welsh-Americans who keep in touch with present-day conditions in Wales realize the plight of the Principality, a problem that baffles those who have the welfare of the country at heart.

It appears that the correspondence from ap Rambler, also in the same issue, had been penned before the arson incident, but it bears out the suggestion that Davies was having to deal with readers who opposed Plaid Cymru's stance on Penyberth. Ap Rambler was writing in reaction to a protest meeting against the proposed bombing school where, he stated, 'so much nonsense was uttered by supposedly intelligent men at Pwllheli that no man with practical common sense can rely on them.' Apparently one 'Welsh Nationalist was so absurd as to declare that Wales ought to secede from Britain and form a republic of her own. How to do so he wisely refrained from saying.' It is obvious that ap Rambler, who had once derided the Liberals for placing rejected English candidates in safe Welsh constituencies, had become incensed by the idea that Wales was contemplating separation. He wrote again at the beginning of 1937<sup>120</sup> to insist that he was correct in his views that the bombing school project

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<sup>120</sup> Ibid., January 1, 1937.

should be allowed, and that Wales could never secede from Britain and furthermore, if secession was threatened then, in his opinion, ‘the government is justified in using force, if need be, to prevent such an absurd scheme as there is as much justice on the part of Britain as there was in America when the Southern States attempted to secede.’ The remainder of the article was vehemently antagonistic to Plaid Cymru, declaring that they had as much chance of being returned to Westminster as had a Communist who represented Pasadena of being elected to Congress. They were, in his words, ‘out in the cold, cold world, and for all practical purposes may as well be located on the planet of Mars.’ But he did make a statement which was essentially true, namely that ‘Wales is so lukewarm, so cold to the aims of the Welsh Nationalists,’ which brings to mind Davies’s incessant warnings that the battle for freedom must begin amongst the Welsh people themselves. And ap Rambler, in his conclusion, touched upon the same point when he wrote:

Remember that majority opinions rule there, and there is need of superhuman spade work to even get the majority of votes in Wales favourable for Welsh Home Rule.

The above assertion would lead one to believe that the writer was amenable to the aims of Plaid Cymru, for all his verbal assault on the party, but an unexpected admission by him that he had been ‘a Home Ruler since 1886’ implies that he was an elderly Liberal who had been in the fold of Tom Ellis and the young Lloyd George and who, maybe, could not contemplate a change in the Welsh political scenario.

In the face of some different opinions R. H. Davies persisted doggedly in his mission to awaken Welsh-America to the miserable situation of Wales and very adroitly chose a title for a December 1936 article<sup>121</sup> which evoked American politics. The headline, ‘Wales needs a new deal,’ would have reminded the readers of Roosevelt and his ‘New Deal’ which had been produced in the 1930s to relieve the worst aspects of the ‘Great Depression’. The gist of Davies’s article was the dire plight of the peoples of Wales, which he blamed on London policies, and the blank refusal of the Government to recognise Wales as a nation, of which the policy of moving the Welsh workforce was a symbol. Consequently, he claimed, the act at Penyberth had been born out of despair in the face of London indifference:

This is one phase of the devastating effects of English government in Wales which prompted Welsh Nationalists to resort to drastic measures to awaken the Welsh people to the doom of obliteration that confronts them if the process of depopulating Wales is not halted.

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<sup>121</sup> Ibid., December 1, 1936.



In his conclusion that, maybe, Penyberth would awaken the Welsh people he was echoing past comments which had stated that freedom for Wales lay in the hands of the Welsh people themselves but, according to a letter sent by E. H. Watkins of Newark, Ohio, to *The Druid* in May of the following year, it seems that the people of Wales were loth to bestir themselves:

Sorry to observe the apparent apathy in Wales over the question of Welsh Nationalism, judging from the letters I receive from Wales, as well as from the tenor of the newspapers I occasionally receive from there.<sup>122</sup>

But among the editor and most of the readers of *The Druid* there was no apathy. Penyberth and its aftermath was stirring many in Welsh-America to consider and address matters which might not have been apparent, and certainly not pressing, until now. ‘Rank injustice against Wales’<sup>123</sup> was the title of an article which appeared in the first issue of 1937 in connection with the decision to move the trial of the arsonists, and recalling their clashes with the judge at the Caernarfon Assizes Court regarding the use of the Welsh language and the composition of the jury. The comment that Davies made was consistent with his many assertions of the shackles that bound Wales to London and its demands:

Thus Welsh Wales is beset by one oppression after another, and no attention is given to the cry of Wales that the barbaric bombing school in Llŷn, the cause of all this trouble, be withdrawn.

And in a further comment he referred to a situation which appeared to hold no fears for him but which had made people like H. O. Rowlands in *Y Drych* exclaim with trepidation at the thought that Wales might tread the same pathway which had led to the independence of Éire. He had cited Ireland in the earlier report on the Pwllheli meeting when he had warned that, if the London imperialists persisted in ignoring the voice of Wales, it was possible that an ensuing awakening of Welsh consciousness would lead Wales to follow the example of its sister nation. Now, in connection with the trial in London he stated:

London will have no voice in the domestic affairs of the South of Ireland. In this respect Ireland is more fortunate than Wales.

He was to persist, in subsequent issues of the newspaper, with this strategy of implanting the idea that Wales might follow Ireland, whilst at the same time stressing that the fault lay with London:

The action of the Welsh Nationalist leaders was only a means to fan to flames the smouldering embers of Welsh nationalism, and if London fails to hearken to the

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<sup>122</sup> Ibid., May 1, 1937.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., January 1, 1937.

alarm sounded by these patriots, Wales, like Ireland, may produce other patriots that will make similar sacrifices to protect their nation.<sup>124</sup>

Coverage of the trial was heralded with the emotive title, ‘Welsh Nationalists convicted in London.’<sup>125</sup> The opportunity was taken to proclaim the three Welshmen as ‘patriots,’ to stress the arrogance of the London officials and to claim that the purpose of the bombing school, which had been rejected in England, was to defend England. Therefore, ‘there was absolutely no moral or legal argument in compelling Wales to accept what England rejected.’ The latter and valid point would seem to address the argument propounded by the British Government of the necessity of training for defence as, if the issue had been so pressing, why had England rejected the project?

The same point was made in one<sup>126</sup> of the many letters printed in *The Druid* in the first months of 1937. E. W. Edwards from Scranton was writing in reply to ap Rambler and pointed out that the bombing school being foisted on Wales had been rejected by England. The decision to site it in Wales, said Edwards, exemplified ‘Tory arrogance and tyranny’ and if ap Rambler applauded the decision then he must be a Tory at heart even though he claimed to be an advocate for Home Rule. The latter half of the long letter addressed the issue of democracy, averring that the undemocratic decision by London was in accordance with the dogma of Hitler and Mussolini that ‘might makes right’, and acclaimed the patriotic act at Penyberth. And, probably to further incite ap Rambler who had called Lloyd George ‘the greatest Welshman of the century’, the closing part of the letter became a denunciation of that same politician ‘who had been elected on a Home Rule platform.’ He was, said Edwards, ‘the greatest disappointment of the century’ and he expounded further on the accusation by declaring that Lloyd George had possessed a glorious opportunity to save Wales from ‘thralldom and despotism.’ Bringing his letter to a close he confronted ap Rambler and the Welsh-American readers with a query wherein he differentiated between the terms, ‘British’ and ‘Welsh’, and by doing so he brought into stark contrast the very prevalent habit of the period, apparent in the columns of both *Y Drych* and *The Druid*, of identifying the one with the other. But Edwards drew a distinction:

He may be a great Britisher, but, as a Welshman, what has he done for Wales?

Lloyd George was to figure again in another correspondent’s letter. On the basis of the politician’s abandonment of ‘Welsh Liberalism and Nationalism’ and on the King’s

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<sup>124</sup> Ibid., May 1, 1937.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid., February 1, 1937.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., March 1, 1937.

abdication the correspondent, Will Owen of Tiltonsville, Ohio, advised the Welsh people not to look for help from politicians or kings but, rather, to pray to God to send them a Welsh Roosevelt ‘to lead them out of their bondage to economic and political royalists into a free Wales.’ And, in echoes of the editor’s references to Ireland, the Irish struggle was cited in the words, ‘Their brother Celts, the Irish, did it. So can the Welsh with God’s help.’

And Lloyd George, once more, was the recipient of another correspondent’s scorn; writing from New York City, ‘Efrogydd’<sup>127</sup> stated that he had read in a newspaper from Wales that Lloyd George had translated the hymn, ‘Dan dy fendith wrth ymadael’ [Beneath thy blessing as we depart] in order for it to be sung at Caernarfon Castle to welcome the King. He dubbed the politician ‘the kingpin of Welsh Imperialists’ and suggested that a more suitable hymn for the occasion would be ‘Beth sydd imi yn y byd, ond gorthrymder mawr o hyd?’ [What is there for me in the world, only great oppression always?] which more befitted the situation of the cowardly Welsh people who did not have ‘even the courage of the Israelites, who refused to sing when they were in bondage.’ Robyn Bach from Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, was also disparaging of the Welsh; they were, he wrote,<sup>128</sup> ‘The snobbiest and most servile people in Great Britain... They are royal worshippers, and their idolatry is nauseating.’ His letter was written to applaud the decision of the Welsh Nationalists to refuse tickets ‘on occasion of the King’s imperialistic visit’ to Caernarfon Castle. Why should they, he asked, welcome an alien King, and what had English Kings or the British Government ever done for Wales. The latter question led him to answer derisively, ‘O, yes, the English government has given Wales a bombing school, which if it had been erected in Ireland, would have been blown into the sea.’ On the Irish note, and after commending the Welsh Nationalists as the only people in Wales with any backbone, he advised them that they should become more belligerent if they wanted to get rid of the ‘London yoke.’ His conclusion was in tune with the editor’s opinions:

Ireland had the will and the grit to fight for freedom, and that is what Wales needs.

Another who cited the example of Ireland was Ellis Hughes who, writing from Niagara Falls, New York, reminded readers of *The Druid* that when the Irish were fighting to ‘sever the Saxon fetters’, the American-Irish rallied to their support and ‘contributed generously to a fund that enabled Ireland to wage a successful campaign.’<sup>129</sup> Pointing out that Wales had grievances as dire as those of Ireland, he queried whether Welsh-Americans would be less

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<sup>127</sup> Ibid., August 1, 1937.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid., August 1, 1937.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., April 1, 1937.

loyal and suggested that a campaign be inaugurated to ‘assist our struggling compatriots, for they are engaged in a righteous cause.’ Appeal after financial appeal had been printed in both *Y Drych* and *The Druid*, seemingly to very little avail, but as Penyberth had motivated the people of Canton, Ohio, to donate funds to Plaid Cymru, so it was now motivating Ellis Hughes to envisage beginning a campaign which, if it had materialised, might have contributed to the coffers of the party. Hughes then commended *The Druid* for loyally supporting Welsh Nationalism and for paying tribute ‘to the patriotism of the “three heroes” who are now in durance vile for protesting against the aggression of London officials in invading Wales and confiscating a hallowed spot in Caernarvonshire’ and he poured scorn on ‘the infamous Saxon law that prohibits a Welshman from giving testimony in the law courts in his native language’, calling it a relic of the Dark Ages.

But two letters appeared during the year the contents of which were unexpected. The first was another missive from ap Rambler in which he declared that he would probably vote for the Welsh Nationalists if he were in Wales:

My sympathies, almost from its inception, have been with the aims and aspirations of Welsh nationalism and had I been a resident in Wales my ballot would be cast in favour of a Welsh Nationalist, if one was in the running in that particular constituency.<sup>130</sup>

This admission must have taken readers by surprise as he had only recently been saying that they had as much chance of being elected to Parliament as had a Communist of being elected to Congress. However, as the letter proceeds it begins to appear that the above admission might not be in reference to Plaid Cymru, and it might be that ap Rambler was still thinking in the old ‘Welsh Nationalist’ Liberal terms. The possibility is made stronger on the basis of his ensuing comments that he did not concur with the methods used by certain Welsh Nationalist leaders and that one of them, maybe for self-advertisement, had joined Rome and was enamoured of Sinn Féin, which latter reference engendered the following reaction:

May God forbid that similar despicable methods, with their brutal assassinations of unarmed officers by gunmen from ambush, be adopted by our more law-abiding Cymry.

And after declaring that the three arsonists deserved imprisonment, it becomes clear that ap Rambler agreed with the editor and most of the correspondents on one issue only, namely that the trial should not have been moved from Wales to London. He, however, saw no point in complaining to *The Druid* or any other paper as ‘such pinpricks will have no more effect on

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<sup>130</sup> Ibid., May 1, 1937.

the hide of John Bull than if one made an attempt to kill an elephant with a fly-swatter'. Protests, he wrote, should be sent to the British Government, to Baldwin's Cabinet and to the 'good man' Baldwin himself. But to 'Llygadog' of Youngstown, Ohio,<sup>131</sup> Baldwin was a 'premier-dictator' who 'possessed... a dictatorial ego akin to that of Hitler' and in his opinion it was a Thomas Jefferson that Wales needed 'to write a declaration of independence.'

The other piece of correspondence maintained its unexpected tone throughout: it was a second letter<sup>132</sup> from Will Owen of Tiltonsville, Ohio, who had written at the beginning of the year to advocate praying for the like of Roosevelt to lead Wales whilst also commending the Irish way to freedom. He now attacked *The Druid* for grossly misrepresenting relations between Wales and England, stating that the former was not oppressed by the latter. He was angry with the newspaper for blaming the capitalists in London for the plight of Wales and, most surprisingly in view of the generally favourable attitude to the language throughout the period, he condemned the aim of the Welsh Nationalists in respect of the Welsh language:

A small clique of Welsh-language intelligensia... constitute the Nationalist party, and their aim is to force upon the Welsh people the Welsh language against the people's wishes. The Welsh people of Wales use the English language in business, in law, in schools and in their amusements. They do not want to use Welsh nor do the people (except a minute minority) want Welsh taught to their children in the day schools. For what purpose? I know from experience that a monoglot child has a very unpleasant time among his playmates until he forgets Welsh and learns the universal language of the playgrounds... I can name more than a dozen churches whose usefulness in spreading the gospel were [*sic*] destroyed by a handful of Welsh-speaking officials who persistently insisted in ignoring the signs of the times to satisfy their own perverted views... the younger generation, whose acquaintance with yr hen iaith was no more than 'Shwmai' drifted away from church and gospel. How many people read 'Y Drych' today in U.S.A?

It may be that the key to his tirade is in his remarks about his schooldays, but it is obvious that he perceived the language to be a liability. But the above assertions, in addition to his comments refuting *The Druid's* claims of English oppression, prove that he had no conception of Welsh nationhood and apparently no desire, either, to consider the implications of all that the newspaper's editor had been propounding over the years. His closing remark was another thrust at the editor's standpoint:

I would, in another letter, like to point out how childish are those educated hooligans who set fire to a bombing station in North Wales, and how hurtful such an act was to their own interests.

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<sup>131</sup> Ibid., June 1, 1937.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., December 1, 1937.

What had happened to his earlier convictions that the Welsh, with God's help, could emulate the Irish way?

Thus a spate of letters had been written in the aftermath of Penyberth and most, but not all, were supportive of Plaid Cymru, of their aims and even of the action they had taken against the bombing school. The reaction must have heartened R. H. Davies and proved to him that all his labours over the years to explain and elucidate why Wales needed Plaid Cymru and why he was offering his support had not been in vain.

The following year, 1938, was when the Welsh Society of Canton, Ohio, was in the process of forming a branch of Plaid Cymru and when George E. Hopkins was actively seeking Welsh-American members for the party (see Chapter 3). All the fervent activity was reported on the pages of *The Druid* and further excitement was stirred by reports that one of the three Penyberth 'heroes' would be visiting Welsh-America in the near future (see Chapter 4). But the newspaper also carried reports of more mundane Plaid Cymru events such as an attempt, yet again, by Saunders Lewis to resign only to be persuaded once more to remain at the helm,<sup>133</sup> election contests where the party had polled a decent number of votes<sup>134</sup> and the intended 1938 Summer School in Swansea where the student movement 'Gwerin' was proposing to raise a series of socialist and radical matters.<sup>135</sup> In the March issue<sup>136</sup> there was an article by a correspondent whose name had appeared in *Y Ddraig Goch* the previous year (see Chapter 3); this was Amerigo Cambrensis who had advocated Home Rule but who, like E. Pan Jones in the nineteenth century, had expressed his unhappiness with emigration as he perceived it to betoken economic distress in the home-country. His contribution to *The Druid* was in response to the failure of Parliament to pass a Bill to appoint a Secretary of State for Wales. The heading to his missive is 'Secretary of State Needless' and it sums up his argument that the failure of the Bill would benefit Plaid Cymru who, in his words, were 'gaining ground rapidly' and 'becoming a dynamic organisation' intent on gaining Home Rule which would be a far better outcome than the appointment of a Secretary of State. His missive ended with an appeal for Welsh-American financial support for the party's newspapers:

It [i.e. Plaid Cymru] would appreciate American support... and a dollar sent to Caernarvon, the Nationalist offices, would pay for a year's subscription for *Y Ddraig Goch* and *The Welsh Nationalist*, for there is many a worse way to spend a dollar.

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<sup>133</sup> Ibid., August 1, 1938.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., December 1, 1938.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid., July 1, 1938.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., March 1, 1938. By this time *The Druid* was a monthly publication.

Nevertheless, in the following month,<sup>137</sup> it was *The Druid* and not *Y Ddraig Goch* which was to receive support: a Welsh-American reader of *The Druid* renewed his subscription because of the newspaper's efforts on behalf of Wales:

Our loyal compatriot, John Roberts (Cymro), of East Chicago, in renewing his subscription, lauds 'the dear old Druid' for fighting the battles of the Welsh and Wales with courage and determination. He declares every loyal Welsh-American should enlist to give their support to our kin in the homeland, who are fighting manfully to perpetuate the Welsh language and Cymric ideals.

These print-medium engines were vital to Plaid Cymru in its efforts to disseminate information and *The Druid's* activity on its behalf in Welsh-America was consistent and reliable.

In an editorial towards the end of 1938<sup>138</sup> the composition of the party was raised once again, with Davies noting that English journals were declaring that Plaid Cymru was made up entirely of preachers and pedagogues, thus inferring that it was an organization of the elite. He refuted their claim, citing that only 3 per cent of Plaid's membership were of these professions and asserting that the rank and file of the party belonged to 'Y Werin', the common people. But Davies had been called upon to refute a far more serious allegation at the beginning of the year,<sup>139</sup> namely accusations circulating in the London Press that Plaid Cymru was a party 'tinged with Fascism.' These were claims that were also being bandied about in Wales by Nonconformist ministers opposed to Lewis's Roman Catholicism and by critics who disliked the party's attacks on English imperialism (see Chapter One). The editor of *The Druid* had strongly denounced these claims as ploys by English journalists trying to scupper the growth of Plaid and trying to divert attention from its declared aim of self government for Wales. He had, furthermore, announced that Wales did not need London and pointed to Ireland as convincing proof of his claim, ending with the challenge that Wales also could exist without the English capital if it 'ever musters up sufficient courage to emulate Ireland,' thus acknowledging what had been aired on the newspaper's pages during this period, namely the servile behaviour of the motherland's inhabitants.

The year ended on a positive note with reports on the results of municipal council elections where both Ambrose Bebb and J. E. Daniel had polled strongly although neither had won; Bebb had come within seven votes of victory and Daniel had managed to secure 42 per

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<sup>137</sup> Ibid., April 1, 1938.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., October 1, 1938.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., May 1, 1938.

cent of the vote.<sup>140</sup> In the same issue was a summary of a speech given by Saunders Lewis at Aberystwyth, ‘A stimulating address by Saunders Lewis for autonomy for small nations, particularly Wales.’ In his address Lewis had referred to a speech by Hitler where English critics of German policy in the context of minority nations had been accused of double standards on account of their treatment of Palestine and Wales. Interestingly, said Davies, the speech had been published in the English press with the omission that Hitler had mentioned Wales.

The year 1939 began with announcements of Welsh-American support for the party and promises that an eminent member of Plaid Cymru would be visiting centres in the USA to lecture on Welsh Nationalism,<sup>141</sup> but the optimistic tone was to change suddenly on the death from influenza of the activist George E. Hopkins.<sup>142</sup> Davies, in his tribute entitled ‘Death causes great sorrow,’ would have been aware that he had lost a valuable intermediary between the paper’s expositions on Plaid Cymru and the community and he would also have realised that the working connection which was being forged between Welsh-America and the party had been broken. Nevertheless other matters were soon to take over as Davies had to begin reporting on the threat of war and on Plaid Cymru’s response to it:

Welsh Nationalists, according to resolutions adopted by the executive committee at a meeting held at Aberystwyth, will not support any war on behalf of imperialistic England.<sup>143</sup>

The same matter was being presented to the readers in June 1939<sup>144</sup> when the newspaper printed an article by J. E. Jones entitled ‘Nationalists Oppose Conscription, Leaders of the Party Demand Wales be Excluded from Provisions – To Wage Fight Against it.’ It was a report on Plaid’s Manifesto, which had been produced by the party’s Executive Committee in response to the threat of conscription, and consisted of accusations of English Empire building through militarism and through the oppression of Wales and a denial of its nationhood. With regard to expanding the Empire, the report had concluded that conscription was not to be introduced to save lives and defend territory, as they had not been threatened, but to exhibit the ‘might and wealth of the English empire,’ and, in addition, ‘to make secure the wealth and interests of the financiers and capitalists.’ Thus the evident message from Plaid was that the people of Wales should not be hoodwinked into thinking that conscription

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<sup>140</sup> Ibid., December 1, 1938.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., January 1, 1939.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., April 1, 1939.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., May 1, 1939.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., June 1, 1939.



was necessary for defence. In the context of the oppression of Wales and disregard of its nationhood, the report warned that military conscription would destroy everything from rural life, social traditions, language and way of life, to ‘the foundations of our nationhood.’ It would, said the report, ‘be the yoke of totalitarianism.’ What the party was foreseeing, of course, was the merging of the peoples of Wales into a ‘British’ system which would further erode any consciousness of nationalism which might be alive.

The report was accompanied by an editorial entitled, ‘To Fight Conscription’ which concentrated on the futility of protesting to London as the officials ‘consistently ignore every measure that deigns to improve conditions in Wales,’ a claim which had been made by the editor of *The Druid* time and time again. He had also, in one instance, remarked that even though the Welsh members of Parliament did occasionally seek to raise Welsh matters, they were howled down, and in this editorial Davies, to substantiate his point, quoted Morgan Jones, the MP for Caerffili, who had declared ‘that every measure proposed by Welsh members of Parliament for the amelioration of conditions in Wales was unceremoniously rejected.’ Davies then accused Neville Chamberlain of hypocrisy, on the basis of the latter’s assertions that conscription was imperative to safeguard small nations, averring that the Prime Minister’s aim was to use small nations as a bulwark for English imperialism and stating again that London journalists had omitted Hitler’s remark about London’s disregard of Wales. The last paragraph of the editorial is characteristic of R. H. Davies’s intense rhetoric which sought to make Wales aware of its servile condition and of its manipulation by the British Government;

Were we in Wales today we would oppose conscription of Welsh youth, not because of affiliation with Welsh Nationalists, but because of the continued contemptible manner in which London officials are endeavoring to make a political slave state of Wales. It is true, Wales has Parliamentary representatives, but their voices are always muffled with shouts of laughter and derision when advocating measures of reform for Wales. If war comes – which is not improbable – Wales should declare a war to unfetter the tentacles of the London octopus that is sapping the lifeblood of a hapless and helpless small nation.

These were the last editorial comments in *The Druid*, not only in respect of Wales and Welsh Nationalism but also in general, as the newspaper ceased publication with this issue at the beginning of June 1939. Under the editorship of R. H. Davies it had been forthright in its persistent condemnation of the treatment of Wales by the British Government and had consistently accused the Welsh members of Parliament of gross torpor and negligence. On the other hand, it had castigated the Welsh people themselves for wallowing in their servility and for refusing to recognise the imminent threat to their very identity. Davies had stressed

that the only remedy to this situation was Home Rule and, with the advent of Plaid Cymru, he had come to believe that self-government, and the later aim of Dominion Status, had become a real possibility. His belief and hope were constantly expressed on the pages of *The Druid* in words similar to those used in 1934:

The Druid, editorially and other-wise, will seek to further every worthy movement of the race, inclusive of the right of the mother country to self-government, as it is advocated by the Welsh National Party.<sup>145</sup>

He praised the new party for its sincerity in its declarations of patriotism, contrasting it with the hypocrisy and falsity of the other political parties:

We champion the cause of the Welsh National party because we are convinced its leaders are not political sycophants and that its rank and file are men and women who are imbued with genuine patriotism.<sup>146</sup>

He championed its stance over the bombing school and, seemingly, it was his arguments in favour of the incident and his constant expositions in respect of the party over the years that had led many other Welsh-Americans to express their support. His last editorial was written in support of the party's response to conscription. The only area where he disagreed with the party was in its avowals not to follow the way of Ireland by using force.

He made the pages of *The Druid* available to contributions from leading members of the party such as J. E. Jones and Mai Roberts and presented financial appeals, even offering to receive donations on the party's behalf. In his efforts to make Plaid the obvious political organization of choice for the people of Wales, he had often given the impression that it was on the verge of a big political breakthrough and had quoted membership numbers which were staggeringly out of proportion to the real figures. Under his editorship *The Druid* had become a propaganda machine for Plaid Cymru and its tone was vehemently nationalistic and far more aggressive than the more restrained Welsh-medium newspaper, *Y Drych*.

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<sup>145</sup> Ibid., February 24, 1934.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid., June 1, 1930.

## CONCLUSION

The previous chapters have depicted a fledgling and marginal political party in engagement with an emigrant community whose identity was waning. The activity between the two entities occurred on two levels, one being in the sphere of the print media and the other at an interpersonal level, involving individuals from both sides of the Atlantic.

The proactivity of the two Welsh-American newspapers, *Y Drych* and *The Druid*, in the context of providing coverage for the party made them the main hub in relations between Plaid Cymru and Welsh-America. They offered readers the opportunity to get acquainted with the party through editorials, articles and news items and the resulting correspondence was proof that they were succeeding in making Welsh-Americans aware that a new political scenario was appearing in Wales. Furthermore, the moderate, or in the case of *The Druid*, total support for Plaid Cymru, promoted the idea that Wales's survival and salvation depended upon the new political party created at Pwllheli in 1925.

Testimony to that support was the willingness of the newspapers to publish appeals requesting financial aid. But however willing the papers had been to facilitate Plaid's strategy in this context, they could not elicit success. Although the newspapers would have reached a good number of Welsh expatriates, and *The Druid* had gone so far as to provide names and contacts to which donations could be sent, even itself offering to assist by receiving donations, very little seems to have been forthcoming. A trickle of dollars did reach Plaid headquarters at various times, but they did not coincide with the relevant items in the newspapers. Reasons for the lack of response have been mooted in Chapter Four, and it is possible to conclude that Welsh-America was comfortable in offering rhetorical support but was reticent to offer any practical aid.

Initially it was probably by way of the two aforementioned newspapers that individuals such as Wendell Goodwin and George E. Hopkins had learnt of Plaid Cymru. But gradually supporters of the party had become acquainted with both *Y Ddraig Goch* and *The Welsh Nationalist*; for example 'Amerigo Cambrensis' received the former whilst Wendell Goodwin contributed articles to the latter. It is possible that some Welsh-Americans had read of Plaid Cymru in newspapers from Wales but 'Cambro American' of Plymouth, Pennsylvania, who occasionally received English-medium newspapers from the home-country, stated that they afforded very little news of the party (see Chapter Three). Whilst Welsh-language

publications such as *Y Faner* afforded the party some coverage, the extent of its circulation amongst Welsh-Americans is not known.

Thus it is reasonable to propose that the constant coverage given to Plaid Cymru by *Y Drych* and *The Druid* provided a basis for interaction to occur at a personal level. They connected nationalists in the home-country with activists in the new country. Indeed, it could be suggested that without the existence of the ethnic press in this particular instance, no transatlantic relationship would have transpired.

The activity which was generated on behalf of Plaid Cymru took various forms. Llywelyn ap Silfanus Hughes's role was to proffer advice on the methods of propagating interest in the party in Welsh-America. He believed that Plaid needed to follow the example of the Irish who had aired their grievances loudly and aggressively to their expatriate compatriots, and to the Americans in general, and had made use of the print-media in the US to further their cause. Wendell Goodwin on the other hand informed the party of his role in disseminating its policies and aims amongst the miners of Carbondale and of the intention of young Welsh-Americans to form organizations to aid Plaid Cymru. In addition he was continually expounding on the growth and strength of the party and raising its profile in general. Others such as Hobart L. Morris had been invigorated by the actions of the three at Penyberth and had specifically praised the leader, Saunders Lewis. His role was to offer his services in the sphere of funding and propaganda.

The two latter elements were also part of the intended activities of the society called 'Friends of Wales' in Canton, Ohio. The donations, the membership cards and the plan to facilitate a visit from a prominent member of Plaid to Welsh-America were all aimed at strengthening the Welsh Nationalist cause. It was an exceptionally promising Welsh-American source of support for Plaid Cymru but with the death of its leader, George E. Hopkins, all enthusiasm appears to have disappeared and the society itself seems to have become inert. Seemingly no one took his place and the prospect of a vital link on American soil was dashed.

With so much seeming promise from Welsh-America, could Plaid Cymru have availed itself of the opportunities afforded them? Could the party have continued with the avenues of contact which had been opened to them at various times? It would surely have been possible to develop and nurture relationships with certain enthusiastic individuals and with a specific society, even though its leader had passed away. Could it not have made more use of R. H. Davies and Hugh Hughes to target certain known sympathisers so as to create focii of support? How was it that such opportunities seem to have been discounted?

It is possible to offer one or two reasons for the seeming lethargy of the party as regards responding to overtures from Welsh-America. Firstly, it must be remembered that Plaid Cymru employed only one person at a time during the 1925-1945 period, namely H. R. Jones and then J. E. Jones, and both in their time were working to fulfil many roles, so that reaching out to Welsh-America would not have been the prime target. In addition, membership figures remained low throughout the twenty years and hence volunteers who were at the party's disposal and who might have helped with forging relationships with Welsh-America were not available. Another and possibly more potent explanation for the failure to forge links with the expatriates can be found in the essence of Plaid Cymru's existence. Its primary interest was Wales, its focus was Wales, and one could thereby argue that the Welsh of the United States were in no way essential to its ultimate aim, which was to remould Wales according to the specific vision of Saunders Lewis. Intermingled with his vision was the rejection which the party was experiencing in Wales. This rejection was certainly a prominent factor in his psyche during this period and may have played a part in the seeming absence of initiative on Plaid's part to take advantage of offers of support or to nurture a sympathiser in Welsh-America. It was imperative that Wales needed to be won over first and thus it was in Wales that time and effort should be vested. When Saunders Lewis in later years looked back at his political career and his political ideology, which was integral to the party's policy during 1925-1945, he made the following confession:

[I had the desire, not a small desire, a very large desire to change the history of Wales. To change the whole course of Wales and to make Welsh Wales something which was living, strong and powerful, relevant to the modern world... and I failed utterly. I was rejected by everyone. I was rejected in every election in which I had tried to be a candidate, every one of my ideas... they have all been cast aside.]<sup>1</sup>

In reality the rejection can be explained very simply: Saunders Lewis was attempting to gain Welsh support for ideas that the populace could not accept in the prevailing climate of the period. And nearly a century later, whilst some of the party's aspirations have been realised and are being put into practice, Plaid still has to convince the majority of the Welsh electorate of its relevance to their lives and that what it aspires to is what the Welsh people need also aspire to. But the emotional turmoil which Saunders Lewis experienced as a result of what he chose to classify as a rejection of his entire persona would certainly have pervaded the whole party in the specific period of his leadership and, consequently, it can be suggested that

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<sup>1</sup> J. Gwyn Griffiths, 'Saunders Lewis fel Gwleidydd,' in *Saunders Lewis*, eds. D. Tecwyn Lloyd and Gwilym Rhys Hughes (Llandybie: Christopher Davies, 1975), 78.

it was Plaid Cymru's rejection in Wales that held them back from developing further relations with the United States.

And yet in every relationship there are two components. Thus what of Welsh-America? It has been shown in this study that, apart from a few individuals acting on their own initiative, or those few who engaged with Plaid Cymru by forming a society, the majority of Welsh-Americans showed no interest in supporting Plaid Cymru either financially or through expressions of agreement with policies or aims. Possibly one of the reasons for this seeming apathy was the gradual loss of the vibrancy which had once been a part of Welsh-American consciousness, and this was due in no small measure to the dwindling of fresh inputs of émigrés from Wales who would have replenished and revitalised the language and strengthened the sense of identity. Furthermore, their ideas of an entity called 'Britain' stood in the way of any concept of an independent Wales, as did their fear of a replica Easter Rising in Wales. In addition, they had their own problems as many of them were facing abject poverty and many others were battling even to survive in the face of the Great Depression which overshadowed them from 1929 until the end of the next decade. The 1940s brought no respite from crises as they became preoccupied by the war effort. It can be thus assumed that the fortunes of a small nationalist party in a country which many of them had never seen would have been an utter irrelevance at this specific time.

Yet why should there have been an expectation that Welsh-America would or should have supported Plaid Cymru? The answer lies probably in the example of Irish-America. This, however, is not a viable comparison because of the differing fortunes of the nationalist movements in the one and the other of the home-countries, as well as the vastly variable emigration histories of the two nations. Whether the Welsh or the Irish experience is the anomaly remains unknown. This is a broad field of study, and suggestions as to who occupies the territory of the norm can only be answered as academics engage with the topic and explore the situation in respect of numerous other countries who have engendered nationalist movements and who have also witnessed emigration. From a Celtic perspective, a fascinating study which awaits academic engagement within this field, is that of Scottish emigrants in Canada and their relations with the Scottish Nationalist Party.

It is presumed that this thesis will be of interest, not only to students of Welsh politics and history, but it will also be relevant to those interested in journalism and the role of the ethnic press. Whilst the ethnic press has been the subject of academic research, and has engendered

such notable works as Sally Miller's *The Ethnic Press in the United States*,<sup>2</sup> the relationship between nationalist movements in the home-country and the ethnic press has not been examined. It is a vast field of study which awaits further research; for example, and at a more specific level, the part played by the expatriate Yemeni press in the politics of the home country, especially the Cardiff based newspaper, *Al-Salam*, mentioned in the Introduction merits further study. In the context of this specific dissertation, it is hoped that the analysis of the role of *Y Drych* and *The Druid* in the relationship between Welsh-America and Plaid Cymru, will contribute to the wider analysis of the role of the ethnic press in relation to nationalist movements.

This thesis might also be of interest to students in the field of emigration and assimilation. It would provide a Welsh perspective on the subject and exemplify the role that the Welsh language played in maintaining notions of 'Welshness' in the host country. As such, it could inform debates concerning the assimilation of immigrants into the society of the adoptive country, and could be of especial interest in the current political climate in Britain where immigrants' native languages are perceived to be barriers to integration.

In conclusion, what can be averred on the basis of the information in this thesis is that in the 1925-1945 period a few Welsh-Americans did answer 'the call of the blood' and did rally to the support of those who were striving to attain recognition for Welsh nationhood and who were seeking to emulate the struggle of Owain Glyndŵr. But the support engendered during the period did not materialise into mass financial aid or into expansive and vociferous political canvassing from the Welsh of the United States. And as for a strong and vibrant relationship or an energetic interaction those are yet to be realised, and possibly never will be.

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<sup>2</sup> Sally M. Miller, *The Ethnic Press in the United States: A Historical Analysis and Handbook* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987). Another example, but in a Welsh context, is the recent dissertation of Dr Walter Brooks on *Y Dravod*, the Welsh newspaper in Patagonia: W. A. Brooks, "Welsh Print Culture in y Wladfa: the Role of Ethnic Newspapers in Welsh Patagonia, 1868-1933 (PhD dissertation, Cardiff University, 2012). But neither work deals with the political nature of the relationship between the ethnic press and nationalist movements in the home country.

## APPENDIX

### Welsh source texts

#### Chapter 1

##### Footnote

**15**

Credaf mewn addysg fydol mewn ysgolion dyddiol ac athrofeydd; ond y mae y rhai sydd genym yn awr wedi eu cyfaddasu gydag amcan i beri i'r Cymry anghofio eu hawliau gwleidyddol. Eu hamcan yw codi y Cymry i fod yn Saeson, ac nid codi y Cymry fel Cymry. Eu nod yw difodi'r Gymraeg, a'n gwneud fel cenedl yn fwy pwrpasol i amcanion Seisnig.

**17**

A ydyw ein hiaith, ein harferion, ein crefydd a'n moesau fel cenedl, ddim yn werth eu cadw i fyny? Ac onid ydyw hanes ein cenedl yr ochr hyn i'w Werydd, yn gystal â'r ochr draw, ddim yn profi fod colli ein hiaith yn golli y tri eraill i raddau yn agos yn mhob amgylchiad; yn llwyr ar lawer tro? Dywedaf yn hyf ei fod.

**24**

Yr oedd y gwladgarwr Hungaraidd bydenwog Kossuth fel seren oleu yn ffurfafen Ewrop wedi tanio llawer enaid a'r athroniaeth anfarwol o 'hawl pob cenedl i lywodraethu ei hunan', a rhwng dylanwadau mawrion 1848, ac addysg Kossuth, nid yw cenedloedd goresgynedig Ewrop wedi ymdaweli hyd heddyw, ond edrychant yn obeithiol ym mlaen at jiwibili pobloedd a chenedloedd gorthrymedig.

**27**

Nid oes un cysondeb mewn bod dros ryddid personol, ac ymladd yn erbyn annibyniaeth a rhyddid cenedlaethol.

**28**

Mae arnom fel cenedl eisieu mudiad i gynhyrfu'r wlad o Gaergybi i Gaerdydd i waeddi am Senedd Gymreig yn Aberystwyth.

**31**

Ymreolaeth yw'r peth mawr sydd ar Gymru, Ysgotland, yn gystal a'r Iwerddon ei eisieu. Nid yw Dadgysylltiad i Gymru ond dibwys mewn cydmariaeth i Ymreolaeth.

**32**

Ni fyddai Dadgysylltiad i ni fel cenedl ddim mwy na thori ewinedd dyn claf, neu olchi ei wyneb, pan y mae efe yn galw am foddion i'w wellhau o glefyd angeuol.

**38**

Yn Michael D. Jones yr aeddfedodd yr ymdrech fwriadus i gynnal cenedligrwydd Cymru, peth na welsid mohono ers dyddiau Glyndŵr.

**43**

Da was, Taffi. Lleferaist fel y dylai gwas lefaru.



**Footnote****44**

culni ysbryd sy'n peri i Gymro siarad Cymraeg yn hytrach na Saesneg...

**45**

Dangosed y gwnelai Cymro yn gall pe newidiai ei iaith... am dair punt yr wythnos yn lle dwy.

**46**

I ni, y Gymraeg yw'r unig wrthglawdd rhyngom a diddymdra.

**48**

Y mae tynged yr iaith Gymraeg, yn dibynnu ar ewyllys y Cymry eu hunain.

**51**

Dylid cael Ymreolaeth er mwyn cadw'r Cymry yn genedl o ran teimlad a theithi meddwl.

**53**

Gollyngwch eich gafael ar wlad nad yw eiddoch, a gadewch i gynrychiolwyr y Gwyddelod ymgysarfod i ddeddfu iddynt eu hunain, yn eu gwlad eu hunain,...

**55**

Cofiwch... eich bod yn genedl, trwy ordinhad Duw;...

**60**

Danghoswch... mai dwy blaid wleidyddol yn wirioneddol a fydd yng Nghymru o hyn allan; sef plaid Gymreig a phlaid wrth-Gymreig; ac mai dileu y blaid olaf hon allan o'r tir a fydd rhagllaw eich prif waith chwi fel gwleidyddion.

**61**

nid yw'r Cymry Cymreig eto wedi ymgysfuno'n blaid wleidyddol...

**64**

Y mae'r Cymro Fydd yn gwawdio'r waedd "Cymru i'r Cymry," ac yn ceisio boddhau'r Saeson heb lwyr anfoddhau'r Cymry trwy weiddi "Lloegr i'r Lloegrwys, a Chymru i'r Cymry ac i'r Saeson." Hyd yn oed pan fydd y Cymro Fydd yn gweiddi "Cymru Gyfan," nid yw'n hawdd deall beth y mae o'n ei feddwl...

**69**

yn datgan boddhad y cyfarfod yn nychweliad cynyddol aelodau Cymreig cenedlaethol i'r Senedd...

**111**

ni ddywedwn air yn dragywydd dros genedlaetholdeb na Chymraeg pedfai modd cadw'n fyw rywsut arall gwmni bach aristocrataidd Cymreig a gadwai lèn a chelf yn ddiogel heb falio botwm am y werin daeogion. Ond gan nad oes digon ohonom eto, rhaid i ninnau beryglu ein celfyddyd a byw fel y gallom '*sous l'oeil des barbares*'.

**Footnote****146**

Mae'n anodd i ni, ac yn arbennig i'r genhedlaeth ifanc, ddirnad anferthedd y weithred. Bryd hynny, roedd ymerodraeth Prydain yn rheoli chwarter y byd a'r meddylfryd imperialaidd yn parhau.

**153**

Gan mai i aelodau'r Blaid Genedlaethol yn unig yr anfonir y cyfarwyddiadau hyn, cymerir yn ganiataol... mai o fewn y cylch cenedlaethol y bydd yr holl ateb yn troi...

**157**

Am y mwyafrif o aelodau'r Blaid, – pobl o dueddiadau gwerinol a radicalaidd ydynt, o duedd chwith os mynnwch. Daeth llawer ohonynt i'r Blaid Genedlaethol o'r Blaid Lafur, daeth llawer o'r Blaid Rhyddfrydol, ac yr oedd y mwyafrif o'r gweddill yn bobl na pherthynent i'r un blaid, ond yr oeddent yn sicr o dueddiadau radicalaidd. Ni ddaeth neb i'r blaid o ddisgyblion Arglwydd Rothermere a'r 'Daily Mail', ac eto, i fesur agwedd y 'Daily Mail' yw'r agwedd a fabwysir ym mhapurau'r Blaid ar lawer o gwestinyau ar wahan i broblemau cartref Cymru. Y mae aelodau [*sic*] Blaid, laweroedd ohonynt, yn anesmwyth ar gyfrif hyn, ond yn rhy deyrngar, ac yn enwedig felly yn rhy deyrngar yn bersonol i Mr Saunders Lewis, i ddywedyd na sgrifennu rhyw lawer ar y mater.

**158**

Yr oedd Saunders Lewis yn feddyliwr adain-dde digymrodedd mewn gwlad ac iddi ddiwylliant gwleidyddol radicalaidd, adain chwith.

**Chapter 2****122**

Y mae rhannau helaeth o dalaith Wisconsin, a fu'n Gymraeg flynyddoedd yn ôl, yn hollol Saesneg heddiw; hynny yw, cyn belled ag y mae addoli yn y Gymraeg yn y cwestiwn, a heb ddylanwad yr eglwysi, marw y mae'r iaith a phopeth arall Cymreig.

**123**

y mae amryw o deuluoedd yn Chicago a ddaeth yma o wahanol rannau o Gymru yn ystod yr ugain mlynedd ddiwethaf a'u plant wedi eu geni yng Nghymru, ond y plant hyn erbyn heddiw – y genhedlaeth gyntaf cofier – *wedi colli eu Cymraeg!*

**136**

Credwn na fu iddo erioed dueddu ei feddwl a'i amcan i weled Cymru yn cael ei gwerthu yn gaethwlad i Loegr.

**144**

Pam nad arhosant yn Nghymru os nad ydynt yn ddigon rhyddfrydig i angenion cymdeithas mewn gwlad newydd?

**Footnote****145**

ni fydd ein hiaith na'n cenedl ni byw yn hir! Gadewch iddi huno mewn heddwch!

**147**

Gwn am enghreifftiau lle y casheir y Cylch Cymreig gan bobl ieuainc, oherwydd fod eu rhieni yn gwneud 'nuisance' o'u cenedlaetholdeb...

**Chapter 3****2**

A ydyw'n bosibl i ddyn sydd yn treulio'r rhan fwyaf o'i amser mewn gwledydd tramor ddod yn aelod o'r Blaid Genedlaethol?... I ni sydd yn byw mewn gwledydd estronol, mae yn bur amlwg hefyd mai ychydig o estroniaid sydd yn sylweddoli fod yna unrhyw wahaniaeth rhwng Cymro a Sais. Dymunaf i chwi bob llwyddiant gyda'r gwaith; ewch ymlaen a daw rhagor o Gymry o fis i fis i weld mai unig obaith ein gwlad yw torri'n rhydd wrth lywodraeth ymerodrol Lloegr.

**3**

Cyhoeddwn y llythyr diddorol hwn fel enghraifft o'r modd y mae Cymry ar hyd a lled y byd yn manwl ddilyn cwrs bywyd Cymru, ac am gynorthwyo cenedlaetholdeb ein cenedl.

**6**

Yma y mae'n amhosibl cadw mewn cyffyrddiad â symudiadau'r Blaid Genedlaethol yn ddigon manwl i'm bodloni .

**8**

Y peth doethaf i'r Ford, os nad yw yn gweld lygad-yn-llygad a'r Blaid, yw cau ei cheg.

**14**

Wele gynllun a'm tarawodd i'n sydyn wrth wrando cynnwys dogfen ymddiorseddiad y Brenin dros y radio heddiw. Cynllun ffantastig ddigon, bid siwr, ond un i'w drafod ac un fuasai'n gweithio. Gofynnwch i'r diweddar frenin Iorwerth VIII a fuasai ef yn dod i fyw i Gymru fel tywysog arnoch pe caech chwi ymreolaeth a châniatâd [*sic*] cyfreithiol i hynny gan Lywodraeth Loegr.

**15**

Oni chaech chi bob copa walltlog o bob plaid yng Nghymru i'ch cefnogi?

**17**

Rwy'n caru'r Basgiaid. Y maent yn bobl falch, annibynnol... Mae gennym ni, ym Mhrydain Fawr, wlad sy'n fy atgofio am daleithiau'r Basgiaid. Honno yw Cymru.

**18**

Rhaid rhoi ffordd i lawer o fân bethau na hoffwn hwynt cyn y cawn y radd leiaf o hunan-lywodraeth. Dyma gyfle. Ewch ati ar unwaith.

**Footnote****19**

Diau mai dyma'r newyddiadur politicaidd bywiocaf o ddigon yng Nghymru ar hyn o bryd.

**21**

Rhaid i'r Blaid... lyncu cyfran, beth bynnag, o ryw fath o Sosiolaeth.

**27**

Gwelais ar un llaw arwyddion bywyd ac urddas a gobaith, – llu o Gymru [*sic*] yn argyhoeddedig ynghylch dyfodol y Genedl a'r Iaith. Gwelais ar y llaw arall dorf o fwtlerod gwasaidd nad ynt deilwng o enw Cymry, yn fodlon er mwyn ffasiwn i'w gwlad fynd yn domen. Rhaid iddynt cyn bo hir wrthdaro. Rhaid galw ein pobl i'r gad.

**31**

Parthed ymfudo Cymry i Loegr, ychydig, ys dywed 'Celt', sy'n debyg o ddysgu Cymraeg i'w plant. Ond adwaen Gymry a anwyd yma yn New York, ac hyd yn oed yng Nghalifornia, sy'n siarad Cymraeg mor rhugl a [*sic*] phe ganesid hwy yng Nghymru.

**36**

Mab i Gymro ydyw ein prif Farnwr, twrnai uchaf y wlad, Charles Evans Hughes. Cymro arall hefyd yw[*r*] arweinydd llafur ymosodol, John Llewelyn Lewis.

**37**

Ond y mae'n syndod i mi fod cenedl y Cymry wedi goddef yr amodau hyn mor hir ac mor amyneddgar ac [*sic*] yr ymddengys iddynt wneuthur.

**38**

Dylid argraffu'r ffeithiau economiadd ar y bobl a'u dysgu eu bod yn gwbl abl i dalu am ymreolaeth. Gellir cymryd Gogledd Iwerddon fel esiampl, talaith nad yw ei phoblogaeth gymaint â Cymru.

**39**

Pan fyddaf yn trafod problemau Cymru gyda chyfeillion nad oes ond ychydig ohonynt yn dymuno ymreolaeth iddi, cythruddir fi i'w clywed yn dadlau nad yw Cymru yn barod i ymreolaeth neu na all Cymru fforddio ymreolaeth, neu nad yw Cymru eto'n ddigon profiadol i gael ymreolaeth.

**66**

Ym mhrif-ddinas Unol Daleithiau America, ym mis Mehefin, sefydlwyd Cymdeithas gyda'r enw 'Cyfeillion Cymru' (friends of the Welsh people) i gynorthwyo'r mudiad cenedlaethol yng Nghymru...

**Footnote****80**

Mae llawer eisoes wedi ymuno a Chyfeillion Cymru; ein gobaith a'n hapel yw y sefydlir canghenau ymhob tref ac ardal yn America lle mae Cymry yn byw oherwydd yn y lleoedd hyny y mae darn bach o Gymru. Dymunwn weld y manau Cymreig oll yn llosgi dros ryddid Cymru.

**85**

Y Blaid mewn Gwledydd Tramor

Cyfeillion Cymru: Y cam pwysicaf oedd sefydlu 'Cyfeillion Cymru' yn yr Unol Daleithiau. Pasiwyd penderfyniad, yn niwedd 1937, gan Gymdeithas Gymreig-Americanidd Canton, Ohio, yn cymeradwyo gwaith y Blaid yn ymladd dros ddelfrydau Cymru ac yn gwrthwynebu'r ysgol fomio yn Llŷn, ffurfiwyd pwyllgor, gyda llywydd y Gymdeithas, sef Mr. George Emrys Hopkins, yn gadeirydd, a sefydlwyd cangen gyntaf mudiad i gynorthwyo'r Blaid Genedlaethol.

Erbyn dechrau Gorffennaf eleni, yr oedd y mudiad newydd 'Cyfeillion Cymru,' wedi ei gyhoeddi ym mhapurau'r Cymry yn yr Unol Daleithiau – *Y Druid* a'r *Ddrych* [sic], a'r cardiau aelodaeth wedi eu hanfon i Mr George E. Hopkins.

Disgwyliwn y bydd i'r mudiad hwn ledu'n gyflym, y sefydlir canghennau o 'Gyfeillion Cymru ar hyd a lled y byd, yn ystod y flwyddyn sy'n dyfod.

**88**

Pasiwyd yn unfrydol fy mod i ar ran y Clwb i gyfarch y brodyr fel gwladgarwyr Cymru o'r fath orau, a dywedyd wrthynt eu bod yn haeddu ein parch a'n cariad fel cenedl ym mhob ran o'r byd.

**91**

Gwelaf yn ol adroddiad y 'Daily Post' o'r gynhadledd yn Aberystwyth fod y Blaid Genedlaethol yn bwriadu anfon cynrychiolydd i'r Unol Daleithiau ynghlyn a'r symudiad 'Friends of Wales'

**95**

pan oedd prawf y tri gwron yn cael ei gynnal yn Llundain yr oedd newyddiaduron America yn llawn o'r hanes, a phe buasai un o'r tri wedi anturio yma y pryd hwnnw, pan oedd y brwdfrydedd yn amlwg, sicr yw y cawsai dderbyniad gwresog.

**106**

Yn ystod y blynyddoedd diwethaf bum yn byw o amgylch Efrog Newydd, ac felly nid wyf wedi gweld rhyw lawer o'r trefedigaethau Cymreig.

**117**

Diau mai diddorol i Gymry'n gwlad fydd deall yr arfaethai Plaid Genedlaethol Cymru i ddwyn cwynion Cymru yn erbyn Lloegr gerbron Mr. Welles. Trefnwyd i ddangos iddo hawl Cymru i'w rhyddid cenedlaethol mewn unrhyw gynllun heddwch a eill ddyfod ar ol y rhyfel presennol.

**Footnote****118**

Eglurwn i Mr Sumner Wells na ellir trefnu rhyddid gwledydd bychain Ewrob heb sicrhau rhyddid i Gymru hefyd. Yr un yw'r egwyddor o ryddid i Ffinland, Pwyl, a Siecwslofacia, a rhyddid i Gymru. Ni bydd cyfiawnder yn Ewrob, na map newydd Ewrob yn gywir, oni bo Cymru yn rhydd.

**119**

Cydnabod yr egwyddor o ryddid cydradd pob gwladwriaeth fach a mawr, sefydlu'r egwyddor bod raid rhwyddhau'r llwybr i ryddid a hunan-lywodraeth i bob cenedl sy'n deisyf rhyddid.

**121**

dywedoddd Mr Sumner Welles... mai'r egwyddorion hanfodol yw

1. Gofalu nad amherir ddim ar hawliau cynhenid cenedloedd, sef eu rhyddid;
2. Hyrwyddo sefydlu cyfundrefn gydwladol.

**123**

Nid yw holl ymdrechion y Swyddfa Bropropaganda, holl areitho Chamberlain, a holl bregethu Archesgobion Caergaint a Chaerefrog, wedi llwyddo eto i greu unrhyw sicrwydd ymhlith pobl gyffredin Lloegr pam a thros beth y maent yn ymladd. Yn y rhyfel diwethaf gwyddai pawb yr atebion i'r cwestiynau hynny. Ymladd yr oedd Lloegr dros ddemocratiaeth, dros hawliau gwledydd bychain, dros santeiddrwydd cytundebau, dros wareiddiad, dros fyd gwell i ddynion fyw ynddo, yn fyr dros Dduw, yn erbyn Kaiseriaeth a thrais ymerodrol a thor addewid, a Kultur ac Annuw.

**Chapter 4****8**

Mi fum i a chyfaill o Sais... yn ystyried yn ddifrifol iawn ymuno a'r bobl yma. Byddem wedi cael croeso a lloches ganddyn nhw.

**12**

Y mae gan aelodau gyfeillion a thylwyth a pherthnasau ym mhob ran o'r wlad ac o'r byd; trwy lythyrau personol, efallai y ceir cyfraniadau hael ganddynt.

**23**

Dyma ni yn derbyn cais am gynorthwy oddiwrth Blaid Genedlaethol Cymru yr hon sydd newydd ei sefydlu.

**24**

Ceir eithafwyr yn America yn baldorddi am ein methiant a'n 'dyledswyddau' i ddysgu Cymraeg i'n plant, a galwant ni i gyfrif yn galed am y fath esgeulustod enbydus

**25**

os nad yn ymarferol yng Nghymru ei hun, sicr yw ei bod yn anymarferol mewn gwlad ddyiethr.

**Footnote****26**

Siaredwch wrthynt yn Gymraeg  
A buddiol fydd eich gwaith

**28**

hael eu haddewidion, ond, ysywaeth, bychan eu cyflawniadau

**29**

At bob Cymro a Chymraes yn Nghymru ac ar wasgar erfyniwn trwy hyn o lythyr am eich cefnogaeth i'r Blaid Genedlaethol Gymreig. A gawn ni eich cefnogaeth chwi...?

**32**

Dywed ein trioedd fod tri pheth y dylai Cymro eu caru o flaen dim: cenedl y Cymry, defodau a mesurau'r Cymry, ac iaith y Cymry. I ddiogelu'r tri pheth hyn y cysegra'r blaid ei hun...

**34**

Apel oddiwrth ieuenctyd Cymru at Gymry'r America  
Y Blaid Genedlaethol, trwy ei hysgrifenydd, yn gofyn am gynorthwy.

**35**

Plaid o bobl ieuainc yw, y rhai sydd wedi penderfynu enill yn ol i Gymru ei hawliau cenedlaethol.

**37**

A gynorthwywch chwi ninau i fynu a hawlio ein rhyddid?

**38**

Apeliwn atoch felly, ein cydwladwyr yn yr Americ, yn enw Duw a greodd genhedloedd y byd, cynorthwywch ni i fyw ein hawliau.

**39**

Rhois Wyddelod sy'n trigo yn yr Americ gynorthwy sylweddol i achos rhyddid yn yr Iwerddon; trwy eu cynorthwy hwy y gorfodwyd Lloegr i dynu yn ol ei dwrn dur oddiar y genedl hono.

**40**

Cynorthwywch ni... A'r unig ffordd y gellwch wneuthur hynny yw trwy anfon rhoddion i frwydro ein brwydrau yn erbyn llywodraeth yr estron...

**44**

Beth a ellir ei wneyd tra parha y Cymry i droedlyfu y Saeson?

**46**

Pa foddion sydd gan y 'blaid newydd' i gyfarfod y dylanwadau anghymreigaidd a Hengistaidd ydynt yn codi o fwyafrif y genedl ei hun?

**Footnote****47**

Mae hon yn nod uchel i ‘blaid’ wleidiadol ac yn apelio at uchelgais a gweddi ddwys pob Cymro cenedlgarol; cwbl ddilead undeb sydd agos i fil o flynyddoedd o oedran ac wedi ei greu trwy gydsyniad gwirfoddol Lloegr a Chymru.

**50**

Pa ddefnydd wneir o gyfranadau Cymry America (os gwneir hwynt) i ddwyn oddiamgylch y sylweddau a geisir?

**53**

Y mae awdurdod gormesol Loegr yn Nhy'r Cyffredin wedi troi clustfyddar ar bob cais i leddfu cyni glowyr y De.

**54**

Gwnaem aberthau rhesymol i warchodi yr hen genedl ac iaith ein tadau; ond beth allwn wneyd tra mae y Cymry eu hunain yn tynu i lawr y mur i dderbyn y march pren i frysio eu dinystr? Dylai'r apelwyr ein hysbysu beth a pha fodd y lluddir y ‘gorlifiad.’

**56**

Gobeithio y caiff y Blaid Genedlaethol bob cefnogaeth yn yr Amerig.

**57**

Ofer fyddai dysgwyl yr un fath o gymorth ag a roddwyd i'r Ywerddon gan Wyddelod America.

**60**

Na, diolch i Dduw, y mae genym ormod o synwyr cyffredin i fod yn ddall i rinweddau dirif Prydain Fawr.

**62**

A allwn ni wasanaethu dau arglwydd sef yr Ysbryd Cymreig, neu yr Ysbryd Prydeinig, ac ar yr un pryd yr Ysbryd Americanaidd?

**63**

Dwn i ddim p'un ai wyf yn credu mewn Home Rule neu Independence i Gymru ai peidio.

**64**

Rhaid cofio fod y Cymro wedi bod dan ormes y Sais am ganrifoedd. Y mae hyn wedi magu ofn ynddo a'r ofn hwn wedi magu drachefn waseidd-dra ac hunan iselhad...

**67**

Paham na? Nid oes reswm yn erbyn, ond pob reswm o blaid. Dim ond anwybodaeth neu ddiffyg dynoldeb barai i neb o honom oddef iau greulon a sarhaus y Saeson...

**68**

fod hunan-lywodraeth gyflawn i Gymru – yn cynnwys Mynwy – yn anheggor er dadblygiad ein cenedl... Hyn yw mae bodolaeth barhaol Cymro a Chymraes yn gyplysedig a llywodraeth Gymreig.



**Footnote****69**

Swyddogion y Blaid Genedlaethol yn gofyn am gymorth eu cyd-wladwyr yn yr America.

**72**

Mae'r hen genedl heddyw mewn perygl colli einioes, yr iaith ar drengi, hen draddodiadau a delfrydau ar fin cael eu colli, a'r bobl ieuainc wedi deffro i'r perygl sydd o'u blaenau...

**73**

Rhaid... dryllio yr hualau sydd yn ein cysylltu a Lloegr, a mynu yr hawl i benderfynu ein tynged ein hunain, trwy ddod unwaith eto yn wlad rydd.

**74**

Y mae i America ramant ysblenydd fel cynorthwydd gwledydd bychan ar lwybr rhyddid. Bydded iddynt ddangos mewn modd effeithiol eu bod yn caru yn wirioneddol hen wlad eu tadau ac yn barod i neyd eu rhan i gael rhyddid i genedl y Cymry...

**75**

Haner canrif o gysgu eto ag ni bydd dim yn aros, ond mewn coflyfrau hanes...

**76**

Llesteirir ein gwaith yn fawr gan ddiffyg cyllid; apeliwn yn daer am gynorthwy genych. Pwy etyb yr alwad?

**99**

Fe arfaethir ein cynorthwyo'n ariannol hefyd... cyfeirio yr ydwyf at y cydymdeimlad a estynnir inni gan Gymry America yn ein hymdrech dros Gymru, ac at waith godidog y papur pythefnosol, y 'Druid' yn cyhoeddi efengyl y Blaid... O'r holl 'Gymry oddicartref,' Cymry America sy'n ledio'r ffordd i 'Achub Cymru.'

**115**

Yn olaf a gaf i ddiolch i bawb yn America a gyfranodd i Gronfa Gwyl Ddewi'r Blaid Genedlaethol. Os oes rhai eto heb anfon bydd Swyddfa'r Blaid yng Nghaernarfon yn falch iawn o glywed oddiwrthynt. Y mae'r angen yn wir fawr.

**Chapter 5****8**

Mae ufuddhau i wlad weithiau yn fwy o ddyledswydd nag ufuddhau i fam a thad.

**12**

hyfryd yw deall ddarfod i olygydd Y Drych sgrifennu at y trefnydd dro'n ol i gynnig colofnau'r papur pwysig hwnnw at ein gwasanaeth fel plaid.

**14**

Nid heb sail y cwynid; rhaid yw cyfaddef.

**Footnote****15**

Mae pob ymdrech sydd yn proffesu bod o les i'r wlad yn haeddu sylw ac ymchwiliad.

**19**

Nid oes gennym neb o wyr enwog Cymru yn ein mysg, neb o'r hen arweinwyr politicaidd, na nemor neb o'r beirdd mawr na'r llenorion profedig na'r athrawon enwog.

**23**

Yn y Western Mail y dydd o'r blaen dywedodd yr Athraw Ifor Evans mai prif nodwedd ieuenctyd Lloegr er y rhyfel yw diffyg gweledigaeth a brwdfrydedd. Nid ydys yn sicr bod dim yn werth byw ac ymgolli er ei fwyn. Wel, y mae ieuenctyd Cymru gan hynny yn annhebyg ddigon i'r Saeson, a'r Blaid Genedlaethol yw gweledigaeth y Cymry ieuainc ar ol y rhyfel.

**27**

Gresyn yw hyn, oblegid prun bynag a allwn uno a hi ai peidio, rhaid cyfaddef ei bod yn codi hawliau'r genedl i sylw mewn modd nas gwnaed gan yr un blaid arall.

**32**

Yn sicr oni cheir gan y mudiadau hyny barchu ein cenedl, y mae'n llawn bryd hyrwyddo'r Blaid Genedlaethol. Oblegid y mae'r pleidiau politicaidd yn fwy pechadurus na neb yn hyn o beth, ac eithrio ambell air Cymraeg adeg etholiad.

**33**

Beth ond canlyniad deffroad cenedlaethol sydd tu ol i'r blaid genedlaethol yn Nghymru heddyw?

**34**

Gwir nad yw y blaid hon wedi enill llawer o dir, ond y mae yn dangos yr ysbryd newydd sydd wedi ymaflyd yn y genedl.

**38**

am y presennol ceir y Blaid Genedlaethol yn mynd ar gynydd yng Nghymru.

**39**

[Mae] pob plaid boliticaidd arall yng Nghymru yn blaid Seisnig oherwydd ei bod yn anfon cynrychiolwyr i San Steffan gan gydnabod felly fod Cymru yn rhan o Loegr.

**41**

Rhaid i Gymru ddysgu meddwl yn wleidyddol drosti ei hun... meddwl amdani ei hun fel cenedl.

**43**

Y mae ganddi ymgeisydd yn Sir Gaernarfon a hona y bydd iddi ei ethol, ac y bydd hyny yn gychwyniad rhagorol i'r blaid.

**Footnote****45**

Nis gall unrhyw Gymro fod heb gyd-ymdeimlad a nod y blaid, beth bynnag feddylir am ei chynlluniau, a'r moddau a fabwysiaida i ddwyn oddiamgylch y chyfnewidiadau [*sic*] a ddymuna.

**48**

Ai tybed fod dydd cenedlaetholdeb wedi myned heibio a'r egwyddor wedi ymgolli mewn egwyddor ehangach?

**49**

Hwyrffrydig ydyw pob llywodraeth wedi bod i roddi annibyniaeth i bobl a ddigwyddant fod wedi eu darostwng ganddynt. Dyma gymeriad Prydain. Oedodd hyd nes raid roddi hunan-lywodraeth i'r Iwerddon ac ni fyn son am annibyniaeth i Gymru.

**51**

Y mae arnom ofn nas gellir adfeddianu Cymru i'w thrigolion gwreiddiol heb i'r wlad gael ryw ffurf o annibyniaeth a'i galluoga i osod y terfynau angenrheidiol i'r pwrpas hwnw. Nid yw hyn yn tybio tori pob cysylltiad a'r deyrnas Brydeinig... Ond yn sicr dylai Cymru gael yr hawl a'r cyfleusderau i lywodraethu ei hun ac i gael ei llais yn nghyngorau y gwledydd a'r cenhedloedd.

**52**

Y mae yr ysbryd cenedlaethol yn myned ar gynydd yn Nghymru.

**56**

Y mae llawer o son am ymreolaeth i Gymru ac y mae y blaid wedi dyfod i fodolaeth i'r perwyl hwnw, sef y Blaid Genedlaethol.

**58**

Mae y cynygion hyn yn rhai campus. A ydynt yn weithiadwy? Mae rhai o dalentau goreu'r genedl heddyw yn perthyn i'r Blaid Genedlaethol, ac yn hyderu y bydd i Gymru ryw ddydd gael hunan-lywodraeth... Ai tybed y gwelir y dydd pan y caiff yr Hen Wlad hunan-lywodraeth?

**59**

Feallai y gwelir y dydd pryd y bydd Cymru yn gofalu am ei achosion a'i helyntion ei hunan. Nid ydyw Glyndwr wedi marw; mae ei ysbryd mor fyw ag erioed heddyw yn Nghymru.

**61**

Clywir llawer o ganmol a llawer o feio ar y blaid a'i chynlluniau. Nis gellir sylwi ar yr agwedd yna yn awr. Rhaid cyfaddef fod ynddi, fodd bynag, frwdfrydwyr lawer, ac ychydig obaith sydd am lwyddiant unrhyw fudiad neu achos os na cheir rhai felly yn y rhengoedd.

**63**

Ni roddir addysg boliticaidd fel y cyfryw o gwbl yn yr ysgol. Nid creu dadleuwyr nac arweinwyr lleol i'r Blaid Genedlaethol fydd yr amcan.

**Footnote****65**

credir y bydd crynhodeb o'r hyn ymddengys yn yr ysgrif o gryn ddiddordeb i lawer o Gymry yn y Talaethau a Chanada. Mae llawer o ddarllenwyr Y Drych yn cymeryd dyddordeb mawr yn y Blaid Genedlaethol, ac yn awyddus am gadw mewn cysylltiad a'r mudiad pwysig hwn.

**66**

Ymddengys fod y Blaid Genedlaethol yn enill tir yn barhaus yn Nghymru, ac fod cangenau blodeuog wedi ac yn parhau i gael eu sefydlu ar hyd a lled Cymru. Beth fydd tynged y Blaid, amser a ddengys. Dylid cofio, fodd bynag, fod rhai o wyr amlycaf y genedl yn perthyn iddi, dynion a merched yn llawn sel a chariad angerddol at eu gwlad, ei hiaith a'i thraddodiadau.

**70**

Clywais ym mhellach nis gwn ai gwir, fod un o leiaf o brif arweinwyr y Blaid yn dweyd mai ail beth ydyw'r iaith yn ei bolisi.

**71**

Os ail beth yw'r iaith i'r Blaid Genedlaethol dyledswydd pob Cymro fydd gwneuthur ei oreu i sicrhau na bydd y Blaid yn llwyddiant.

**72**

Nid ail beth yw'r iaith Gymraeg yn y Blaid yn ol y penderfyniadau a wnaed droion ganddi.

**75**

Yn ddiweddar profodd y blaid fod ochr economaidd bywyd Cymru mor bwysig yn ei golwg a'r ochr ddiwyllianol. Credant y dylid datblygu buddiannau Cymru er mwyn Cymry ac nid er lles a budd cenedloedd eraill y byd.

**76**

Os llwyddir i roddi'r cynllun mewn gweithediad bydd o wir werth i Gymru, ond rhaid wrth ddyfalbarhad a chydweithrediad calonnog i'w gario allan yn llwyddiannus.

**82**

Bu bradwriaeth erchyll yn yr Iwerddon yn ystod y Rhyfel Mawr. Collodd Prydain filoedd o'i meibion glewaf mewn canlyniad i'r bradwriaeth hwnnw. Ac nid yn fuan yr anghofir y Lusitania a'i chriw a'i theithwyr. Yn fy nhyb i nis gall Prydain ganiatau gweriniaeth i'r Iwerddon ar unrhyw delerau. Os rhaid gan yr Iwerddon ei gael, ca ef mewn gwaed.

**84**

Dyma brif elyn cenedlaetholdeb ac iaith Cymru – cynhalwyr dwylo yr imperialwyr trahaus Seisnig.

**85**

plaid arall o darddiad a rhagolwg Seisnig

**Footnote****86**

Fe welir ar unwaith mai cynffon Lloegr yw Cymru, a gellid dangos drwy ffigyrau ymhob cysylltiad economaidd y dioddefa Cymru yn anghymarol fwy na Lloegr gan nad ym mha sefyllfa y bo'r wlad honno.

**87**

Gymry'r America! Ai difater gennych chwi ein colli ni?

**88**

Hawdd iawn yw gweiddi am Ymreolaeth, heb ystyriaeth i'r canlyniadau. Teimla llawer o Gymry na waeth ganddynt gael eu rheoli o Lundain nag o Gaerdydd. Yn un peth, haws yw mynd i Lundain nag i Gaerdydd i ymdrin a materion ariannol, a phob materion eraill, o ran hynny!

**89**

Bydd colli ei arweinyddiaeth yn ddyrnod drom i'r blaid yng Nghymru. Ni fedd ei gyffelyb ef yn ei rhengau. Efe ydoedd ei 'driving force.' Efe yw'r disglafiaf o'i haelodau. Yr oedd mwy o push ynddo nag mewn ugain o ddyrnion cyffredin.

**91**

Cywilydd cenedl y Cymry yw hynny a ddengys yn glir sut y bu i'r Sais ofalu fod pob prif-ffordd masnach yn gyfryw ag i dynnu mer esgyrn cyfoeth Cymru allan ohoni.

**92**

Dengys hyn fel y gall rhai pobl diegwyddor werthu delfrydau uchel am seigiau isel-wael eu mympwyon eu hunain.

**93**

Gwerthwyd y... ddelfryd hon gan Ryddfrydwyr Cymru a phwy, gan hynny, a alarnadai dranc plaid fel hon?

**94**

Gymry America! Pwy ohonoch na ddeisyf weld gwared eich Henwlad rhag y pydrni hwn?

**96**

Rhyw syniad poblogaidd yw mai 'freaks' ydynt.

**97**

Nid yw'r hen Gymro hen ffasiwn wedi maddau i'r colegau am newid dull, ac iselhau dawn ei bulpud.

**98**

Mor bell ag y gellir casglu, nid yw'r Blaid Genedlaethol yn enill tir ymhlith y werin bobl. Y mae'n fwy ymdrechgar a byw na'r un blaid arall...

**Footnote****100**

Y mae Cymru yn dechrau meddwl am bethau o safbwynt cenedlaethol Cymreig a diau mai'n dymuniad fel Cymry oddicartre ydyw am i Gymru fynnu ei hawliau ac i gymeryd ei lle priodol ymysg gwledydd y byd.

**101**

Cred eraill mai Imperialaeth Prydain Fawr a gyfrif am gyflwr Ewrob heddiw. 'Grab and keep' fu arwyddair Prydain ar hyd y blynyddoedd.

**102**

Dylid sylweddoli nad buddiol yw cefnogi cynllun a ddena ymosodiadau, ac a dyrr fedd i egwyddorion heddwch.

**103**

Haedda'r Blaid Genedlaethol glod dibrin am alw sylw Cymru at y perygl i Gymru o golli pethau anrhaethol [*sic*] fwy eu gwerth na'r hysbysrwydd a'r aur a ddaw iddi trwy'r Ysgol Fomio.

**105**

Mewn canlyniad i hyn bydd dros gant o'r gweithwyr heb waith am beth amser.

**106**

Y cwestiwn a ymgyfyd yn naturiol ydyw, onid yw safle ddaearyddol Lloegr, Cymru a'r Alban yn gyfryw i'w gorfodi i gydweithredu gyda'r mesur priodol o hunan-amddiffyniad i'r hen ynys?

**107**

Gellid trefnu mesur helaeth o hunan-lywodraeth i'r tair cenedl...

**108**

Hyd nes y dysga cenhedloedd y byd fyw mewn heddwch, ymddengys fod hunan-amddiffyniad rhag gormeswyr yn angenrheidiol.

**109**

Nid yw'r cenedlaetholwr yn basiffist – gweithred ryfelgar oedd llosgi'r adeiladau. Gwrthyd y cenedlaetholwr ymladd dros Brydain, ond fe ymladd dros Gymru os bydd rhaid.

**117**

A ydym ni, Gymry sy'n myned i gyfarfodydd y Cymmrodorion ac i'r Cymdeithasau Cymraeg i ymffrostio yn ein gwlatgarwch yn myned i adael i ddyrnaid o Saeson ac o wrth-Gymry gam-drin ein meibion?

**120**

Rhaid fu gadael amryw o ysgrifau o'r rhifyn hwn er rhoddi cyfle i'n darllenwyr i ddarllen hanes praw y tri Chymro yn Llundain.

**Footnote****121**

Diau y cytunir na allai'r llys eu gollwng yn rhydd yn wyneb y ffaith iddynt gyfaddef mai hwy a losgodd yr ysgol fomio yn Lleyn.

**122**

Ymddengys mai gwell ganddo ydyw gwranddo ar haeriadau sylfaenedig ar ddiogelwch adar ac elyrch a physgod nac ar gri gwlad a gar ei thraddodiadau.

**123**

A oes gan gerbyd argyhoeddiad hawl i ddreifio ymlaen trwy olau coch deddf gwlad?

**124**

Geill y Cymry hynny yn America a arfaetha ymweld yn yr hen wlad yr haf dyfodol gofio hyn, gan gadw draw o bob dathliad y coroniad.

**126**

Nid oes amheuaeth o gwbl nad yw gwaith yr awdurdodau yn symud y praw i Lundain wedi cynhyrchu teimlad o ddicter dwfn yng Nghymru ac ym mhlith Cymry ym mhobman... Credwn fod yr ymddygiad hwn tuag at dri oedd yn ceisio amddiffyn eu hunain mewn llys barn wedi creu ysbryd Cenedlaethol newydd na welwyd ei debyg ers llawer dydd.

**127**

Yng Nghaernarfon y bu'r gwir braw, ac nid tri Chymro a dodwyd yn y doc, eithr llywodraeth annynol a Ffasgaid Lloegr.

**128**

Y mae un o'r tri troseddwyd yn gogwyddo'n beryglus drwm at Rufain. Pe y buasem yn byw yng Nghymru ac yn ddinesydd Prydeinig buasai'n well gennym gael ein llywodraeth[u] [o] Lundain gyda'i ddiffygion tybiedig nag o Rufain a'i Mussolini a'i lu 'jingosaidd.'

**132**

Trefnwyd gyda Swyddfa'r Blaid Genedlaethol yng Nghymru i gyhoeddi yn fisol ar waith y Blaid yng Nghymru. Diau y bydd yr ysgrifau o ddiddordeb amlwg i'n darllenwyr – Gol.

**133**

Trwy garedigrwydd Golygydd Y Drych caf y cyfle i draethu yn fisol ar hanes a pholisi'r Blaid Genedlaethol.

**136**

Disgwylaswn iddo fod yn ddigon gonest i addef na chynnwys cyfansoddiad Plaid Genedlaethol Cymru dorri'n rhydd oodiwrth Lloegr, oblegid na fuasai polisi felly namyn ffiloreg ddiymadferth, a phraw o ddiffyg synnwyr cyffredin.

**Footnote****137**

Y mae cymharu awdurdod talaith yn yr America i'r hyn a ofyna y Blaid Genedlaethol am dano i Gymru yn anheg. Cenedl yn byw yn ei gwlad ei hun yw cenedl y Cymry. Hwy a'i trodd o ddifffawthwch yn erddi ffrwythlon ac a adeiladodd ei chyfryngau diwylliant, ei chartrefi a'i themlau. Y mae ganddi fywyd wedi ei seilio ar draddodiadau gwych a sefydliadau i amaethu'r bywyd hwnnw yn nwylo ei gwerin nad oes gan werin unrhyw wlad wareiddiedig eu gwell, os cystal.

**138**

Gadawaf y mater i ystyriaeth darllenwyr Y Drych. Pwy rydd 'ddur ar yr olwyn?'

**141**

am iddi gredu fod dyn yn greadigaeth Duw, yn fod urddasol a gwerthfawr, am iddi gredu fod holl nodweddion ffafriaeth yn ddrwg, am iddi gredu yng ngwerth traddodiad gwledig a Christnogol Cymru...

**142**

Gwrthodwn ddilyn Karl Marx a dewiswn ganlyn Arthur.

**143**

Nid Cymru ddwyieithog a fynnw ond Cymru Gymreig, oherwydd dyna yn unig sy'n gyson a'r egwyddor o genedlaetholdeb. I ddi-Seisnigeiddio Cymru y mae'n hanfodol i ddileu y peth mwyaf Seisnig yng Nghymru - yr iaith Seisnig.

**144**

Ni a gofiwn megis ddoe am losgi Ysgol Fomio Lleyngan gan yr athrawon Saunders Lewis a D. J. Williams a'r Parch. Lewis Valentine... Cofiw'n hefyd y driniaeth a gawsant parth rhoddi eu tystiolaeth yn Gymraeg yn y llysoedd, ac am athrodi barn meibion diwylliedig ein cenedl trwy symud y praw i Old Bailey ac yna drachefn yn destun gwawd a dirmyg hiliogaeth ein hen ormeswyr.

**145**

Gwyddom wrth arwyddion a thrafodaethau yn y newyddiaduron ers blynnyddoedd bellach mai llawenydd penaf Lloegr fuasai ennill serch y Taleithiau, a chan fod i'r elfen Gymreig bwysiced dylanwad drwy'r wlad, fe gawsai Deiseb fel y cyfryw sylw arbenig gan Lywodraeth ei Fawrhydi yn Llundain.

**146**

Gellir carcharu tri gwron am losgi ysgol fomio, ond ni ellir carcharu gwlad gyfan. Awgrymwn i arweinwyr bob plaid yng Nghymru i uno'r wlad i orfodi Prydain i sylweddoli fod gwerth mewn 'gwaed gwirion' meibion Gwalia.

**148**

Yn wleidyddol nid oes yr un gwr all godi brwdfrydedd ymysg ein cenedl. Mae rhyfel ar raglen pob plaid sydd genym. Mae'r blaid Doriaidd yn barod i fynd i ryfel ymerodraethol, mae'r blaid Lafur yn barod i ymladd brwydrau'r gwerinoedd, ac y mae'r blaid Genedlaethol yn barod i ryfela gartref.



**Footnote****149**

Os llwydda y Blaid Genedlaethol yng Nghymru rhyw dro, y tebyg ydyw mai eu hamcan fyddai gyrru'r Sais o Gymru yn ol i'w wlad ei hun... ond mynd i Gymru ceir clywed yn aml mai'r Sais berchenoga'r gweithfeydd, y Sais sy'n llwyddo, a'r Sais sydd erioed wedi llywodraethu yn yr ysgolion.

**151**

Yn sicr bydd pob Cymro a Chymraes yn yr Amerig yn awyddus i wneud ei ran yn y gwaith.

**156**

Fel y mwyafrif o Gymry, yr ydym wedi gwenu wrth glywed a gwrando ar faldorrd y Blaid Genedlaethol Gymreig... Mae ei pholisi gwrth-Seisnig wedi ei anwybyddu gan fwyafrif mawr y bobl Gymreig.

**157**

Ei[n] hunig ddiddordeb yn y mater hwn yw ei gwneud yn glir nad yw'r Blaid hunan-benodedig a elwir yn Blaid Genedlaethol Gymreig yn siarad dros Gymru yn y mater yma nac mewn unrhyw fater arall... Onibai bod y bobl hyn yn gosod eu hunain i siarad dros Gymru ni fuasem yn crybwyll y mater. Ond y mae'n ddyletswydd arnom i'w gwneud yn glir nad oes ganddynt hawl i siarad ar ran Cymru, nac i ddatgan polisi i Gymru a wrthodir gan y genedl yn gyffredinol.

**159**

Nod saethu'r Sais heddiw yw Cymru a'i phobl. Y mae pob cais a wneir gan ein seneddwyr Cymreig yn Nhy'r Cyffredin am welliannau hanfodol i'w bywyd yn destun gwawd a dirmyg.

**162**

Gwneir cam a'r genedl pan awgrymir fod ei diwylliant mor egwan a'i lletygarwch mor grintachlyd.

**163**

Cenedlgarwch trofaus ydyw un o felltithion ein gwareiddiad. Gwelir ei effaith yn yr Eidal a'r Almaen. Gobeithio y cedwir cenedlgarwch y Cymro yn iach a Christnogol.

**167**

Rhywbryd fe ddaw cyfle'r werin honno, a phan ddaw'r dydd hwnnw fe gartha hi ein byrddau cyhoeddus a mynnu Cymru rydd a gwyr cyfrifol i'w llywodraethu.

**169**

na allai gofrestru oherwydd gwrthodai gydnabod hawl Lloegr i reoli Cymru.

**172**

Dangosodd yr etholiad fod nifer cefnogwyr y Blaid Genedlaethol Gymreig ar gynnydd. Cafodd gryn lawer yn fwy o bleidleisiau na'r un ymgeisydd o Genedlaetholwyr o'r blaen...

**Footnote****174**

Carwn weld y dydd y byddai Cymru yn rhydd i weithio allan ei hiachawdwriaeth ei hun.

**Conclusion****1**

Yr oedd gen i awydd, nid awydd bychan, awydd mawr iawn i newid hanes Cymru. I newid holl gwrs Cymru a gwneud Cymru Gymraeg yn rhywbeth byw, cryf, nerthol, yn perthyn i'r byd modern... ac mi fethais yn llwyr. Fe'm gwrthodwyd i gan bawb. Fe'm gwrthodwyd i ym mhob etholiad y ceisiais i fod yn ymgeisydd ynddo, mae pob un o'm syniadau . . . maen nhw i gyd wedi'u bwrw heibio.

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